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AN ANGLO-SAXON BOOK OF
VERSE AND PROSE

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AN
ANGLO-SAXON BOOK
OF
VERSE AND PROSE

BY
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MANCHESTER: AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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PREFACE

IN the present volume are bound up the *Anglo-Saxon Verse-Book* and the *Anglo-Saxon Prose-Book*, each of which is published separately with its own preface.

The selections are arranged under headings in accordance with their literary affinities, the idea of an organic whole being throughout emphasized. The anthology is intended to illustrate a course of study, whether private or in university lectures, of Anglo-Saxon self-expression in literature. The requirements of the literary student receive, perhaps for the first time in such a book, as much attention as those of the philologist.

It should be noted that the omission of the mark of length for vowels in the prose texts is intentional, as it defaces the text and is unnecessary, since the long vowels are all marked in the glossary. In the verse selections, however, the long vowels have been marked as an aid to the student of the metre.

W. J. SEDGEFIELD.

MANCHESTER, *June*, 1928.



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LIST OF ERRATA AND ADDENDA

- On p. 74, l. 116, *for* 'wċingum' *read* 'wicingum.'
- On p. 142, note on l. 20, *for* 'cf. 1 112' *read* 'cf. 1 114.'
- On p. 159, note on l. 10, *for* '4 G 472' *read* '14 G. 472.'
- On p. 167, note on ll. 301-302, *for* 'l. 368' *read* 'l. 367.'
- On p. 170, note on l. 620, *for* '6 95' *read* '6 98.'
- On p. 173, note on l. 180, delete 'helsceaðan: see l. 86 n.'
- On p. 175, note on l. 29, *for* 'spirit-slayers' *read* 'spirit-slayer.'
- On p. 198, *sub voce* (ge)bētan, *for* 163 *read* 103.
- On p. 199, *sub voce* bregdan, delete 'play tricks 12 28 n.' and after bregdan insert a head word: 'bregdian use tricks, stratagems 12 28 n.'
- On p. 200 insert 'cnear *m.* small ship, galley.'
- On p. 221 insert 'mānfordædla sinful destroyer 14 65.'
- On p. 233 after 'tōstencan' delete 'smell out, discover,' and substitute 'scatter.'

I. GERMANIC LEGEND AND STORY

I. WIDSITH

In this, one of the earliest surviving A.-S. poems, we have perhaps the first written expression in a vernacular speech of that race-consciousness of the Germanic peoples to which Latin and Greek writers, with Tacitus at their head, bear witness. In a few introductory lines (1-9) we are told how the minstrel Widsith, 'the far-travelled,' visited in the train of the Lady Ealhild the court of the great Gothic king Ermanric. Widsith then in person proceeds to give a list of Germanic peoples and their rulers, occasionally adding comments of his own and boasting of his wide experience as a traveller (10-56). Next he gives another list, this time of widely scattered races and tribes which he claims to have visited (57-87). Then follows an account of a splendid gift made to him by Ermanric, of another made by Ealhild, and of his visits to the various rulers of peoples allied with or owing allegiance to Ermanric (88-134). The poem ends with a few lines on the functions of a minstrel.

Scholars are agreed that the poem consists of an original nucleus with later additions. There can be little doubt, for example, that ll. 75-87, where Greeks, Egyptians, Indians, Israelites, Scots, Picts, etc. are mentioned haphazard, are the addition of some well-meaning monk who wished to bring his gazetteer up to date, or at least to make it more complete. But the original version of the poem may well have included lists of Germanic tribes and their rulers, as such mnemonic lists are met with elsewhere in old Germanic records, *e.g.* in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and the Introduction to the Winchester version of the *A.-S. Chronicle*, as well as in the Icelandic muster-rolls and hero-lays. The mere recital by the bard of the names of famous heroes and their peoples would deeply stir the hearers, to whom each hero's name would recall lays in which his deeds were sung. As the Germanic chiefs mentioned in *Widsith* lived between the middle of the third and the middle of the sixth century A.D., it is clear that the poem cannot be regarded as the actual record of a traveller. Its real value is, as Dr. Chambers well says, 'that it shows us what was the stock-in-trade of the old Anglian bard.' He says further, 'We have such a survey of Germanic geography and legend as might have been made by a gleeman who drew his lore from the traditions of the ancient Angel.' From this point of view everything drops into its right place: the knowledge shown of the Anglo-Frisian tribes and of their legends, of their immediate neighbours, and the more or less complete ignorance of everything else, with the one exception of Gothic saga, become at once intelligible.¹ Professor W. P. Ker, in his *Medieval English Literature*, p. 28, says, 'The poem is a kind of fantasia, intended to call up by

¹ *Widsith*, p. 165.

allusion the personages of the most famous stories ; it is not an epic poem, but it plays with some of the plots of heroic poetry familiar throughout the whole Teutonic region.'

Widsith is preserved in a MS. written in the West-Saxon literary dialect of the end of the tenth century. The original poem must have been composed in Northumbria, perhaps before the end of the seventh century. The early date of the original nucleus of the poem is established by considerations of geography and heroic legend, supported by the evidence of language and metre.

- Widsið maðolade, wordhord onlēac
 sē þe (monna) mæst mægþa ofer eorþan,
 folca geondferde ; oft he (on) flette geþāh
 mynelicne mǣþpum. Him from Myrgingum
 5 æþelo onwōcon. Hē mid Ealhilde,
 fælre freoþuwebban, forman siþe
 Hrēðcyninges hām gesōhte
 ēastan of Ongle, Eormanrices,
 wrāþes wærlogan. Ongon þā worn sprecan :
 10 'Fela ic monna gefrægn mægþum wealdan ;
 'sceal þeod(n)a gehwylc þeawum lifgan,
 'eorl æfter oþrum ēðle rædan,
 'sē þe his þeodenstōl geþeon wile.
 'Þāra wæs (H)wāla hwile sēlast
 15 'ond Alexandreas ealra ricost
 'monna cynnes, ond hē mæst geþāh
 'þāra þe ic ofer foldan gefrægen hæbbe.
 'Ætla wēold Hūnum, Eormanric Gotum,
 'Becca Bāningum, Burgendum Gifica.
 20 'Cāsere wēold Crēacum ond Cælic Finnum,
 'Hagena Holmrygum ond Heoden Glommum.
 'Witta wēold Swæfum, Wada Hælsingum,
 'Meaca Myrgingum, Mearchealf Hundingum.
 'Þeodric wēold Froncum, Þyle Rondingum,
 25 'Breoca Brondingum, Billing Wernum.
 'Ōswine wēold Ēowum, ond Țtum Gefwulf,
 'Fin Folcwalding Frēsna cynne.
 'Sigehere lengest Sæ-Denum wēold,
 'Hnæf Hōcingum, Helm Wulfingum,
 30 'Wald Wōingum, Wōd Þýringum,

2. mæþpa.

4. hine.

5. æþele.

21. holmrycum ; henden

- 'Sæferð Sycgum, Swēom Ongendþeow,
 'Sceafthere Ymbrum, Sceafa Longbeardum,
 'Hūn Hætwerum, ond Holen Wrosnum.
 'Hringweald wæs hāten Herefarena cyning.
 35 'Offa wēold Ongle, Alewīh Denum;
 'sē wæs þāra manna mōdgast ealra;
 'nō hwæpre hē ofer Offan eorlscype fremede,
 'ac Offa geslōg ærest monna
 'cnihtwesendē cynerīca mæst;
 40 'nænig efeneald him eorlscipe mārān
 'on ōrette āne sweorde
 'merce gemærde wið Myrgingum
 'bī Fīfeldore; hēoldon forð siþþan
 'Engle ond Swāfe swā hit Offa geslōg.
 45 'Hrōþwulf ond Hrōðgār hēoldon lengest
 'sibbe ætsomne, suhtorfædran,
 'siþþan hȳ forwræcon Wicinga cynn
 'ond Ingeldes ord forbīgdan,
 'forhēowan æt Heorote Heaðobeardna þrym.
 50 'Swā ic geondfērde fela fremdra londa
 'geond ginne grund; gōdes ond yfles
 'þær ic cunnade cnōsle bidæled,
 'frēomægum feor folgade wīde.
 'Forþon ic mæg singan ond secgan spell,
 55 'mænan fore mengo in meoduhealle,
 'hū mē cynegōde cystum dohten.
 'Ic wæs mid Hūnum ond mid Hrēð-Gotum,
 'mid Swēom ond mid Gēatum ond mid Sūþ-Denum.
 'Mid Wenlum ic wæs ond mid Wærnum ond mid Wicingum.
 60 'Mid Gefþum ic wæs ond mid Winedum ond mid Gefflegum.
 'Mid Englum ic wæs ond mid Swæfum ond mid Ænenum.
 'Mid Seaxum ic wæs ond (mid) Sycgum ond mid Sweordwerum.
 'Mid Hronum ic wæs ond mid Deanum ond mid Heaþo-
 Rēamum.
 'Mid Þýringum ic wæs ond mid Þrōwendum
 65 'ond mid Burgendum, þær ic bēag geþāh;
 'mē þær Gūðhere forgeaf glædlicne mārþum
 'songes tō lēane; næs þæt sǣne cyning.
 'Mid Froncum ic wæs ond mid Frýsum ond mid Frumtingum.

- 'Mid Rūgum ic wæs ond mid Glommum ond mid Rūmwālum.
 70 'Swylce ic wæs on Eatule mid Ælfwine,
 'sē hæfde moncynnes mīne gefræge
 'leohteste hond lofes to wycenne,
 'heortan unhnēaweste hringa gedāles,
 'beorhtra bēaga, bearn Eadwines.
 75 'Mid Sercingum ic wæs ond mid Sēringum.
 'Mid Crēacum ic wæs ond mid Finnum ond mid Cāsere,
 'sē þe wīnburga gewæld āhte,
 'wiolena ond wilna ond Wāla rīces.
 'Mid Scottum ic wæs ond mid Peohtum ond mid Scride-Finnum.
 80 'Mid Lid-Wicingum ic wæs ond mid Lēonum ond mid Long-
 beardum,
 'Mid Hæðnum ond mid Hæreþum ond mid Hundingum,
 'Mid Israhelum ic wæs ond mid Exsyringum,
 'mid Ebreum ond mid Indeum ond mid Egyptum.
 'Mid Moidum ic wæs ond mid Persum ond mid Myrgingum,
 85 'ond Mofdingum ond ongend Myrgingum
 'ond mid Amothingum. Mid East-Þýringum ic wæs
 'ond mid Eolum ond mid Istum ond Idumingum.
 'Ond ic wæs mid Eormanrice ealle þræge,
 'þær mē Gotena cyning gōde dohte ;
 90 'sē mē bēag forgeaf, burgwarena fruma,
 'on þām siexhund wæs smætes goldes
 'gescyred sceatta scillingrime ;
 'þone ic Eadgilse on æht sealde,
 'mīnum hlēodryhtne, þā ic tō hām bicwōm,
 95 'lēofum to lēane, þæs þe hē mē lond forgeaf,
 'mīnes fæder ēþel, frēa Myrginga.
 'Ond mē þā Ealhild oþerne forgeaf,
 'dryhtcwēn duguþe, dohtor Eadwines.
 'Hyre lof lengde geond londa fela,
 100 'þonne ic be songe secgan sceolde
 'hwær ic under swegl(e) sēlast wisse
 'goldhrodene cwēn giefte bryttian.
 'Donne wit Scilling scīran reorde
 'for uncrum sigedryhtne song āhofan,
 105 'hlūde bī hearpan hlēoþor swinsade ; -

‘þonne monige men mōdum wlonce
‘wordum sprēcan, þā þe wēl cūþan,
‘þæt hī nāfre song sellan ne hȳrdon.
‘Ðonan ic ealne geondhwearf ēþel Gotena ;

110 ‘sōhte ic ā (ge)sīþa þā sēlestan ;
‘þæt wæs innweorud Earmanrīces.
‘Heðcan sōhte ic ond Beadecan ond Herelingas,
‘Emercan sōhte ic ond Fridlan ond Ēastgotan,
‘frōdne ond gōdne fæder Unwēnes.

115 ‘Seccan sōhte ic ond Beccan, Seafolan ond Þēodric,
‘Heaþoric ond Sifecan, Hliþe ond Ingeþēow.
‘Eadwine sōhte ic ond Elsan, Ægelmund ond Hūngār,
‘ond þā wloncan gedryht Wiþ-Myrginga.
‘Wulfhere sōhte ic ond Wyrnhere ; ful oft þær wīg ne ālæg,

120 ‘þonne Hræda here heardum sweordum
‘ymb Wistlawudu wergan sceoldon
‘ealdne ēþelstōl Ætlan lēodum.
‘Rædhere sōhte ic ond Rondhere, Rūmstān ond Gislhere,
‘Wiþergield ond Freoþeric, Wudgan ond Hāman ;

125 ‘ne wæran þæt gesīþa þā sāmestan,
‘þeah þe ic hȳ ānīht nemnan sceolde.
‘Ful oft of þām hēape hwīnende flēag
‘giellende gār on grōme þēode ;
‘wræccan þær wēoldan wundnan golde,

130 ‘werum ond wifum, Wudga ond Hāma.
‘Swā ic þæt symle onfond on þære fēringe,
‘þæt sē biþ lēofast londbūendum,
‘sē þe him God syleð gumena rīce
‘tō gehealdenne, þenden hē hēr leofað.’

135 Swā scriþende gesceapum hweorfað
glēomen gumena geond grunda fela,
þearfe secgað, þoncword sprecaþ,
simle sūð oþþe norð sumne gemētað
gydda glēawne, geofum unhnēawne,

140 sē þe fore duguþe wile dōm āræran,
eorlscipe æfnan, oþ þæt eal scæceð,
lēoht ond lif somod ; lof sē gewyrceð,
hafað under heofonum hēahstæstne dōm.

2. WALDERE

This fragment of a hero-lay, preserved by a happy chance on two vellum leaves in the Royal Library of Copenhagen, is important as confirming the testimony of *Beowulf* and *Widsith* to the fact that the Anglo-Saxons were interested in the stories of Germanic heroes other than those of 'the two seas.' The tale of Walther (Waldere), the West Gothic hero of Aquitaine, is known to us from several continental versions, one of which, written about the middle of the tenth century by the St. Gall monk Ekkehard, comes nearer to the English version than the others. Walther, who has lived for years as a hostage at the court of Attila (*Ætla*), flees homeward, taking with him his lady-love the Burgundian princess Hildegund (Hildegyth) and much treasure. He is attacked in a mountain-pass by the Burgundian king Gunther (Guthhere) at the head of a small band of warriors including Hagen (Hagena) the Frank, Walther's old friend. Ekkehard tells us that after a desperate fight Walther slays all his foes except Gunther and Hagen, who retire to the plain. On the following day these two again fall upon Walther, as he comes down from the pass with Hildegund. After hours of fighting they make peace. According to the A.-S. fragment Waldere, exhausted by the struggle, offers Guthhere the famous sword Mimming and treasure for a respite. Guthhere refuses (l. 28) and the fight is renewed, Hagena succeeding Guthhere. In the first part of the fragment Hildegyth is encouraging her lover; the second part contains the end of a speech by Guthhere followed by Waldere's reply. It is noteworthy that though the A.-S. poem is earlier than Ekkehard's version and nearer to the original story it shows a Christian editing which is hardly perceptible in *Waltharius Manufortis*. In early times A.-S. ecclesiastics were much more inclined than their successors to compromise with the popular interest in hero-legend, to which they dexterously imparted an edifying religious colouring.

We can only guess at the length of the original poem. The probability is that even with the discursive treatment shown in the fragment which has survived the total number of lines did not much exceed one thousand.

A

- ' hȳrde hyne georne :
 ' hūru Wēlande[s] worc ne geswīceð
 ' monna ænigum þāra ðe Mimminȝ can
 ' hear(d)ne gehealdan. Oft æt hilde gedrēas
 5 ' swātfā[g] ond sweordwund sec(g) æfter oþrum.
 ' Ætlan ordwyga, ne læt ðin ellen nū gȳ[t]
 ' gedrēosan tō dæge, dryhtscipe (feallan).
 ' ac is se dæg cumen,
 ' þæt ðū scealt āninga oððer twēga,
 10 ' lif forlēosan oððe lange dōm
 ' āgan mid eldum, Ælfheres sunu.
 ' Nalles ic ðē, wine mīn, wordum cīde,

- 'ðy ic ðē gesāwe æt ðām sweordwlegan
 'ðurh edwitscype æniges monnes
 15 'wīg forbūgan oððe on weal flēon,
 'lice beorgan, ðeah þe lāðra fela
 'ðinne byrnhomon billum hēowun,
 'ac ðū symle furðor feohtan sōhtest,
 'mæġ ofer mearce. Ðy ic ðē metod ondrēd,
 20 'þæt ðū tō fyrenlice feohtan sōhtest
 'æt ðām æsstealle, oðres monnes
 'wigrædenne. Weorða ðē selfne
 'gōdum dædum, ðenden ðin God recce.
 'Ne murn ðū for ði mēce; ðē wearð mādma cyst
 25 'gifeðe tō eoce unc. Ðy ðū Gūðhere scealt
 'bēot forbigan, ðæs ðe hē ðās beaduwe ongan
 'm(i)d unryhte ærest sēcan;
 'forsōc hē ðām swurde ond ðām syncfatum,
 'bēaga mænigo; nū sceal bēga lēas
 30 'hworfan from ðisse hilde, hlāfurd sēcan,
 'ealdne ēþel, oððe hēr ær swefan,
 'gif hē ðā

B

- '. [mē]cē bæteran
 'būton ðām ānum ðe ic ēac hafu
 35 'on stānfate stille gehīded.
 'Ic wāt þæt (h)it ðohte Ðeodric Widian
 'selfum ons[en]don ond ēac sinc micel
 'mādma mid ði mēce; monig oðres mid him
 'golde gegirwan, iulēan genam,
 40 'þæs ðe hine of nearwum Nīðhādes mæg,
 'Welandes bearn, Widia ut forlēt ———
 'ðurh fifela gefeald forð onette.'
 Walderes mædelode, wiga ellenrōf,
 hæfde him on handa hildefrōfre,
 45 gūðbilla gripe, gyddode wordum:
 'Hwæt, ðū hūru wēndest, wine Burgenda,
 'þæt mē Hagenan hand hilde gefremede

13. sweordwlegan.

21. ætstealle.

29. *MS. has beaga for bega*

34. hafa.

36. *for hit dohte MS. has ic dohte.*

- 'ond getwæmde [fē]ðewigges ; feta, gýf ðū dyrre,
 'æt ðus heaðuwērgan hāre byrnan.
 50 'Standēð mē hēr on eaxelum Ælfheres lāf
 'gōd ond gēapneb, golde geweorðod,
 'ealles unscende æðelinges rēaf
 'tō habbanne, þonne ha(n)d wereð
 'feorhhord fēondum : ne bið fāh wið mē,
 55 'þonne unmægas eft ongynnað,
 'mēcum gemētað, swā gē mē dydon.
 'Ðēah mæg sige syllan sē ðe symle byð
 'recen ond rædfest ryh[ta] gehwilces ;
 'sē ðe him tō ðām hālgan helpe gelifeð,
 60 'tō Gode gīoce, hē þær gearo findeð,
 'gif ðā earnunga ær geðenceð ;
 'þonne mōten wlance welan britnian,
 'æhtum wealdan ; þæt is

3. DEOR

A minstrel named Deor tells us that after years of service he has been supplanted in his lord's favour by a rival, Heorrenda, who has received the land which had been previously granted to Deor. In his misery Deor tries to comfort himself by recalling unhappy events in hero-story which had at length passed away and lost their bitterness. This little piece, one of the very few A.-S. poems with a personal note, might well have been placed in the next section, but its references to famous events and personages of legend make it more convenient to include it with the other poems relating to Germanic story. Particularly noticeable is the refrain, unique in A.-S. poetry, which divides the main part of the poem into strophes (stanzas) of varying lengths.

- Weland him be *wearnum* wræces cunnade,
 ānhȳdig eorl earfoþa drēag,
 hæfde him tō gesiþþe sorge ond longaþ,
 wintercealde wrace ; wēan oft onfond,
 5 siþþan hine Niðhād on nēde legde,
 swoncre seonobende on sȳllan monn.
 Þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg.
 Beadohilde ne wæs hyre brōþra dēaþ
 on sefan swā sār swā hyre sylfre þing ;
 10 þæt hēo gearolice ongieten hæfde,
 þæt hēo ēacen wæs ; æfre ne meahte
 þriste geþencan hū ymb þæt sceolde.

50. standað.

58. recon.

62. mtoten.

1. wurman.

4. wræce.

Þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg.

Wē þæt (be) Mæðhilde monge gefrignon :

15 wūrdon grundlēase Gēates frīge,
þæt hi(m) sēo sorglufu slæp ealle binōm.

Þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg.

Ðēodric āhte þrītig wintra

Māringa burg; þæt wæs monegum cūþ.

25 Þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg.

Wē geāscodan Eormanrices

wylfenne geþōht; āhte wīde folc

Gotena rīces; þæt wæs grim cyning.

Sæt secg monig sorgum gebunden,

25 wēan on wēnan, wýscte geneahhe
þæt þæs cynerīces ofercūmen wære.

Þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg.

Siteð sorgcearig sælum bidæled,

on sefan sweorceð; sylfum þinceð

30 þæt sý endelēas earfoða dæl.

Mæg þonne geþencan þæt geond þās woruld

wītig Dryhten wendeþ geneahhe :

eorle monegum āre gescēawað,

wislicne blæd, sumum wēana dæl.

35 Þæt ic bi mē sylfum secgan wille,

þæt ic hwīle wæs Heodeninga scop,

dryhtne dýre; mē wæs Dēor noma.

Āhte ic fela wintra folgað tilne,

holdne hlāford, oþ þæt Heorrenda nū,

40 lēoðcræftig monn, londryht geþāh,

þæt mē eorla hlēo ær gesealde.

Þæs oferēode, þisses swā mæg.

4. LEGEND AND STORY IN *BEOWULF*

Beowulf, the longest and finest of the surviving A.-S. poems, is a story or rather two stories of adventure, and is perhaps the first romance to be written in a Germanic language. It consists of two parts, (1) the visit of Beowulf the young Geat prince to the court of Hrothgar the Danish king, his slaying in the royal hall Heorot of two man-eating ogres, Grendel by name, and his return home laden with gifts; (2) the fight, fifty years later, of Beowulf with a fire-breathing dragon, his death and funeral obsequies. The poem thus consists of two folk-tales recounting the slaying of monsters, set in a framework of Germanic

hero-story. Some of the details in *Beowulf's* adventure and even some of the names have their counterparts in Icelandic sagas of a much later date than our poem, while the dragon-slaying story meets us several times in Germanic legend, e.g. in the *Volsunga saga* and the *Nibelungenlied*.

To the student of Germanic origins the most interesting part of *Beowulf* lies perhaps in the passages which recall the old stories of feuds and battles between various Germanic (including Scandinavian) peoples. At least one of these 'digressions' from the main narrative (No. 4 F) has been shown to rest on a historical basis, while the rest, though unconfirmed by other sources save for a few of the names, most probably contain a nucleus of historical fact with an accretion of legend. It is interesting to note that some of the names of Germanic peoples and their rulers which figure in the *Widsith* lists come to life, as it were, in these digressions of *Beowulf*, while another A.-S. poem, the *Fight at Finnsburh* (No. 5), is generally considered to be a lay describing the details of a fight alluded to in one of the *Beowulf* episodes (No. 4 D).

When and where was *Beowulf* written, what manner of man wrote it, was it an original work or a translation, what were its sources, have we the original form of the poem or a later interpolated version? These questions and others have been discussed with much learning and acumen by many scholars during the last hundred years. The general view nowadays is that the poem was written down, if not actually composed, in the north of England early in the eighth century by an Englishman, probably but not necessarily an ecclesiastic, familiar with courts and refined, i.e. aristocratic, society; further, that we have in the sole extant MS. a copy of the original form of the poem, which was not a translation or adaptation of a Scandinavian original but the work of a man of talent, well versed in legendary lore and a master of the Old English poetical technique. It is possible that *Beowulf* was composed for a particular occasion and for a particular circle of hearers, such as a royal court or the brethren of a monastery, who, as we learn from several sources, were fond of listening to tales of heroic prowess and adventure. The biblical and religious allusions and sentiments scattered through our poem would still further commend it to a religious society. Though *Beowulf* deals exclusively with continental Germanic story, its tone, style and metre are entirely English, being quite different from those of the much later Scandinavian poetry. The author was familiar, as were his hearers (or readers), with the countless lays about Danes, Swedes, etc. which were still sung by gleemen all over the land.

Beowulf represents the highest level reached by the surviving A.-S. poetry, both in its plan and in its execution, as well as in its language and versification. The tone is invariably grave, wise and restrained; the narrative sustained and sinewy, the scenes and events clearly visualized and portrayed.

The text of the poem is written in the West-Saxon literary dialect of the tenth century, into which the early Northumbrian poems were turned in later times for the sake of southern readers and hearers.

A. THE SCYLDING DYNASTY

ll. 1-63

This is the opening passage or prologue of the poem; it is a recapitulation of part of the history of the Danish royal family, doubtless familiar to those for whom the poet wrote.

Hwæt, wē Gār-Dena in gēardagum
 þēodcýninga þrym gefrūnon,
 hū ðā æþelingas ellen fremedon.

Oft Scyld Scēfing sceaþena þreatum

5 monegum mægþum meodosetla oftēah ;

egsode eorl(as), syððan ærest wearð
 fēasceaft funden ; hē þæs frōfre gebād,
 wēox under wolcnum, weorðmyndum þāh,
 oð þæt him æghwylc ymbsittendra

10 ofer hronrāde hýran scolde,

gomban gylðan ; þæt wæs gōd cýning.

Ðæm eafera wæs æfter cenned

geong in gearðum, þone God sende

folce tō frōfre ; fyrenðearfe ongeat,

15 þā hīe ær drugon aldor[lē]ase

lange hwile. Him þæs liffrēa,

wuldres wealdend, woroldāre forgeaf ;

Bēowulf wæs brēme— blæd wīde sprang—

Scyldes eafera, Scedelandum in.

20 Swā sceal [geong g]uma gōðe gewyrcean,

fromum feohgiftum, on fæder [ær]ne

þæt hine on ylde eft gewunigen

wilgesīpas, þonne wīg cume,

lēode gelæsten ; lofdædum sceal

25 in mægþa gehwām man geþeon.

Him ðā Scyld gewāt tō gescæphwile

fela hrōr fēran on frēan wære ;

hī hyne þā ætbæron tō brimes faroðe,

swæse gesīpas, swā hē selfa bæd,

30 þenden wordum wēold wine Scyldinga,

lēof landfruma, lange āhte.

Þær æt hýðe stōd hringedstefna

isig ond ūtfūs, æþelinges fær ;

ālēdon þā lēofne þēoden,

35 bēaga bryttan, on bearm scipes,

mārne be mæste. Þær wæs mādma fela

of feorwegum frætwa gelæded.

Ne hýrde ic cýmlīcor cēol gégyrwān

- hildewæpnum ond heaðowædum,
 40 billum ond byrnum; him on bearme læg
 mādma mænigo, þā him mid scoldon
 on flōdes æht feor gewitan.
 Nalæs hī hine læssan lācum tēodan,
 þēodgestrēonum, þon(ne) þā dydon
 45 þe hine æt frumsceaftē forð onsendon
 æinne ofer yðe umborwesende.
 Þā gýt hīe him āsetton segen g[yl]denne
 hēah ofer hēafod, lēton holm beran,
 gēafon on gārsecg; him wæs geōmor sefa,
 50 murnende mōd. Men ne cunnon
 secgan tō sōðe selerædenðe,
 hæleð under heofenum, hwā þæm hlæste onfēng.
 Ðā wæs on burgum Bēowulf Scyldinga,
 lēof lēodcýning, longe þrage
 55 folcum gefræge— fæder ellor hwearf,
 aldor of earde— oþ þæt him eft onwōc
 hēah Healfdene; hēold þenden lifde
 gamol ond gūorēow glæde Scyldingas.
 Ðæm fēower bearn forð gerīmed
 60 in worold wōcun, weoroda rāswa
 Heorogār, ond Hrōðgār ond Hālga til;
 hýrde ic þæt (. . . wæs On)elan cwēn,
 Heaðo-Scilfingas healsgebedda.

B. SIGEMUND AND FITELA

ll. 874–900

While the party of thanes is riding home to Heorot after a visit to Grendel's haunts, one of them, to beguile the journey, chants lays about Sigemund the famous outlaw and dragon-slayer and his nephew Fitela.

Wēlhwylc gecwæð

- 65 þæt hē fram Sigemunde(s) secgan hýrde
 ellendædum, uncūpes fela,
 Wælsinges gewin, wīde siðas
 þāra þe gumena bearn gearwe ne wiston,
 fæhðe ond fyrena, būton Fitela mid hine,

51. selerædenne.

- 70 þonne hē swulces hwæt secgan wolde,
 ēam his nefan, swā hīe ā wæron
 æt nīða gehwām nýdgesteallan;
 hæfdon ealfeia eotena cynnes
 sweordum gesæged. Sigemunde gesprolg
 75 æfter dēaðdæge dōm unlȳtel,
 syððan wīges heard wȳrm ācwealde,
 hordes hyrde; hē under hārne stān,
 æþelinges bearn, āna genēðde
 frēcne dæde; ne wæs him Fitela mid;
 80 hwæpre him gesæide ðæt þæt swurd þurhwōd
 wrætlicne wȳrm, þæt hit on wealle ætstōd,
 dryhtlic īren; draca morðre swealt.
 Hæfde āglæca elne gegongen
 þæt hē bēahhordes brūcan mōste
 85 selfes dōme; sǣbāt gehlōd,
 bær on bearm scipes beorhte frætwa
 Wælses eafera; wȳrm hāt gemealt.
 Sē wæs wreccena wīde mærost
 ofer werþēode, wīgendra hlēo
 90 ellendædum; hē þæs ær onðāh.

C. OFFA'S QUEEN

ll. 1931-1962

The *Beowulf* poet, speaking of Hygd, the gentle, kindly, young queen of Hygelac, king of the Geats, contrasts her with the queen of Offa, king of the Angles, who before her marriage displayed a most violent and bloodthirsty temper. The princess who kills her suitors is a common theme of legend. The story of Offa the Angle was in later times transferred to Offa, the Mercian king; see *Widsith* (No. 1) l. 35 n.

- Mōðþrȳðe wæg
 fre(o)mu folces cwēn, firen ondrȳsne;
 nǣnig þæt dorste dēor genēþan
 swæsra gesiða nefne sinfrēa
 95 þæt hire andāges ēagum starede,
 ac him wælbende weotode tealde.
 handgewriþene; hraþe seoþðan wæs

- æfter mundgripe mēce geþinged,
 þæt hit sceādenmæl . scýran mōste,
 100 cwealmbcalu cýðan; ne bið swylc cwēnlic þēaw
 idese tō efnan, þēah ðe hīo ænlicu sý,
 þætte freoðuwebbe fēores onsēce
 æfter ligetorne lēofne mannan;
 hūru þæt onhohsnod(e) Hemminges mæg.
 105 Ealodrincende . ðōðer sǣdan,
 þæt hīo lēodbealewa lǣs gefremede,
 inwitnīða, syððan ærest wearð
 gyfen goldhroden geongum ceman,
 æðelum dīore, syððan hīo Offan flet
 110 ofer fealone flōd be fæder lāre
 sīðe gesōhte; ðær hīo syððan wēl
 in gumstōle gōde mære
 lifgesceafta lifigende brēac,
 hīold hēahlufan wið hǣleþa brego,
 115 ealles moncynnes mīne gefræge
 þone sēlestan bi sǣm twēonum,
 eormencynnes; forþām Offa wæs
 geofum ond gūðum gārcēne man
 wīde geweorðod, wīsdōme hēold
 120 ēðel sinne; þonon Æomēr wōc
 hǣleðum tō helpe, Hem(m)inges mæg,
 nefa Gārmundes, nīða cræftig.

101. efnanne.

111. well.

102. onsæce.

116. þæs.

104. hem ninges.

120. geomor.

D. FRISIANS, DANES, AND JUTES

The Tragic Story of Finn and Hengest (ll. 1063-1159)

After the banquet in Heorot at which Beowulf and his little band are the guests of honour, the court minstrel begins to chant a lay recounting the tragic story of Finn, king of the Frisians, and Hengest, the Danish chief. The poet does not give us the actual lay, but an account, partly narrative, partly allusive comment, of the events leading to Finn's death. These events, familiar as they must have been to the poet's hearers or readers, are rather obscure to us, and various attempts have been made by scholars to reconstruct the story. The sequence of events seems to have been as follows: Finn is away from his

central kingdom (the Frisian islands), perhaps on the mainland opposite (Holland); he has brought with him a bodyguard of Jutes. These Jutes quarrel with a band of Danes, countrymen of Finn's wife Hildeburh, and make an attack on the hall of Hnæf the Danish prince, Hildeburh's brother. The attack, which lasts five days, is described in the *Fight at Finnsburh* (No. 5), which should be read in conjunction with the *Beowulf* episode. Finn finds himself obliged to intervene and joins in the assault on the hall. Hnæf is slain, but the leadership of his Danes passes to Hengest, who makes such a good defence that Finn, who has by this time lost most of his officers (ll. 140, 141 *infra*), offers him terms of peace. The terms are, that Hengest and his Danes shall have equal honour and privileges with Finn's Jutes, and further that they shall not be taunted with having made peace with the slayers of their chief Hnæf. Hengest agrees to the terms and the peace is solemnly ratified, after which the bodies of the slain princes, Hildeburh's brother(s) and son(s), are placed together on the funeral pile and burned, while the queen laments her dead (ll. 177, 178). Hengest accompanies Finn to Friesland and stays there during the winter, loyally observing the treaty of peace. But with the advent of spring, thoughts of revenge stir within his breast; he returns to his people and takes service with Hunlafing the Dane. Egged on by Guthlaf and Oslaf, who are, perhaps, survivors of the fight in Hnæf's hall, a party of Danes sets out for Friesland, slays Finn, burns and plunders his palace, and returns home with Finn's Danish queen.

The story is a tragedy of inner conflict. Honour and loyalty require that Hengest shall not make peace with the slayer of his prince, but fight on to death or victory. Yet, he reflects, Finn did not kill Hnæf by treachery but in fair fight, moreover in the offered peace-terms Finn shows delicacy and consideration for the feelings of Hengest and his Danes; there is no dishonour then, no betrayal of the dead; so he accepts peace. During the winter his conscience gives him no rest; the inbred ideas of honour and loyalty reassert themselves in full strength. We are not told that Hengest helped to kill Finn, but we may be sure that he 'took it out' of the Jutes.

The *Beowulf* story of Finn and Hengest, together with the account of the egging on of the young Heathobard warrior (see next Selection), and the passage about the slaying of one brother by another, show us what a wealth of dramatic motives must have lain in the old hero-lays, and how finely the Anglo-Saxon minstrel-poets were able to handle them.

125 Þær wæs sang ond swēg samod ætgædere
 fore Healfdenes hildewīsan,
 gomenwudu grēted, gid oft wrecen;
 ðonne healgamen Hrōþgāres scop
 æfter medobence mænan scolde

130 Finnes eaferum, ðā hīe se fār begeat.
 Hæleð Healf-Dena, Hnæf Scyldinga,
 in Frēswæle feallan scolde.
 Ne hūru Hildeburh herian þorfte
 Eotena trēowe; unsynnum wearð

- beloren lēofum æt þām Lindplegan,
 bearnum ond brōðrum; hīe on gebyrd hruron
- 135 gāre wunde; þæt wæs geōmuru ides.
 Nalles hōlinga Hōces dohtor
 meotodsceaft bemearn syððan morgen cōm,
 ðā hēo under swegle gesēon meahte
 morþorbealo māga, þær hē(o) ær mæste hēold
- 140 worolde wyne. Wig ealle fornam
 Finnes þegnas nemne fēaum ānum,
 þæt hē ne mehte on þām meðelstede
 wīg Hengeste wiht gefeohtan
 ne þā wēalāfe wīge forþringan
- 145 þēodnes ðegne; ac hig him geþingo budon
 þæt hīe him ððer flet eal gerȳmdon,
 healle ond hēahsetl, þæt hīe healfne gewæld
 wið Eotena bearn āgan mōston,
 ond æt feohgyftum Folcwaldan sunu
- 150 dōgra gehwylce Dene weorþode,
 Hengestes hēap, hringum wenede
 efne swā swiðe, sincgestrēonum
 fættan goldes, swā hē Frēsena cyn
 on bēorsele byldan wolde.
- 155 Ðā hīe getrūwedon on twā healfa
 fæste frioðuwære; Fin Hengeste
 elne unflitme āðum benemde
 þæt hē þā wēalāfe weotena dōme
 ārum hēolde, þæt ðær ænig mon
- 160 wordum ne worcum wære ne bræce,
 ne þurh inwitsearo æfre gemænden,
 ðeah hīe hira bēaggyfan banan folgedon
 ðēodenlēase, þā him swā geþearfod wæs.
 Gyf þonne Frȳsna hwylc frēcnan spræce
- 165 ðæs morþorhetes myndgiend wære,
 þonne hit sweordes ecg sehtan scolde.
 Að wæs geæfned, ond icge gold
 āhæfen of horde. Here-Scyldinga
 betst beadorinca wæs on bæl gearu;

133. hildplegan.

164. frecnen.

147. healfre.

166. syððan.

- 70 æt þāem āde wæs ēþgesȳne
 swātfāh syrce, swȳn ealgylden,
 eofer īrenheard, æþeling manig
 wundum āwyrded; sume on wæle crungon.
 Hēt ðā Hildeburh æt Hnæfes āde
 75 hire selfre suna sweoloðe befæstan,
 bānfatu bærnān ond on bæl dōn,
 ēame on eaxle; ides gnornode,
 geōmrode giddum; gūð(h)ring āstāh,
 wand tō wolcnum, wælfȳra mæst
 80 hlynode for hlāwe; hafelan multon,
 bengeato burston; ðonne blōd ætspranc
 lāðbite lices. Līg ealle forswealg,
 gæsta gifrost, þāra ðe þær gūð fornam
 bēga folces; wæs hira blæd scacen.
 85 Gewiton him ðā wīgend wīca nēosian
 frēondum befeallen, Frȳsland gesēon,
 hāmas ond hēaburh. Hengest ðā gýt
 wælfāgne winter wunode mid Finn(e)
 el(ne) unflitme; eard gemunde,
 90 þēah þe hē (ne) meahte on mere drīfan
 hringedstefnan; holm storme wēol,
 won wið winde; winter ȳþe belēac
 īsgebinde, oþ ðæt oþer cōm
 gēar in geardas, swā nū gýt dēð
 95 þā(m) ðe syngāles sēle bewitiað,
 wuldortorhtan weder. Ðā wæs winter scacen,
 fæger foldan bearm; fundode wrecca,
 gist of gearдум; hē tō gyrnwæce
 swiðor þōhte þonne tō sālāde,
 100 gif hē torngemōt þurhtēon mihte
 þæt hē (wið) Eotena bearn inne gemunde.
 Swā hē ne forwyrnde worodrædenne
 þonne him Hūnlāfing hildelēoman,
 billa sēlest, on bearm dyde;
 105 þæs wæron mid Eotenum ecge cūðe.
 Swylce ferhðfrecan Fin eft begeat

175. sunu.

177. earne.

178. guðrinc.

188. finnel unhlitme.

202. woroldrædenne.

- sweordbealo slīðen æt his selves hām,
 siþðan grimne gripe Gūðlāf ond Ōslāf
 æfter sæsīðe sorge mændon,
 210 ætwiton wēana dæl; ne meahte wæfre mōd
 forhabban in hreþre. Ðā wæs heal roden
 fēonda fēorum, swilce Fin slægen,
 cyning on corþre, ond sēo cwēn numen.
 Scēotend Scyldinga tō scypon feredon
 215 eal ingesteald eorðcyninges,
 swylce hīe æt Finnes hām findan meahton
 sigla searogimma. Hīe on sælāde
 drihtlice wif tō Denum feredon,
 læddon tō lēodum.

E. DANES AND HEATHOBARDS

Inciting to Revenge (ll. 2020–2069)

On his return home Beowulf relates to King Hygelac his adventures. Describing how Hrothgar's daughter Freawaru, betrothed to Ingeld the Heathobard prince, moved among the revellers at Heorot, encouraging them to drink, he prophesies a renewal of the disastrous feud between the Danes and the Heathobards, and describes how an old Heathobard warrior will incite a young one to murder a Dane. We have here a dramatic 'moment,' rising above mere narrative. The feud between the Danes and the Heathobards is mentioned in *Widsith* (No. 1), ll. 45–49.

- 220 'Hwylum for [d]uguðe dohtor Hrōðgāres
 'eorlum on ende ealuwæge bær,
 'þā ic Frēaware fletsittende
 'nemnan hȳrde, þær hīo [næ]gledsinc
 'hæledum sealde; sīo gehāten [is],
 225 'geong goldhroden, gladum suna Frōdan;
 '[h]afað þæs geworden wine Scyldinga,
 'rices hyrde, ond þæt ræd talað,
 'þæt hē mid ðȳ wife wælfæhða dæl,
 'sæcca gesehte. Oft sēlð onhwear(f)
 230 'æfter lēodhryre; lȳtle hwile
 'bongār būgeð, þeah sēo brȳd duge.
 'Mæg þæs þonne ofþyncan ðeodne Heaðobeardna

211. hroden.

229. gesette; oft selð onhwearf S.; oft seldan hwær MS.

232. ðeoden.

- 'ond þegna gehwām þāra lēoda,
 'þonne hē mid fæmnan on flett gæð,
 235 'dryhtbearn Dena, duguðe biwenede.
 'On him gladiað gomelra lāfe,
 'heard ond hringmæl, Heaðobear(d)na gestreōn,
 'þenden hīe ðām wæpnum wealdan mōston,
 'oð ðæt hīe forlæddan tō ðām lindplegan
 240 'swāse gesīðas ond hyra sylfra feorh.
 'Þonne cwið æt bēore sē ðe beo(r)n gesyð,
 'eald æscwiga sē ðe eall gem[an]
 'gārcwealm gumena— him bið grim sefa—
 'onginneð geōmormōd geong[um] cempan
 245 'þurh hreðra gehygd higes cunnian,
 'wīgbealu weccan, ond þæt word ācwyð:
 "Meaht ðū, mīn wine, mēce gecnāwan,
 "þone þīn (frōd) fæder tō gefeohte bær
 "under heregrīman hindeman siðe,
 250 'dýre īren, þær hyne Dene slōgon,
 "wēoldon wælstōwe, syððan Wiðergyld læg
 "æfter hæleþa hryre, hwate Scyldungas.
 "Nū hēr þāra banena byre nāthwylces
 "frætsum hrēmig on flet gæð,
 255 "morðres gylpeð ond þone mādþum byreð,
 "þone þe ðū mid rihte rædan sceoldest."
 'Manað swā ond myndgað mæla gehwylce
 'sārum wordum oð ðæt sæl cymeð
 'þæt sē fæmnan þegn fore fæder dædum
 260 'æfter billes bite blōdfāg swefeð,
 'ealdres scyldig; him se oðer þonan
 'losað [li]figende, con him land geare.
 'Þonne bīoð [ā]brocene on bā healfe
 'āðsweorð eorla; [syððan Ingelde
 265 'weallað wælnīðas ond him wīflufan
 'æfter cearwælmum cōlran weorðað.
 'Þy ic Heaðobear(d)na hyldo ne telge,
 'dryhtsibbe dæl, Denum unfæcne,
 'frēondscipe fæstne.'

235. duguða.

241. beah.

237. heaða bearna.

264. aðsweorð.

F. GEATS AND FRANKS

In the following three passages we find allusions to an event which has a foundation in historical fact. Gregory of Tours relates in his *Historia Francorum* that 'Danes' under their king Chochilaicus attacked the Attoarii, a Frankish tribe dwelling on the lower Rhine, and were defeated by the Frankish king Theudebert, son of Theuderic, and their king Chochilaicus slain. In another early account of the event the leader of the invaders is spoken of as *Huiglaucus qui imperavit Getis*. These events took place near the site of the modern city of Cleves about the year 517 A.D. It is to be noted that the three allusions in *Beowulf* to the invasion are made by the poet, by Beowulf himself, and by a retainer of the hero respectively (see also *infra*, ll. 430 ff.). For the origin of the Franks see *Widsith* (No. 1), l. 24 n.

1. ll. 2354-2366

- 270 Nō þæt læsest wæs
 hondgemōt(a), þær mon Hygelāc slōh,
 syððan Gēata cyning gūðe ræsum,
 frēawine folca, Frēslandum on,
 Hrēðles eafora, hiorodryncum swealt
 275 bille gebēaten; þonan Bīowulf cōm
 sylfes cræfte, sundnytte drēah;
 hæfde him on earme [āna] þrīttig
 hildegatwa, þā hē tō holme [stā]g.
 Nealles Hetware hrēmge þorf[t]on
 280 fēðewiges, þe him foran ongēan
 linde bāron; lýt eft becwōm
 fram þām hildfreca hāmes nīosan.

2. ll. 2501-2508

- Syððan ic for dugeðum Dæghrefne wearð
 tō handbonan, Hūga cempa;
 285 nalles hē ðā frætwe Frēscyning(e),
 brēostweorðunge, bringan mōste,
 ac in compe gecrong cumbles hyrde,
 æþeling on elne. Ne wæs ecg bona,
 ac him hildegērāp heortan wylmas,
 290 bānhūs gebræc.

3. ll. 2910-2921

- Nū ys lēodum wēn
 orleghwīle, syððan under(ne)

Froncum ond Frȳsum fyll cyninges
 wīde weorðeð. Wæs sio wrōht scepen
 295 heard wið Hūgas, syððan Higelāc cwōm
 faran flotherge on Frēsna land,
 þær hyne Hetware hilde genægdon,
 elne geēodon mid ofermægene
 þæt se byrnwiga būgan sceolde,
 300 fēoll on fēðan ; nalles frætwe geaf
 ealdor dugoðe ; ūs wæs ā syððan
 Merewioingas milts ungyfeðe.

G. GEATS AND SWEDES

The references to the feuds between these peoples are more detailed than any other of the Germanic 'digressions' in *Beowulf*. The Swedes at the beginning of the sixth century A.D. dwelt to the N. and N.E. of the two great lakes Wener and Wetter ; the Geats occupied part of the territory now known as Götarike to the S. and S.W. of these lakes and thus were a maritime people whose coasts were within easy sail of the Danish islands. The chief city of the Geats was probably situated near the modern Göteborg. At a later period the Geats were conquered by the Swedes and became part of the Swedish kingdom, retaining however for centuries their national characteristics.

1. ll. 2472-2489

Beowulf, while taking leave of his followers before going to fight the dragon, recalls the events of his youth. He tells of the wars which followed the death of his grandfather Hrethel.

Þā wæs synn ond sacu Swēona ond Gēata
 ofer wīd [w]æter, wrōht gemæne,
 305 herenið hearda, syððan Hrēðel swealt.
 Ongenðēowes eaferan wāran
 frome, fyrdhwate ; frēode ne woldon
 ofer heafo healdan, ac ymb Hreosna-Beorh
 eatolne inwitscear oft gefremedon.
 310 Þæt mægwine mīne gewræcan,
 fāhðe ond fyrene, swā hyt gefræge wæs,
 þeah ðe oðer hiʒ ealdre gebohte,
 heardan cēape ; Hæðcynne wearð,
 Gēata dryhtne, gūð onsæge.

- 315 þā ic on morgne gefrægn mæg oðerne
 billes ecgum on bonan stælan,
 þær Ongenþēow Eofores nīosað;
 gūðhelm tōglād, gomela Scylfing
 hrēas (hilde)blāc; hond gemunde
 320 fæhðo genōge, feorhsweng ne oftēah.

2. ll. 2922-2998

The messenger who announces to the Geats the death of Beowulf recalls past feuds between Swedes and Geats. He continues the story begun by Beowulf.

- Ne ic tō Swēoðēode sibbe oððe trēowe
 wihte ne wēne, ac wæs wīde cūð
 þætte Ongenðio ealdre besnyðede
 Hæðcen Hrēþling wið Hrefna-Wudu,
 325 þā for onmēdlan ærest gesōhton
 Gēata lēode Gūð-Scilfingas.
 Sōna him sē frōda fæder Ōththeres,
 eald ond egesfull, ondslyht āgeaf,
 ābrēat brimwīsan, brȳd āfeorde
 330 gomela iōmēowlan golde berofene,
 Onelan mōdor ond Ōththeres,
 ond ðā folgode feorhgeniðlan
 oð ðæt hī oðēodon earfoðlice
 in Hrefnes-Holt hlāfordlēase.
 335 Besæt ðā sinherge sweorda lāfe
 wundum wērgē, wēan oft gehēt
 earmre teohhe ondlonge niht,
 cwæð hē on mergenne mēces ecgum
 gētan wolde, sum(e) on galgtreowu(m)
 340 (fuglum) tō gamene. Frōfor eft gelamp
 sārigmōdum somod ærdæge,
 syððan hīe Hygelāces horn ond bȳman,
 gealdor ongēaton, þā sē gōða cōm
 lēoda dugoðe on lāst faran.
 345 Wæs sīo swātswaðu Sw(ē)ona ond Gēata,
 wælræs weora, wīde gesȳne,
 hū ðā folc mid him fæhðe tōwehton.

- Gewāt him ðā sē gōða mid his gædelingum,
 frōd felageōmor, fæsten sēcean,
 350 eorl Ongenþio ufor oncirde—
 hæfde Higelāces hilde gefrūnen,
 wlonces wīcraeft, wiðres ne trūwode
 þæt hē sāmānum onsacan mihte,
 heaðoliðendum, hord forstandan,
 355 bearn ond brýde; bēah eft þonan
 eald under eorðweall. Þā wæs æht boden
 Swēona lēodum, segn Higelāce;
 freoðowong þone forð oferēodon,
 syððan Hrēðlingas tō hagan þrungon.
 360 Þær wearð Ongenðio ecgum sweorda,
 blondenfexa, on bid wrecen,
 þæt sē þeodcyning ðafian sceolde
 Eofores āne dōm; hyne yrringa
 Wulf Wonrēding wæpne geræhte,
 365 þæt him for swenge swāt ædrum sprong
 forð under fexe. Næs hē forht swāðēh,
 gomela Scilfing, ac forgeald hraðe
 wyrstan wrixle wælhlem þone,
 syððan ðeodcyning þyder oncirde.
 370 Ne meahte se snella sunu Wonrēdes
 ealdum ceorle hondslyht giofan,
 ac hē him on hēafde helm ær gescer,
 þæt hē blōde fāh būgan sceolde,
 fēoll on foldan; næs hē fæge þā gīt,
 375 ac hē hyne gewyrpte, þēah ðe him wund hrine.
 Lēt (þā) se hearda Higelāces þegn
 brād(n)e mēce, þā his brōðor læg,
 ealdsweord eotonisc entisene helm
 breccan ofer bordweal; ðā gebēah cyning,
 380 folces hyrde wæs in feorh dropen.
 Ðā wæron monige þe his mæg wriðon,
 ricone ārærdon, ðā him gerȳmed wearð
 þæt hīe wælstōwe wealdan mōston.
 Þenden rēafode rinc oðerne,
 385 nam on Ongenðio irenbyman,

- heardswyrd hilted ond his helm somod,
 hāres hyrste Higelāce bær.
 Hē ð[ām] frætsum fēng ond him fægre gehēt
 lēana [mid] lēodum ond gelæste swā ;
 390 geald þone gūðræs Gēata dryhten,
 Hrēðles eafora, þā hē tō hām becōm,
 Iofore ond Wulfe mid ofer mǣðmum,
 sealde hiora gehwæðrum hund þusenda
 landes ond locenra bēaga— ne ðorste him ðā lēan oðwitan
 395 mon on middangearde, syððā(n) hīe ðā mǣrða geslōgon—
 ond ðā Iofore forgeaf āngan dohtor
 hāmweorðunge, hylde tō wedde.

3. ll. 2379–2396

The *Beowulf* poet relates events long subsequent to those described in the preceding passages. Ongentheow, the Swedish king, was succeeded on the throne by his son Ohthere, who in turn was followed by his brother Onela. The former's two sons, having quarrelled with their uncle Onela, fled to the court of Hygelac's son, Heardred, now king of the Geats. Onela pursued his nephews and killed Heardred, who had taken their part. Beowulf succeeded Heardred as king of the Geats and afterwards helped Eadgils to take vengeance on his uncle Onela.

- Hyne wræcmæcgas
- ofer sǣ sōhtan, suna Ōhteres ;
 400 hæfdon hȳ forhealden helm Scylfinga,
 þone sēlestan sǣcýninga
 þāra ðe in Swīorīce sinc brytnade,
 mǣrne þēoden ; him þæt tō mearce wearð.
 Hē þær (f)or feorme feorhwunde hlēat
 405 sweordes swengum, sunu Hygelāces,
 ond him eft gewāt Ongenðioes bearn
 hāmes nīosan, syððān Heardrēd læg ;
 lēt ðone bregostōl Biowulf healdan,
 Gēatum wealdan ; þæt wæs gōd cýning.
 410 Sē ðæs lēodhryres lēan gemunde
 uferan dōgrum, Eadgilse wearð
 fēasceaftum frēond, folce gestēpte
 ofer sǣ sīde sunu Ōhteres
 wigum ond wǣpnum ; hē gewræc syððān
 415 cealdum cearsīðum, cýning ealdre binēat.

H. THE BROSINGS' NECKLACE

ll. 1192-1211

Hrothgar's queen, Wealhtheow, gives Beowulf a splendid collar as a reward for having slain the two Grendel monsters. It was comparable to the legendary *Brosinga mene*, the *Brisinga men* of the Icelandic *Edda*, where the necklace is worn by the goddess Freyja. But in the *Edda* there is no mention of Eormenric's possession of the treasure.

- Him wæs ful boren ond frēondlaþu
wordum bewægned, ond wunden gold
ēstum geēawed, earmrēade twā,
hrægl ond hringas, healsbēaga mæst
420 þāra þe ic on foldan gefrægen hæbbe.
Nænigne ic under swegle sēlran hȳrde
hordmāðm hæleþa, syððan Hāma ætwæg
tō þære byrhtan byrig Brōsinga mene,
sigle ond sincfæt; searonīðas flēah
425 Eormenrīces, gecēas ēcne ræd.
Þone hring hæfde Higelāc Gēata,
nefa Swertinges, nȳhstan siðe,
siððan hē under segne sinc ealgode,
wælrēaf werede; hyne wyrd fornam
430 syððan hē for wlenco wēan āhsode,
fæhðe tō Frȳsum; hē þā frætwe wæg,
eorclanstānas, ofer ȳða ful,
rīce þeoden; hē under rande gecranc.
Gehwearf þā in Francna fæþm feorh cyninges,
435 brēostgewædu, ond se bēah somod.

5. THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURH

This fragment of a lay, describing the attack on Hnæf's hall by Finn's followers, must be read in connexion with the Finn 'episode' in *Beowulf* (see No. 4 D *supra*). The relation to each other of the two narratives has been touched on in the introductory note to that episode. With its mixture of narrative and speeches the *Fight at Finnsburh* has a literary affinity with *Waldere* and the *Battle of Maldon*. That its subject and the names in it are part of the Germanic hero-story is not of itself clear proof of antiquity, for these stories were current till at least the beginning of the tenth century. The evidence of the language and style of the poem is not conclusive, though both

differ from those of the early poetry. The versification also differs considerably from that of *Widsith*, *Beowulf* and other A.-S. poems generally admitted to be of early date.

- [. hor]nas byrnað næfre.’
 Hlēoþrode ðā heaþogeong cyning :
 ‘Ne ðis ne dagað ēastan, ne hēr draca ne flēogeð,
 ‘ne hēr ðisse healle hornas ne byrnað,
 5 ‘ac hēr forþ berað
 fugelas singað,
 ‘gylleð græghama, gūðwudu hlynneð,
 ‘scyld scefte oncwýð. Nū scýneð þes mōna
 ‘wāðol under wolcnum ; nū ārisað wēadæda
 10 ‘ðe ðisne folces nīð fremman willað.
 ‘Ac onwacnigeað nū, wīgend mīne,
 ‘hebbað ēowre handa, hiegeaþ on ellen,
 ‘windað on orde, wesað on mōde.’
 Ðā ārās mænig goldhladen ðegn, gyrde hine his swurde ;
 15 ðā to dura ēodon drihtlice ceman,
 Sigeferð and Eaha hyra sword getugon,
 and æt oþrum durum Ordlāf and Gūplāf,
 and Hengest sylf hwearf him on lāste.
 Ðā gýt Gārulf Gūðere styrde,
 20 ðæt hē swā frēolic feorh forman sīþe
 tō ðære healle durum hyrsta ne bære,
 nū hyt nīþa heard ānyman wolde ;
 ac hē frægn ofer eal undearninga,
 dēormōd hæleþ, hwā ðā duru hēolde.
 25 ‘Sigeferþ is mīn nama, ic eom Secgena lēod,
 ‘wrecca wīde cūð ; fæla ic wēana gebād,
 ‘heardra hilda. Ðē is gýt hēr witod,
 ‘swæper ðū sylf tō mē sēcean wylle.’
 Ðā wæs on wealle wælslihta gehlyn,
 30 sceolde cel(l)od bord cēnum on handa,
 bānhelm berstan ; buruhðelu dynede,
 oð æt ðære gūðe Gārulf gecrang
 ealra ærest eorðbūendra,

2. hearo geong.

13. þindað.

25. nama cweþ he ic.

29. healle.

12. habbað landa ; hie geaþ.

19. styrde.

26. wecten.

30. celæs bord genumon handa.

21. bæran.

27. heordra.

Gūðlāfes sunu, ymbe hyne gōdra fæla,
 35 hwearflīcra hræw. Hræfen wandrode
 sweart and sealobrūn; swurdlēoma stōd,
 swylce eal Finn(e)s burh fýrenu wære.

Ne gefrægn ic nǣfre wurþlicor æt wera hilde
 sixty sigebeorna sēl gebæran,
 40 ne nēfre swātne medo sēl forgyldan,
 ðonne Hnæfe guldan his hægstealdas.
 Hig fuhton fīf dagas swā hyra nān ne fēol,
 drihtgesīða, ac hig ðā duru hēoldon.

Ðā gewāt him wund hæleð on wæg gangan,
 45 sǣde þæt his byrne ābrocen wære,
 heresceorpum hrōr, and ēac wæs his helm ðȳr(e)l.
 Ðā hine sōna frægn folces hyrde
 hū ðā wīgend hyra wunda genæson
 oððe hwæþer ðæra hyssa

35. hwearflacra hrær.

37. finnsburuh.

40. ne nefre swa noc hwitne medo.

II. ELEGIAC, LYRIC, AND MORALIZING

This section contains practically all that has survived of what a modern reader will regard as the most permanent and poetical part of Anglo-Saxon verse, *i.e.* the subjective element, which bears witness that our remote ancestors were men and women with sentiments and emotions like ourselves. When we read the lyrics of ancient China, of Greece and Rome, the centuries fall away and our mood attunes itself to that of old-time singers; even so is it when we listen to the complaint of an Anglo-Saxon minstrel who has lost his lord and is a wanderer in distant lands, or of an Anglo-Saxon woman who longs for her absent lover; or again, to the musings of a wise old man on the ways of mankind and the world.

6. THE WANDERER

This poem, like the next one, expresses longing, regret and disillusion; both of them speak the language of the heart. The *Wanderer* is a monologue by an old or elderly man who has long survived his lord and now, journeying far from home, has no friend to whom he may confide his sorrows, for he is too proud and sensitive to unbosom himself to strangers. He yearns to see the old faces and lives the old days over again, then awakes to the dreary present. He moralizes on the vanity of earthly things, the passing away of men and of the world itself, and finally he seeks consolation in his heavenly Father. In this poem and the next, the first sixty lines or so are the expression of personal feeling; the remaining lines are somewhat trite moralizing.

Judged by their language and metre these poems may be nearly as old as *Beowulf*, but here, as in other cases, the internal evidence is not decisive as to the date of composition. There is a noticeable absence in the *Wanderer* of 'kennings' or equivalents, which are such a prominent feature of A.-S. poetry; see Appendix, § 5.

Oft him ānhaga	āre gebīdeð,
Metudes miltse,	þeah þe hē mōdcearig
geond lagulāde	longe sceolde
hrēran mid hondum	hrīmcealde sǣ,
5 wadan wræclāstas ;	wyrd bið ful āræd.
Swā cwæð eardstapa	earfeþa gemyndig,

- wrāþra wælsleahta, winemāga hryre :
 Oft ic sceolde āna ūhtna gehwylce
 mīne ceare cwīþan ; nis nū cwicra nān
 10 þe ic him mōdsefan mīnne durre
 sweotule āsecgan. Ic tō sōþe wāt
 þæt biþ in eorle indryhten þēaw
 þæt hē his fer(h)ðlocan fæste binde,
 healde his hordcofan, hycge swā hē wille.
 15 Ne mæg wērig mōd wyrde wiðstondan,
 ne se hrēo hyge helpe gefremman ;
 for ðon dōmgeorne drēorigne oft
 in hyra brēostcofan bindað fæste.
 Swā ic mōdsefan mīnne sceolde
 20 oft earmcearig, ēðle bidæled,
 frēomægum feor feterum sælan,
 siþþan gēara iū goldwine mīn(n)e
 hrūsan heolster biwrah ond ic hēan þonan
 wōd wintercearig ofer waþema gebind,
 25 sōhte sele drēorig sinces bryttan,
 hwær ic feor oþþe nēah findan meahte
 þone þe in meoduhealle mīn(n)e wisse,
 oþþe mec frēondlēas(n)e frēfran wolde,
 wenian mid wynnum. Wāt sē þe cunnað
 30 hū slīpen bið sorg tō gefēran
 þām þe him lýt hafað lēofra geholena ;
 warað hine wræclāst, nales wunden gold,
 fer(h)ðloca frēorig, nalæs foldan blæd ;
 gemon hē selesecgas ond sincþege,
 35 hū hine on geoguðe his goldwine
 wenede tō wiste ; wyn eal gedrēas.
 For þon wāt sē þe sceal his winedryhtnes
 lēofes lārcwidum longe forþolian,
 ðonne sorg ond slāp somod ætgædre
 40 earmne ānhogan oft gebindað—
 ðinceð him on mōde þæt hē his mondryhten
 clyppe ond cýsse ond on cnēo lecge
 honda ond hēafod, swā hē hwilum ær
 in gēardagum giefstōlas brēc.

- 45 Ðonne onwæcneð eft winelēas guma,
 gesihð him biforan fealwe wēgas,
 baþian brimfuglas, brædan feþra,
 hrēosan hrīm ond snāw hagle gemenged.
 Ðonne bēoð þȳ hefigran heortan benne,
- 50 sære æfter swæsum; sorg bið genīwad;
 þonne māga gemynd mōd geondhweorfeð;
 grēteð glīwstafum, georne geondscēawað
 secga geseldan; swimmað eft on weg,
 flēotendra fer(h)ð nō þær fela bringeð
- 55 cūðra cwidegiedda; cearo bið genīwad
 þām þe sendan sceal swīþe geneahhe
 ofer waþema gebind wērigne sefan.
 For þon ic geþencan ne mæg geond þās woruld
 for hwan mōdsefa mīn ne gesweorce
- 60 þonne ic eorla lif eal geondþence,
 hū hī færlīce flet ofgēafon,
 mōdge maguþegnas. Swā þes middangeard
 ealra dōgra gehwām drēoseð ond fealleþ;
 for þon ne mæg weorðan wīs wer ær hē āge
- 65 wintra dæl in woruldrīce. Wita sceal geþyldig,
 ne sceal nō tō hātheort, ne tō hrædwyrde,
 ne tō wāc wiga, ne tō wanhȳdig,
 ne tō forht, ne tō fægen, ne tō feohgīfre,
 ne næfre gielpes tō georn, ær hē geare cunne.
- 70 Beorn sceal gebīdan, þonne hē bēot spriceð,
 oþ þæt collenfer(h)ð cunne gearwe
 hwider hreþra gehygd hweorfan wille.
 Ongietan sceal glēaw hæle hū gæstlic bið,
 þonne ealre þisse worulde wela wēste stondeð,
- 75 swā nū missenlice geond þisne middangeard
 winde biwāune weallas stondaþ,
 hrīme bihrorene, hrȳðge þā ederas.
 Wōriað þā wīnsalo, waldend licgað
 drēame bidrorene; duguð eal gecrong
- 80 wlonc bī wealle; sume wīg fornōm,
 ferede in forðwege; sumne fugel oþbær

50. swæsum *S.*, swæsne *MS.*

53. oft.

64. wearðan.

74. ealle.

ofer hēanne holm ; sumne se hāra wulf
 dēaðe gedælde ; sumne drēorighlēor
 in eorðscræfe eorl gehydde.

85 Ȝpde swā þisne eardgeard ælda Scyppend,
 oþ þæt burgwara breahmta lēase,
 eald enta geweorc idlu stōdon.

Sē þonne þisne wealsteal wīse gepohte
 ond þis deorce lif dēope geondþenceð,

90 frōd in fer(h)ðe, feor oft gemon
 wælsleahta worn ond þās word ācwið :

‘Hwær cwōm mearg? hwær cwōm mago? hwær cwōm māþþum-
 gyfa?

‘hwær cwōm symbla gesetu? hwær sindon seledrēamas?

‘Ēalā, beorht bune! ēalā, byrnwiga!

95 ‘ēalā, þēodnes þrym! hū sēo þræg gewāt,

‘genāp under nihthelm swā hēo nō wære!

‘Stondeð nū on lāste lēofre duguþe

‘weal wundrum hēah, wyrmlīcum fāh;

‘eorlas fornōman asca þrȳþe,

100 ‘wāpen wælgīfru, wyrd sēo mære,

‘ond þās stānhleoþu stormas cnysað;

‘hrīð hrēosende hrūsa(n) bindeð,

‘wintres wōma, þonne won cymeð,

‘nīpeð nihtscūa, norþan onsendeð

105 ‘hrēo hæglfare hæleþum on andan.

‘Eall is earfoðlic eorþan rīce,

‘onwendeð wyrda gesceaft weoruld under heofonum;

‘hēr bið feoh lāene, hēr bið frēond lāene,

‘hēr bið mon lāene, hēr bið mæg lāene;

110 ‘eal þis eorþan gesteal idel weorþeð.’

Swā cwæð snottor on mōde, gesæt him sundor æt rūne.

Til biþ sē þe his trēowe gehealdeð; ne sceal nāfre his torn tō
 rycene

beorn of his brēostum ācȳþan, nemþe hē ār þā bōte cunne,

eorl mid clne gefremman. Wēl bið þām þe him āre sēceð,

115 frōfre tō Fæder on heofonum, þær ūs eal sēo fæstnung stondeð.

7. THE SEAFARER

We can hardly doubt that this poem is by the same author as the preceding one; there is the same sadness, self-pity, longing and weariness. If anything, the feeling is more intense, with alternations of phase; now the hardships of sea-life are uppermost in the writer's thoughts, now the irresistible call of that life. After l. 64 the poem, like the preceding one, relapses into conventional moralizing. We have omitted 22 or 23 lines with which the poem ends in the MS., as they are definitely religious rather than moralizing. It is possible that the latter part of this poem and of the *Wanderer* may have been later 'tail-pieces' added by some monk for purposes of edification.

- Mæg ic be mē sylfum sōðgied wrecan,
 sīþas secgan, hū ic geswincdagum
 earfoðhwīle oft þrōwade,
 bitre brēostceare gebiden hæbbe,
 5 gecunnad in cēole cearselda fela,
 atol yþa gewealc, þær mec oft bigeat
 nearo nihtwaco æt nacan stefnan,
 þonne hē be clifum cnossað. Calde geþrunge
 mīne fēt wæron, forste gebunden,
 10 caldum clommum; þær þā ceare seofedun
 hāt ymb heortan; hungor innan slāt
 merewērges mōd. Ðæt se mon ne wāt,
 þe him on foldan fægrost limpeð,
 hū ic earmcearig īscealdne sē
 15 winter wunade wræccan lāstum,
 (. . . .), winemægum bidroren,
 bihongen hrīmgicelum; hægl scūrum flēag.
 Ðær ic ne gehyrde būtan hlimman sē,
 īscaldne wæg, hwīlum ylfete song;
 20 dyde ic mē tō gomene ganetes hlēoþor
 ond huilpan swēg fore hleahtor wera,
 mæw singende fore medodrince.
 Stormas þær stānclicu bēotan, þær him stearn oncwæð
 īsigfeþera; ful oft þæt earn bigeal
 25 ūrigfeþra (. . . .)
) Nænig hlēomæga,
 fēasceaftig fer(h)ð, fēran meahte.
 For þon him gelýfeð lýt sē þe āh līfes wyn,

9. wæron mine fet.

- gebiden in burgum bealosīþa hwōn,
 wlonc ond wīngāl, hū ic wērig oft
 30 in brimlāde bīdan sceolde.
 Nāp nihtscūa, norþan snīwde,
 hrīm hrūsan bond, hægł fēol on eorþan,
 corna caldast. For þon cnyssað nū
 heortan geþohtas, þæt ic hēan strēamas,
 35 sealtȳþa gelāc, sylf cunnige ;
 monað mōdes lust mæla gehwylce
 fer(h)ð tō fēran, þæt ic feor heonan
 elþeodigra eard gesēce.
 For þon nis þæs mōdwlonc mon ofer eorþan
 40 ne his gifena þæs gōd, ne in geoguþe tō þæs hwæt,
 ne in his dædum tō þæs dēor, ne him his dryhten tō þæs hold,
 þæt hē ā his sǣfōre sorge næbbe,
 tō hwon hine dryhten gedōn wille.
 Ne biþ him tō hearpan hyge ne tō hringþege
 45 ne tō wīfe wyn ne tō worulde hyht
 ne ymbe ōwiht elles nefne ymb ȳða gewealc,
 ac ā hafað longunge sē þe on lagu fundað.
 Bearwas blōstmum nimað, byrig fægriað,
 wongas wlitig(i)að, woruld ōnetteð ;
 50 ealle þā gemoniað mōdes fūsne
 sefan tō siðe, þām þe swā þenceð
 on flōdwegas feor gewītan ;
 swylce gēac monað geōmran reorde,
 singeð sumeres weard, sorge bēodeð
 55 bitter in brēosthord. Þæt se beorn ne wāt,
 secg ēstēadig, hwæt þā sume drēogað
 þe þā wræclāstas wīdost lecgað.
 For þon nū mīn hyge hweorfeð ofer hreþerlocan,
 mīn mōdsefa mid mereflōde
 60 ofer hwæles ēþel hweorfeð wīde,
 eorþan scēatas ; cymeð eft tō mē
 gīfre ond grǣdig, gielleð ānfloga,
 hweteð on (h)wælweg hreþer unwearnum
 ofer holma gelagu ; for þon mē hātran sind
 65 Dryhtnes drēamas þonne þis dēade līf,

- lāene on londe ; ic gelȳfe nō
 þæt him eorðwelan ēce stondað.
 Simle þrēora sum þinga gehwylce,
 ær his tīd *āgā*, tō twēon weorþeð :
- 70 ādl oþþe ylðo oþþe ecghete
 fægum fromweardum feorh oðþringeð.
 For þon (is) þæt eorla gehwām æftercweþendra,
 lof lifgendra, lāstworda betst,
 þæt hē gewyrce, ær hē on weg scyle :
- 75 fremman on foldan wið fēonda nīþ
 dēorum dædum dēofle tōgēanes
 þæt hine ælda bearn æfter hergen
 ond his lof siþþan lifge mid englum
 āwa tō ealdre, ēcan lifes blæd,
- 80 drēam mid dugeþum. Dagas sind gewitene,
 ealle onmēdlan eorþan rīces ;
 ne (a)ron nū cyningas ne cāseras
 ne goldgiefan swylce iū wæron,
 þonne hī mæst mid him mærpā gefremedon
- 85 ond on dryhtlicestum dōme lifdon ;
 gedroren is þeos duguð eal, drēamas sind gewitene ;
 wuniað þā wācran ond þās woruld healdap,
 brūcað þurh bisgo. Blæd is gehnæged,
 eorþan indryhto ealdað ond searað,
- 90 swā nū monna gehwylc geond middangeard ;
 ylðo him on fareð, onsȳn blācað,
 gomelfeax gnornað, wāt his iūwine,
 æþelinga bearn, eorþan forgiefene.
 Ne mæg him þonne se flæschoma, þonne him þæt feorg losað,
- 95 ne swēte forswelgan ne sār gefēlan
 ne hond onhrēran ne mid hyge þencan.
 Þeah hē græf wille golde strēgan,
 brōþor his geborenum, byrgan be dēadum
 māþmum mislicum þæt hē ne mid wille,
- 100 ne mæg þære sāwle þe biþ synna ful
 gold tō gēoce for Godes egsan,
 þonne hē hit ær hȳdeð, þenden hē hēr leofað.

8. A WOMAN'S COMPLAINT

A woman gives utterance to her despair and longing for her lover, who has been driven into exile by his enemies. She is forced to live in a cave hollowed beneath an oak in a wild mountain glen, where she spends her days in sorrow. She calls down misfortune on the head of the man who is the cause of her troubles.

This moving little poem is a genuine lyric, which for sincerity and direct appeal to our hearts challenges comparison with the songs of any literature. Together with *Wolf and Eadwacer* and the *Husband's Message* it represents all that has survived of A.-S. love poetry. Fortunately they have escaped the attentions of the moralizing ecclesiastics who have come near spoiling some of the genuine poetry of the Anglo-Saxons. At the same time we must not forget that more of the A.-S. lyrics might have survived if they had received such attentions.

- Ic þis giedd wrece bi mē ful geōmorre ;
 mīnre selfre sīð ; ic þæt secgan mæg,
 hwæt ic yrmþa gebād siþþan ic ūp wēox,
 nīwes oþþe ealdes, nō mā þonne nū ;
- 5 ā ic wīte wonn mīnra wræcsiþa.
 Ærest mīn hlāford gewāt heonan of lēodum
 ofer ȝþa gelāc ; hæfde ic ūhtceare
 hwær mīn lēodfruma londes wære ;
 ðā ic mē fēran gewāt folgað sēcan,
- 10 winelēas wræcca, for mīnre wēaþearfe.
 Ongunnon þæt þæs monnes māgas hycgan
 þurh dyrne geþoht þæt hȝ tōdælden unc,
 þæt wit gewīdost in woruldrīce
 lifdon lāðlicost ond mec longade.
- 15 Hēt mec hlāford mīn hēr heard niman ;
 āhte ic lēofra lȝt on þissum londstede,
 holdra frēonda. Forþon is mīn hyge geōmor,
 ðā ic mē ful gemæcne monnan funde
 heardsæligne, hygegeōmorne,
- 20 mōd mīþendne, morþor hycgend(n)e.
 Ful oft wit bēotedan bliþe gebærum
 þæt unc ne gedælde, nemne dēað āna,
 ōwīht elles. Eft is þæt onhworfen,
 is nū (. . .) swā hit nō wære,
- 25 frēondscipe uncer. Sceal ic feor ge nēah

- mīnes felalēofan fāhðū drēogan.
 Heht mec mon wunian on wuda bearwe
 under āctrēo in þām eorðscræfe ;
 eald is þes eorðsele, eal ic eom oflongað ;
 30 sindon dena dimme, dūnu ūphēa,
 bitre burgtūnas, brērum beweaxne,
 wīc wynna lēas. Ful oft mec hēr wrāþe begeat
 fromsīþ frēan. Frýnd sind on eorþan
 lēofe lifgende, leger weardiað,
 35 þonne ic on ūhtan āna gonge
 under āctrēo geond þās eorðscrafu.
 Þær ic sittan mōt sumorlangne dæg,
 þær ic wēpan mæg mīne wræcsīþas,
 earfoþa fela, forþon ic æfre ne mæg
 40 þære mōdceare mīnre gerestan,
 ne ealles þæs longapes þe mec on þissum life begeat
 Ā scyle geong mon wesan geōmormōd,
 heard heortan geþoht, swylce habban sceal
 bliþe gebæro, ēac þon brēostceare,
 45 sinsorga gedrēag ; sý æt him sylfum gelong
 eal his worulde wyn, sý ful wīde fāh
 feorres folclondes, þæt mīn frēond siteð
 under stānhliþe storme behrīmed,
 wine wērigmōd, wætre beflōwen
 50 on drēorsele. Drēogeð se mīn wine
 micle mōdceare ; hē gemon tō oft
 wynlicran wīc. Wā bið þām þe sceal
 of langoþe lēofes ābīdan.

9. THE HUSBAND'S MESSAGE

A piece of wood with letters carved on it is speaking to a woman. After telling her its own history it says that it has been sent with a message by the man with whom in former days she exchanged vows of love and constancy. Forced by his enemies to flee from his native land, he has now won wealth and position in a foreign country, and he sends the wooden messenger to exhort his mistress to cross the sea as soon as ever the cuckoo sings, and share with him his good fortune. On the wood are carved five rune-letters, which when rearranged, form the word 'sword.' By this the man shows his mistress that he

remembers the vows which once he swore on his sword, the most solemn way of taking an oath; (for another interpretation see note to ll. 66 ff.).

We print here as one poem the two short pieces which immediately follow *Riddle* No. 59 of the collection of A.-S. riddles in the codex known as the Exeter Book. The first of these two pieces has always been regarded as a riddle and printed as No. 61 of the collection. The second has hitherto been printed separately under the title of the *Husband's Message*. But, as Blackburn pointed out in the *Journal of Germanic Philology*, iii. 1 (1900), the two pieces treat of the same theme, are in fact one poem; moreover the first does not end like the other riddles by asking the reader to guess its meaning. The compiler of the collection failed to notice that the two pieces are one poem. While the form of the whole piece, especially the use of the first personal pronoun by an inanimate object and the use of rune-letters to form an anagram, might perhaps justify its inclusion in our selection of riddles (see No. 24), its tender feeling places it alongside the *Woman's Complaint*, of which, indeed, it may have been intended to be the complement.

Parts of the text, illegible or destroyed in the MS., have been conjecturally restored by the present editor.

- Ic wæs be sonde, sǣwealle nēah,
æt merefaroþe, mīnum gewunade
frumstaþole fæst; fēa ænig wæs
monna cynnes þæt mīnne þær
5 on ānǣde eard behēolde,
ac mec ūhtna gehwām ȳð sīo brūne
lagufǣðme belēolc. Lȳt ic wēnde
þæt ic ær oþþe sīð æfre sceolde
ofer meodu(bence) mūðlēas sprecan,
10 wordum wrixlan. Þæt is wundres dæl,
on sefan searolic, þām þe swylc ne conn,
hū mec seaxes ord ond sēo swīþre hond,
eorles ingeþonc, ond ord samod,
þingum geþýðan, þæt ic wiþ þē sceolde
15 for unc ānum twām ærendspræce
ābēodan bealdlice, swā hit beorna mā,
uncre wordcwidas, wīdor ne mǣnden.
Nū ic onsundran þē secgan wille
[be] trēocyn[ne]. Ic tudre āwēox,
20 [ond] mec æl[ces] sceal ellor londes
set[ta]n on sīðas], sealte strēa[mas
fūs oferfēran frēan be hǣ]se.
Ful oft ic on bātes [bōsme] gesōhte
þær mec mondryhten mīn [on]sende]

- 25 ofer hēahhafu ; eom nū hēr cumen
on cēolþele, ond nu cunnan sceal
hū þū ymb mōdlufan mīnes frēan
on hyge hycge. Ic gehātan dear
þæt þū þær tīrfæste trēowe findest.
- 30 Hwæt, þec þonne biddan hēt, sē þisne bēam āgrōf,
þæt þū sinchroden sylf gemunde
on gewitlocan wordbēotunga
þe git on ārdagum oft gesprācon,
þenden git mōston on meoduburgum
- 35 eard weardigan, ān lond būgan,
frēondscype fremman. Hine fāhþo ādrāf
of sigeþēode ; heht nū sylfa þē
lustum lāran þæt þū lagu drēfde,
siþþan þū gehyrd e on hliþes ōran
- 40 galan geōmorne gēac on bearwe.
Ne lāet þū þec siþþan siþes getwāefan,
lāde gelettan, lifgendne monn ;
ongin mere sēcan, mēwes ēþel,
onsite sēnacan, þæt þū sūð heonan
- 45 ofer merelāde monnan findest,
þær se þēoden is þīn on wēnum.
Ne mæg him worulde willa (gelimpan)
māra on gemyndum, þæs þe hē mē sægde,
þonne inc geunne alwaldend God
- 50 [þæt git] ætsomne siþþan mōtan
secgum ond gesiþum [sinc brytnian,
n]ægled e bēagas ; hē genōh hafað
fæ(t)an go[ldes. Frēa sylfa cwæð
þæt hē on] elþēode ēþel healde,
- 55 fægre fold[an, folgað hæbbe
wlanc]ra hæleþa, þēah þe hēr mīn wi[nedryhten]
nȳde gebæded nacan ūt āþrong,
ond on ȳþa (be)gong [āna] sceolde
faran on flotweg, forðsiþes georn
- 60 mangan merestrēamas. Nū se mon hafað
wēan oferwunnen ; nis him wilna gād,
ne mēara ne māðma, ne meododrēama

ænges ofer eorþan, eorlgestrēona,
 þeodnes dohtor, gif hē þīn benēah,
 65 ofer eald gebēot incer twēga.
 Gecyr(r)e ic ætsomne S(igel), R(ād) geador,
 EO(lh), W(ēn) ond D(æg), āþe benemnan
 þæt hē þā wære ond þā winetrēowe
 be him lifgendum læstan wolde,
 70 þe git on ærdagum oft gespræcon.

10. WOLF AND EADWACER

Again a woman is speaking ; her lover, an outlaw named Wolf, is, she says, in danger of his life from her kinsmen ; her heart is filled with desire to see him again. Then she seems to fling a taunt at another man, Eadwacer, with whom apparently she is forced to live. The form of this little poem is interesting, as it reveals a crude attempt to divide the whole into stanzas of irregular length. The refrain *ungelic(e) is us* reminds us of the refrain in *Deor* (No. 3). Each of ll. 4, 9, 13 begins with the name of the woman's lover. We seem to have here an early example of verse-forms which centuries afterwards received such varied development in the Icelandic *ljóðahattr*. Till recently this poem, which in the MS. immediately precedes the collection of A.-S. *Riddles*, was regarded as the first of the riddles and ascribed to Cynewulf.

Lēodum is mīnum swylce him mon lāc gife :
 Willað hȳ hine āþecgan, gif hē on þrēat cymeð.
 Ungelic is ūs :
 Wulf is on īege, ic on oþerre ;
 5 fæst is þæt ēglond, fenne biworpen ;
 sindon wælrēowe weras þær on īge ;
 willað hȳ hine āþecgan, gif hē on þrēat cymeð.
 Ungelice is ūs :
 Wulfes ic mīnes wīdlāstum wēnum hogode
 10 þonne hit wæs rēnig weder ond ic rēotugu sæt,
 þonne mec se beaducāfa bōgum bilegde ;
 wæs mē wyn tō þon, wæs mē hwæpre ēac lāð.
 Wulf, mīn Wulf, wēna mē þīne
 sēoce gedydon, þīne seldcymas,
 15 murnende mōd, nales metelīste.
 Gehȳrest þū, Eadwacer ? Uncerne ear(m)ne hwelp
 bireð Wulf tō wuda ;

þæt mon ēaþe tōslīteð, þætte nǣfre gesomnad wæs,
uncer giedd geador.

11. ELEGIAC AND MORALIZING PASSAGES IN *BEOWULF*

Apart from the three passages here reproduced, the moralizing and elegiac vein is not obtrusive in *Beowulf*, being confined to occasional pithy comments of a line or two. The first of the passages treats of a favourite theme of ancient and mediæval writers, the progress to power of the arrogant, vainglorious ruler and his ultimate fall. The second passage begins with an apostrophe to the earth, in which the dragon's treasure is hidden, and goes on to dwell on the fate of those who once possessed the treasure and are now passed away. The theme and tone are those of the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*. The third selection is interesting as presenting us with an example of a moral dilemma in a tragic situation. The tragic note we have already seen in the incident of the old Heathobard warrior who incites the young one to avenge his father on the Dane who slew him and in the story of Finn (see Nos. 4 D and E).

A. THE ARROGANT RULER

11. 1724-57

Hrothgar is speaking in a moralizing vein to Beowulf.

Wundor is tō secgan

- hū mihtig God manna cynne
þurh sīdne sefan snyttru bryttað,
eard ond eorlscipe; hē āh ealra geweald.
5 Hwīlum hē on (h)līsan hworfan lǣteð
monnes mōdgebenc mǣran cynnies,
seleð him on ēþle eorþan wynne
tō healdanne, hlēoburh weras,
gedēð him swā gewældene worolde dǣlas,
10 sīde rice, þæt hē his selfa ne mæg
his unsnyttrum ende gebencean;
wunað hē on wiste, nō hine wiht dweleð
ād̥l ne yl̥do, ne him inwitsorh
on sefan sweorceð, ne gesaca ðhwær
15 ecghete ēoweð, ac him eal worold
wendeð on willan; hē þæt wyrse ne con
oð þæt him on innan oferhygda dǣl

5. lufan lǣteð hworfan; hlisan S.

14. gesacu.

- weaxeð ond wrīdað, þonne se weard swefeð,
 sāwele hyrde— bið se slæp tō fæst—
 20 *bisgum gebunden, bona swiðe nēah*
sē þe of flānbogan fyrenum scēoteð.
 Þonne bið on hreþre under helm drepem
 biteran stræle, him bebeorgan ne con
 wōm wundorbebodum wērgan gāstes;
 25 *þinceð him tō lýtrel þæt hē lange hēold,*
gýtsað gromhýdig, nallas on gylp seleð
fætte bēagas, ond hē þā forðgesceaft
forgyteð ond forgýmeð, þæs þe him ær God sealde,
wuldres waldend, weorðmynda dæl.
 30 *Hit on endestæf eft gelimpeð*
þæt se lichoma læne gedrēoseð,
fæge gefealleð; fēhð oþer tō,
sē þe unmunlice mādmas dæleþ,
eorles ærgestrēon, egesan ne gýmeð.
 35 *Bebeorh þē ðone bealonīð, Bēowulf lēofa,*
secg(a) betsta, ond þē þæt sēlre gecēos,
ēce rædas; oferhýda ne gým,
mære cempa. Nū is þines mægnes blæd
āne hwīle; eft sōna bið
 40 *þæt þec ādl oððe ecg eafopes getwæfeð,*
oððe fýres feng, oððe flōdes wylm,
oððe gripe mēces, oððe gāres fliht,
oððe atol ylðo, oððe ēagena bearhtm
forsiteð ond forsworceð; semninga bið
 45 *þæt ðec, dryhtguma, dēað oferswýðeð.*

B. BURIED TREASURE

ll. 2231-66.

- þær wæs swylcra fela
 in ðām eorð[hū]se ærgestrēona,
 swā hý on gēardagum gumena nāthwylc,
 eormenlāfe æþelan cynnes,
 50 þanchycgende þær gehýdde,
 ðeore mādmas. Ealle hīe dēað fōrnām

- ærran mælum, ond sē ān ðā gēn
 lēoda duguðe, sē ðær lengest hwearf,
 wearð winegeōmor; wēnde þæs ylcan,
 55 þæt hē lýt℥el fæc longgestrēona
 brūcan mōste. Beorh eallgearo
 wunode on wonge wæterȳðum nēah,
 nīwe be næsse, nearocræftum fæst;
 þær on innan bær eorlgestrēona
 60 hringa hyrde hordwyrðne dæl,
 fættan goldes, fēa worda cwæð:
 'Heald þū nū, hrūse, nū hæleð ne mōston,
 'eorla æhte. Hwæt, hyt ær on ðē
 'gōde begēaton; gūðdēað fornam,
 65 'feorhbealo frēcne, fȳra gehwylcne
 'lēoda mīnra þāra ðe þis (līf) ofgeaf;
 'gesāwon seledrēam. [Ic] nāh hwā sweord wege,
 'oððe f[eormie] fæted wæge,
 'dryncfæt dēore; dug[uð] ellor sōc.
 70 'Sceal se hearda helm [hyr]sted golde
 'fættum befeallen; feormynd swefað
 'þā ðe beadogrīman bȳwan sceoldon,
 'ge swylce sēo herepād, sīo æt hilde gebād
 'ofer borda gebræc bite īren(n)a,
 75 'brosnað æfter beorne. Ne mæg byrnan hring
 'æfter wīgfruman wīde fēran
 'hæleðum be healfe; nī's hearpan wyn,
 'gomen glēobēames, ne gōd hafoc
 'geond sæl swingeð, ne se swifta mearh
 80 'burhstede bēateð. Bealocwealm hafað
 'fela feorhcynna f[orð] onsended.'

C. AN INEXPIABLE CRIME

ll. 2444-62

Beowulf has been speaking of a sad event in the life of Hrethel, king of the Geats, the father of Herebeald, Hæthcen and Hygelac. Hæthcen accidentally killed Herebeald with an arrow (*miste mercelses*). This death is called *feohleas*

52. si.

60. hardwyrðne.

62. mæston.

69. seoc.

77. næs.

gefeohht, i.e. manslaughter for which no sum of money could compensate, a case unprovided for by tribal law. Beowulf then goes on to moralize on the sad fate of an old father whose son has to pay the penalty of death.

Swā bið geōmorlic gomelum ceorle
 tō gebīdanne þæt his byre rīde
 giong on galgan; þonne hē gyd wrece(ð),
 85 sārigne sang, þonne his sunu hangað
 hrefne tō hrōðre, ond hē him helpe ne mæg,
 eald ond infrōd, ænige gefremman.
 Symble bið gemyndgad morna gehwylce
 eaforan ellorsīð; oðres ne gȳmeð

90 tō gebīdanne burgum in innan
 yrfeweardas, þonne sē ān hafað
 þurh dēaðes nȳd dāda gefondad.
 Gesyðð sorhcearig on his suna būre
 wīnsele wēstne, windgereste
 95 rēote berofene; rīdend swefað,
 hæleð in hoðman; nis þær hearpan swēg,
 gomen in geardum, swylc ðær iū wāron.
 Gewīteð þonne on sealman, sorhlēoð gæleð
 ān æfter ānum; þūhte him eall tō rūm,
 100 wongas ond wīcstede. Swā Wedra helm
 æfter Herebealde heortan sorge
 weallinde wæg, wihte ne meahte
 on ðām feorhbonan fāghðe gebētan;
 nō oȳ ær hē þone heaðorinc hatian ne meahte
 105 lāðum dædum, þeah him lēof ne wæs.

12. A BAD CHARACTER

The character and behaviour of an arrogant, spiteful man are described, and his fate is contrasted with that of a good, kind-hearted man. These lines are obviously written by an ecclesiastic as a warning example. The last part of the poem, consisting of thirty-five lines, which describes the punishment after death of the bad man and the heavenly reward of the good, is here omitted. The date cannot be early.

Hwæt, mē frōd wita on fyrndagum
 sægde, snottor ār, sundorwundra fela;
 wordhord onwrah wītgan lārum

- beorn bōca glēaw, bodan ærcwide,
 5 þæt ic sōðlice siððan meahte
 ongitan bi þām gealdre Godes āgen bearn,
 wilgest on wīcum, ond þone wācran swā some
 scyldum bescyredne on gesceād witan.
 Þæt mæg æghwylc mon ēaþe geþencan,
 10 sē þe hine (ne) lāteð on þās lānan tid
 āmyrran his gemyndum mōdes gælsan,
 ond on his dægriðe druncen tō rice.
 Þonne monige bēoð mæpelhergendra,
 wlonce wīgsmiþas, wīnburgum in,
 15 sittap æt symble, sōðgied wrecað,
 wordum wrixlað, witan fundiaþ,
 hwylc æscstede inne in ræcede
 mid werum wunige; þonne wīn hweteð
 beornes brēostsefan, breahm stigeð,
 20 cirm on corþre, cwide scralletap
 missenlice. Swā bēoþ mōdsefan
 dǣlum gedæled, sindon dryhtguman
 ungelice. Sum on oferhygdo
 þrymme þringeð, þrinteð him in innan
 25 ungedemad mōd; sindan tō monige þæt.
 Bið þæt æþonca eal gefylled
 fēondes fligepīlum, fācensearwum;
 brēodað hē ond bælceð, bōð his sylfes
 swiþor micle þonne se sēlla mon,
 30 þenceð þæt his wīse welhwām þince
 eal unforcūþ. Biþ þæs oþer swice,
 þonne hē þæs fācnes fintan sceāwað;
 wrenceþ hē ond blenceþ, worn geþenceþ
 hinderhōca, hygegār lēteð,
 35 scūrum scēoteþ, hē þā scylde ne wāt
 fæhþe gefremede, fēohþ his betran
 eorl fore æfstum, lāteþ inwitflān
 breacan þone burgweal þe him bebēad Meotud,
 þæt hē þæt wīgsteal wergan sceolde.
 40 Siteþ symbelwlonc, searwum lāteð,
 wīne gewæged, word ūt faran,

- þræfte þringan þrymme gebyrmed,
 æfestum onæled, oferhygda ful,
 nīþum, nearowrencum. Nū þū cunnan meaht,
 45 gif þū þyslicne þegn gemittest
 wunian in wīcum; wite þē be þissum
 fēawum forðspellum þæt þæt biþ fēondes bearn,
 flæsce bifongen; hafað fræte lif
 grundfūsne gæst, Gode orfeorme,
 50 wuldorcynninge.

13. THE FATES OF MEN

In this poem, with which may be compared portions of the *Gifts of Men* (No. 21 B), are described the various fortunes which await young men when they leave their parents and go out into the world. There are several pictures of striking vividness, *e.g.* those of the malefactor on the gallows and of the victim of strong drink. As in the case of the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*, the first sixty lines or so are superior in quality to the latter part of the poem, which may be a later addition.

- Ful oft þæt gegongeð mid Godes meahtum
 þætte wer ond wif in woruld cennað
 bearn mid gebyrdum ond mid blēom gyrwað,
 tennap ond tæcaph, oþþæt sēo tīd cymeð,
 5 gegæð gēarrīmum, þæt þā geongan leomu,
 liffæstan leoþu, geloden weorþað.
 Fergað swā ond fēdað fæder ond mōdor,
 giefað ond gierwaþ; God āna wāt
 hwæt him weaxendum winter bringað.
 10 Sumum þæt gegongeð on geoguðfēore
 þæt se endestæf earfeð mægum,
 wēalīc weorþeð; sceal hine wulf etan,
 hār hāðstapa; hinsīþ þonne
 mōdor bimurneð; ne bið swylc monnes geweald.
 15 Sumne sceal hungor āhyþan, sumne sceal hrēoh fordrīfan,
 sumne sceal gār āgētan, sumne gūð ābrēotan.
 Sum sceal lēomena lēas lifes nēotan,
 folmum ætfeohthan, sum on fēðe lēf,

- seonobennum sēoc, sār cwānian,
 20 murnan meotudgesceaft, mōde gebysgad.
 Sum sceal on holte of hēan bēame
 fīperlēas feallan, bið on flihte seþēah,
 lāceð on lyfte, oþþæt lūngre ne bið
 wæstm wudubēames; þonne hē on wyrtruman
 25 siġeð sworcenfer(h)ð sāwle birēafod,
 fealleþ on foldan, feor(h)ð biþ on sīþe.
 Sum sceal on fēþe on feorwegas
 nȳde gongan ond his nest beran,
 tredan ūriglāst elþēodigra
 30 frēcne foldan; āh hē feormendra
 lȳt lifgendra; lāð biþ æghwær
 fore his wonsceaftum winelēas hæle.
 Sum sceal on gēapum galgan rīdan,
 seomian æt swylte, oþþæt sāwlhord,
 35 bāncofa blōdig, ābrocen weorþeð,
 þær him hrefn nimeð hēafodsȳne,
 slīteð salwīgpad sāwollēasne;
 nōþer hē þȳ fācne mæg folmum biwergan,
 lāþum lyftsceaþan; biþ his lif scæcen,
 40 ond hē fēlelēas, fēores orwēna,
 blāc on bēame, bīdeð wyrde
 bewegen wælmīste; bið him wērig noma.
 Sum(ne) on bāle sceal brond āþecgan,
 fretan frēcne lig fægne monnan,
 45 þær him lifgedāl lungre weorðeð,
 rēad rēþe glēd; rēoteð mēowle,
 sēo hyre bearn gesihð brondas þecgan.
 Sumum mēces ecg on meodubence
 yrrum ealowōsan ealdor oþþringeð,
 50 were wīnsadum; bið ær his worda tō hræd.
 Sum sceal on bēore þurh byreles hond,
 meodugāl mægga, þonne hē gemet ne con
 gemearcian his mūþe mōde sīne,
 ac sceal ful earmlice ealdre linnan,
 55 drēogan dryhtenbealo drēamum biscyred,

23. lungre *S.*, lengre *MS.*

24. westem.

37. sawelleasne.

43. brond aþecgan *S.*, brondas þencan *MS.*47. þecgan *S.*, þeccan *MS.*

- ond hine tō sylfwale secgas nemnað,
 mænað mid mūþe meodugāles gedrinc.
 Sum sceal on geoguþe mid Godes meahtum
 his earfoðsīþ ealne forspildan,
 60 ond on yldo eft ēadig weorþan,
 wunian wyndagum, ond welan þicgan,
 māþmas ond meoduful mægburge on,
 þæs þe ænig fīra mæge forð gehealdan.
 Swā missenlice meahtig Dryhten
 65 geond eorþan scēat eallum dāleð,
 scyreð ond scrifeð ond gesceapo healdeð:
 sumum ēadwelan, sumum earfeþa dæl,
 sumum geogoþe glæd, sumum gūþe blæd,
 gewealdenne wīgplegan, sumum wyrp oþþe scyte,
 70 torhtlicne tīr, sumum tæfle cræft,
 blēobordes gebregd; sume bōceras
 weorþað wīsfæste. Sumum wundorgiefu
 þurh goldsmiþe gearwad weorþeð;
 ful oft hē gehyrdeð ond gehyrsteð wēl
 75 brytcyninges beorn, ond hē him brād syleð.
 lond tō lēane; hē hit on lust þigeð.
 Sum sceal on hēape hæleþum cwēman,
 blissian æt bēore bencsittendum,
 þær biþ drincendra drēam se micla.
 80 Sum sceal mid hearpan æt his hlāfordes
 fōtum sittan, feoh þicgan,
 ond ā snellīce snēre wræstan,
 lætan scralle(t)tan; (s)ceardfeþe(r) hlēapeð,
 nægl nēomegende; biþ him nēod micel.
 85 Sum sceal wildne fugel wloncne ātemian,
 heafoc on honda, oþþæt sēo heoroswealwe
 wynsum weorþeð; dēþ hē wyrplas on,
 fēdeþ swā on feterum fīþrum dealne,
 læreþ lyftswiftne lýtlum gieflum,
 90 oþþæt se wælisca wædum ond dædum
 his ætgiefan ēaðmōd weorþeð,
 ond tō hagostealdes honda gelæred.

63. forh.

70. tiir.

72. -giete.

83. sceardfeþer S.; the MS. has gearo se þe.

84. neome cende.

89. lepeþ.

Swā wrætlice weoroda Nergē(n)d
geond middangeard monna cræftas
95 sceōp ond scyrede, ond gesceapo ferede
æghwylcum on eorþan eormencynnes.
Forþon him nū ealles þonc æghwā secge,
þæs þe hē fore his miltsum monnum scrīfeð.

93. weoroda Nergend *S.*, weorod anes god *MS.*

III. NARRATIVE AND DESCRIPTIVE

In this section we have limited our choice to *Beowulf*, the *Battle of Brunanburh*, and the *Battle of Maldon*, as these are almost the only native poems of narration not adapted from Latin works or dealing with subjects taken from the Bible. A fine specimen of a narrative poem on a biblical theme is *Exodus* (No. 19); another is *Judith*. Some of the A.-S. *Riddles* (No. 22) contain striking descriptions of natural phenomena. Other good descriptive passages occur in the *Phoenix*, the *Panther*, etc.

14. BEOWULF

A. THE SWIMMING-MATCH

ll. 499-589

Beowulf and his little band of followers have been admitted into King Hrothgar's hall and have taken their seats at the mead-bench. Unferth, the court orator and wit, is jealous of the attention shown to Beowulf, and tries to belittle his prowess. He makes a slighting mention of Beowulf's famous swimming-match with Breca, saying that Breca was the victor. Stung by the taunt, Beowulf describes the match in detail and ends his speech with a crushing attack on Unferth.

Hunferð maþelode, Ecglāfes bearn,
þe æt fōtum sæt frēan Scyldinga,
onband beadurūne— wæs him Bēowulfes sīð,
mōdges merefaran, micel æfþunca,
5 forþon þe hē ne ūþe þæt ænig oðer man
æfre mæraða þon mā middangeardes
gehēdde under heofenum þonne hē sylfa—:
'Eart þū sē Bēowulf, sē þe wið Breca wunne,
'on sīdne sē ymb sund flite,
10 'oðer git for wlence wada cunnedon
'ond for dolgipe on dēop wæter
'aldrum nēþdon? Ne inc ænig mon,

- 'ne lēof ne lāð, belēan mihte
 'sorhfullne sīð, þā git on sund rēon.
 15 'Þær git ēagorstrēam earmum þehton,
 'māeton merestræta, mundum brugdon,
 'glidon ofer gārsecg; geofon ȝþum wēol
 '(þurh) wintrys wylm. Git on wæteres æht
 'seofon niht swuncon; hē þē æt sunde oferflāt,
 20 'hæfde mære mægen. Þā hine on morgentīd
 'on Heaþo-Rēamas holm ūp ætbær;
 'ðonon hē gesōhte swæsne ēðel,
 'lēof his lēodum, lond Brondinga,
 'freoðoburh fægere, þær hē folc āhte,
 25 'burh ond bēagas. Bēot eal wið þē
 'sunu Bēanstānes sōðe gelæste.
 'Ðonne wēne ic tō þē wyrsan geþinges,
 'ðeah þū heaðorāsa gehwær dohte,
 'grimre gūðe, gif þū Grendles dearest
 30 'nihtlongne fyrst nēan bīdan.'
 Bēowulf maþelode, bearn Ecgþēowes:
 'Hwæt! þū worn fela, wine mīn Hunferð,
 'bēore druncen, ymb Brecan spræce,
 'sægdest from his sīðe. Sōð ic talige
 35 'þæt ic merestrenge māran āhte,
 'earfeþo on ȝþum, ðonne ænig oþer man.
 'Wit þæt gecwædon cnihtwesende
 'ond gebēotedon— wæron bēgen þā gīt
 'on geogoðfēore— þæt wit on gārsecg ūt
 40 'aldrum nēðdon, ond þæt geæfndon swā.
 'Hæfdon swurd nacod, þā wit on sund rēon,
 'heard on handa; wit unc wið hronfixas
 'werian þōhton. Nō hē wiht fram mē
 'flōdȝþum feor flēotan meahte
 45 'hraþor on holme; nō ic fram him wolde.
 'Ðā wit ætsomne on sǣ wæron
 'fif nihta fyrst oþ þæt unc flōd tōdrāf,
 'wado weallende, wedera cealdost,
 'nīpende niht, ond norþan wind
 50 'heaðogrim onhwearf; hrēo wæron ȝþa.

- 'Wæs merefixa mōd onhrēred,
 'þær mē wið lāðum licsyrce mīn
 'heard hondlocen helpe gefremede,
 'beadohrægl brōden on brēostum læg,
 55 'golde gegyrwed. Mē tō grunde tēah
 'fāh fēondscaða, fæste hæfde
 'grim on grāpe; hwæþre mē gyfeþe wearð
 'þæt ic āglæcan orde geræhte,
 'hildebille; heaþoræs fornam
 60 'mihtig meredēor þurh mīne hand.
 'Swā mec gelōme lāðgetēonan
 'þrēatedon þearle; ic him þēnode
 'dēoran sweorde, swā hit gedēfe wæs.
 'Næs hīe ðære fyllē gefēan hæfdon,
 65 'mānfordædlan, þæt hīe mē þēgon;
 'symbol ymbsæton sægrunde nēah,
 'ac on mergenne mēcum wunde
 'be yðlāfe uppe lægon,
 'sweo(r)dum āswefede, þæt syðþan nā
 70 'ymb brōntne forð brimliðende
 'lāde ne letton. Lēoht ēastan cōm,
 'beorht bēacen Godes; brimu sweþredon,
 'þæt ic sēnæssas gesēon mihte,
 'windige weallas. Wyrð oft nereð
 75 'unfægne eorl, þonne his ellen dēah.
 Hwæþere mē gesælde þæt ic mid sweorde ofslōh
 niceras nigene; nō ic on niht gefrægn
 'under heofones hwealf heardran feohtan,
 'ne on ēgstrēamum earmran mannon;
 80 'hwæþere ic fāra feng fēore gedigde,
 'sipes wērig. Ðā mec sē oþbær,
 'flōd æfter faroðe, on Finna land,
 'wadu weallendu. Nō ic wīht fram þē
 'swylcra searonīða secgan hýrde,
 85 'billa brōgan. Breca nāfre gīt
 'æt heaðolāce, ne gehwæþer incer,
 'swā dēorlice dæd gefremede
 'fāgum sweordum— nō ic þæs (fela) gylpe—

'þēah ōū þīnum brōðrum tō banan wurde,
 90 'hēafodmægum; þæs þū in helle scealt
 'werhðo drēogan, þēah þīn wit duge.'

B. THE FIGHT WITH GRENDEL

ll. 710-823

It is night-time, the feasting is over, Hrothgar and his Danes have left the royal hall. Beowulf remains behind waiting for the monster's coming; his small band of followers lie around him sleeping; he alone is awake. Grendel approaches, breaks in the door of the hall and enters. Beowulf seizes him by the arm and a terrific struggle takes place.

Ðā cōm of mōre under mīsthleoþum
 Grendel gongan, Godes yrre bær;
 mynte se mānscaða manna cynnes
 95 sumne besyrwan in sele þām hēan.
 Wōd under wolcnum tō þæs þe hē wīnreced,
 goldsele gumena, gearwost wisse
 fættum fāhne; ne wæs þæt forma sīð
 þæt hē Hrōþgāres hām gesōhte,
 100 nāfre hē on aldordagum ær ne siþðan
 heardran hæle healðegnas fand.
 Cōm þā tō recede rinc siðian
 drēamum bedæled. Duru sōna onarn
 fýrbendum fæst, syþðan hē hire folnum hrān;
 105 onbræd þā bealohýdig, ðā hē gebolgen wæs,
 recedes mūþan. Raþe æfter þon
 on fāgne flōr fēond treddode,
 ēoðc yrremōd; him of ēagum stōd
 ligge gelīcost lēoht unfæger.
 110 Geseah hē in recede rinca manige,
 swefan sibbegedriht samod ætgædere,
 magorinca hēap. Þā his mōd āhlōg;
 mynte þæt hē gedælde ær þon dæg cwōme,
 atol āglæca, ānra gehwylces
 115 lif wið līce, þā him ālumpen wæs
 wistfylle wēn. Ne wæs [þæt wy]rd þā gēn
 þæt hē mā mōste manna cynnes
 ðicgean ofer þā niht. Þrȳðswȳð behēold,

- mæg Higelāces, hū se mānscaða
 120 under færgripum gefaran wolde.
 Ne þæt se āglæca yldan þōhte,
 ac hē gefēng hraðe forman sīðe
 slæpendne rinc, slāt unwearnum,
 bāt bānlocan, blōd ēdrum dranc,
 125 synsnædum swealh; sōna hæfde
 unlyfigendes eal gefeormod,
 fēt ond folma. Forð nēar ætstōp,
 nam þā mid handa higeþihtigne
 rinc on ræste, ræhte tōgean(es)
 130 fēond mid folme; hē onfēng hraþe
 inwitþancum ond wið earm gesæt.
 Sōna þæt onfunde fyrena hyrde
 þæt hē ne mētte middangeardes,
 eorþan scēata, on elran men
 135 mundgripe māran; hē on mōde wearð
 forht on ferhðe, nō þȳ ær fram meahte;
 hyge wæs him hinfūs, wolde on heolster flēon,
 sēcan dēofla gedræg; ne wæs his drohtoð þær
 swylce hē on ealderdagum ær gemētte.
 140 Gemunde þā se mōd(g)a mæg Higelāces
 æfenspræce, ūplang āstōd
 ond him fæste wiðfēng. Fingras burston;
 eoten wæs ūtweard, eorl furþur stōp.
 Mynte se mæra, [þær] hē meahte swā,
 145 wīde gewindan ond on weg þanon
 flēon on fenhopu; wiste his fingra geweald
 on grames grāpum. [þæt] wæs gēocor sið
 þæt se hearmscaþa tō Heorute ātēah.
 Dryhtsele dynede, Denum eallum wearð,
 150 ceasterbūendum, cēnra gehwylcum,
 eorlum ealuscerþen. Yrre wæron bēgen
 rēpe rēnweardas; reced hlynsode.
 Þā wæs wundor micel þæt se winsele
 wiðhæfde heaþodēorum, þæt hē on hrūsan ne fēol,
 155 fæger fold(an) bold, ac hē þæs fæste wæs
 innan ond ūtan īrenbendum,

- searoþoncum besmiþod. þær fram sylle ābēag
 medubenc monig mīne gefræge
 golde geregnad, þær þā graman wunnon.
- 160 þæs ne wēndon ær witan Scyldinga
 þæt hit ā mid gemete manna ænig,
 betlic ond bānfāg, tōbreca meahthe,
 listum tōlūcan, nymþe līges fæþm
 swulge on swaþule. Swēg ūp āstāg
- 165 nīwe geneahhe; Norð-Denum stōd
 atelic egesa ānra gehwylcum
 þāra þe of wealle wōp gehyrdon,
 gryrelēoð galan Godes andsacan,
 sigelēasne sang, sār wānigean
- 170 helle hæfton. Hēold hine tō fæste
 sē þe manna wæs mægene strengest
 on þæm dæge þysse lifes;
 nolde eorla hlēo ænige þinga
 þone cwealmeuman cwicne forlætan,
- 175 ne his lifdagas lēoda ænigum
 nytte tealde. þær genehost brægd
 eorl Bēowulfes ealde lāfe,
 wolde frēadrihtnes feorh ealgian,
 mæres þeodnes, ðær hīe meahton swā;
 180 hīe þæt ne wiston, þā hīe gewin drugon,
 heardhicgende hildemecgas,
 ond on healfa gehwone hēawan þōhton,
 sāwle sēcan, (þæt) þone synscaðan
 ænig ofer eorþan irenna cyst,
- 185 gūðbilla nān, grētan nolde,
 ac hē sigewæpnum forsworen hæfde,
 ecga gehwylcre. Scolde his aldorgedāl
 on ðæm dæge þysse lifes
 earmlic wurðan, ond se ellorgāst
- 190 on fēonda gewæld feor siðian.
 Ðā þæt onfunde sē þe fela æror
 mōdes myrðe manna cynne
 fyrene gefremede— hē (wæs) fāg wið God—
 þæt him se lichoma læstan nolde,

195 ac hine se mōdega mæg Hygelāces
 hæfde be honda ; wæs gehwæper ðorum
 lifigende lāð. Licsār gebād
 atol æglæca ; him on eaxle wearð
 syndolh sweotol ; seonowe onsprungon,
 200 burston bānlocan. Bēowulfe wearð
 gūðhrēð gyfepe ; scolde Grendel þonan
 feorhsēoc flēon under fenhleoðu,
 sēcean wynlēas wīc ; wiste þē geornor
 þæt his aldres wæs ende gegongen,
 205 dōgera dægriṃ.

C. THE HAUNTS OF THE OGRES

ll. 1345-76

King Hrothgar tells Beowulf about Grendel and his dam.

Ic þæt londbūend, lēode mīne,
 selerædende, secgan hȳrde
 þæt hīe gesāwon swylce twēgen
 micle mearcstapan mōras healdan,
 210 ellorgæstas ; ðæra ððer wæs,
 þæs þe hīe gewislicost gewitan meahton,
 idese onlicnes ; ððer earmsceapen
 on weres wæstmum wræclāstas træd,
 næfne hē wæs māra þonne ænig man ððer ;
 215 þone on gēardagum Grendel nemdo[n]
 foldbūende ; nō hīe fæder cunnon,
 hwæper him ænig wæs ær ācenned
 dyrnra gāsta. Hīe dȳgel lond
 warigeað, wulfhleoðu, windige næssas,
 220 frēcne fengelād, ðær fyrgenstrēam
 under næssa genipu niþer gewīteð,
 flōd under foldan. Nis þæt feor heonon
 mīlgemearces þæt se mere standeð,
 ofer þæm hongiað hrin(g)de bearwas,
 225 wudu wyrtum fæst wæter oferhelmað.
 Þær mæg nihta gehwām nīðwundor sēon,
 fȳr on flōde ; nō þæs frōd leofað

212. onlic næs.

- gumena bearna þæt (hē) þone grund wite.
 Dēah þe hæðstapa hundum geswenced,
 230 heorot hornum trum, holtwudu sēce,
 feorran geflȳmed, ær hē feorh seleð,
 aldor on ðfre, ær hē in wille
 hafelan (hȳdan). Nis þæt hēoru stōw ;
 þonon ȳðgeblond ūp āstigeð
 235 won tō wolcnum, þonne wind styreþ
 lāð gewidru, oð þæt lyft drysmaþ,
 roderas rēotað.

D. THE VISIT TO THE POOL OF MONSTERS

ll. 1399-1441

- þā wæs Hrōðgāre hors gebæted,
 wicg wundenfeax ; wisa fengel
 240 geatolic gen(g)de ; gumfēþa, stōp
 lindhæbbendra. Lāstas wæron
 æfter waldswaþum wīde gesȳne,
 gang ofer grundas, (þær hēo) gegnum fōr
 ofer myrcan mōr, magoþegna bær
 245 þone sēlestan sāwollēasne
 þāra þe mid Hrōðgāre hām eahtode.
 Oferēode þā æþelinga bearn
 stēap stānhliðo, stige nearwe,
 enge ānpaðas, uncūð gelād,
 250 neowle næssas, nicorhūsa fela ;
 hē fēara sum beforan gengde
 wīsa monna wong scēawian,
 oþ þæt hē færinga fyrgenbēamas
 ofer hārne stān hleonian funde,
 255 wynlēasne wudu ; wæter under stōd
 drēorig ond gedrēfed. Denum eallum wæs,
 winum Scyldinga, weorce on mōde
 tō geþolianne, ðegne monegum,
 oncȳð eorla gehwæm, syðþan Æscheres
 260 on þām holmclice hafelan mēttan.
 Flōd blōde wēol— folc tō sǣgon—
 hātan heolfre. Horn stundum song

fūslic f[yrð]lēoð. Fēþa eal gesæt.
 Gesāwon ðā æfter wætere wýrmcýnnes fela,
 265 sellice sǣdracan, sund cunnian,
 swylce on næshleoðum nicras licgean,
 ðā on undernmæl oft bewitigað
 sorhfulne sið on segrāde,
 wýrmas ond wildeor; hīe on weg hruron
 270 bitere ond gebolgne, bearhtm ongēaton,
 gūðhorn galan. Sumne Gēata lēod
 of flānbogan fēores getwǣfde,
 ȝðgewinnes, þæt him on aldre stōd
 herestræl hearda; hē on holme wæs
 275 sundes þē sǣnra, ðe hyne swylt fornam;
 hræpe wearð on ȝðum mid eofersprēotum
 heorohōcyhtum hearde genearwod,
 nīða genǣged, ond on næs togen,
 wundorlic wægþora; weras scēawedon
 280 gryrelicne gist.

E. BEOWULF'S FIGHT WITH THE DRAGON

ll. 2538—2709

A fire-breathing dragon is devastating the land of the Geats by night in revenge for a theft from the treasure-hoard of which it is the guardian. Beowulf, now king of the Geats and an old man, resolves to attack the dragon in its den under the hillside. With the help of his faithful henchman Wiglaf he succeeds in killing it, but dies himself shortly afterwards. Fights with dragons are familiar subjects in the mythology of the Aryan and other peoples.

Ārās ðā bi ronde rōf ōretta,
 heard under helme; hiorosercean bæp
 under stāncleofu, strengo getrūwode
 ānes mannes; ne bið swylc earges sið.
 285 Geseah ðā be wealle sē ðe worna fela,
 gumcystum gōd, gūða gedigde,
 hildehlemma, þonne hnitan fēðan,
 sto(n)dan stānbogan, strēam ūt þonan
 brecan of beorge; wæs þære burnan wælm
 290 heaðofȳrum hāt; ne meahte horde nēah
 unbyrnende ænige hwīle

- dēor gedȳgan for dracan lēge.
 Lēt ðā of brēostum, ðā hē gebolgen wæs,
 Weder-Gēata lēod, word ūt faran ;
 295 stearcheort styrmde, stefn in becōm
 heaðotorht hlynnan under hārne stān.
 Hete wæs onhrēred ; hordweard oncnīow
 mannes reorde ; næs ðær māra fyrst
 freoðo tō friclan. From ærest cwōm
 300 oruð āglæcean ūt of stāne,
 hāt hildeswāt ; hrūse dynede,
 born under beorge ; bordrand onswāf
 wið ðām gryregieste Gēata dryhten.
 Ðā wæs hringbogan heorte gefȳsed
 305 sæcce tō sēcean. Sweord ær gebræd
 gōd gūðcyning, gomele lāfe
 ecgum unslāw : æghwæðrum wæs
 bealohycgendra brōga fram oðrum.
 Stīðmōd gestōd wið stēapne rond
 310 winia bealdor, ðā se wyrm gebēah
 snūde tōsomne ; hē on searwum bād.
 Gewāt ðā byrnende gebogen scrīðan,
 tō gescife scyndan ; scyld wēl gebearg
 life ond līce læssan hwīle
 315 mærum þeodne þonne his myne sōhte,
 ðær hē þȳ fyrste forman dōgore
 wealdan mōste ; swā him wyrd ne gescrāf
 hrēð æt hilde. Hond ūp ābræd
 Gēata dryhten, gryrefāhne slōh
 320 Incge(s) lāfe, þæt sīo ecg gewāc
 brūn on bāne, bāt unswīðor
 þonne his ðiodcyning þearfe hæfde
 bysigum gebæded. Þā wæs beorges weard
 æfter heaðuswenge on hrēoum mōde,
 325 wearp wælfȳre ; wīde sprunon
 hildelēoman ; hrēðsigora ne gealp
 goldwine Gēata ; gūðbill geswāc
 nacod æt nīðe, swā hyt nō sceolde,

292. deop.

305. seceanne.

299. freode.

307. unglaw.

302. biorn.

313. g. scipe.

- iren ærgōd. Ne wæs þæt ēðe sīð,
 330 þæt se mæra maga Ecgðēowes
 grundwong þone ofgyfan wolde ;
 sceolde (ofer) willan wīc eardian
 elles hwergen ; swā sceal æghwylc mon
 ālætan lændagas. Næs ðā long tō ðon
 335 þæt ðā āglæcean hȳ eft gemetton ;
 hyrte hyne hordweard, hreðer æðme wēoll
 nīwan stefne ; nearo ðrōwode
 fȳre befangen sē ðe ær folce wēold.
 Nealles him on hēape handgesteallan,
 340 æðelinga bearn, ymbe gestōdon
 hildecystum, ac hȳ on holt bugon
 ealdre burgan. Hiora in ānum wēoll
 sefa wið sorgum ; sibb æfre ne mæg
 wiht onwenden þām ðe wēl þenceð.
 345 Wiglāf wæs hāten Wēoxstānes sunu,
 lēoflic lindwiga, lēod Scylfinga,
 mæg Ælfheres ; geseah his mondryhten
 under heregrīman hāt þrōwian.
 Gemunde ðā ðā āre þe hē him ær forgeaf,
 350 wīcstede weligne Wægmunðinga,
 folcrihta gehwylc, swā his fæder āhte ;
 ne mihte ðā forhabban, hond rond gefēng,
 geolwe linde, gomel swyrd getēah ;
 þæt wæs mid eldum Ēanmundes lāf,
 355 suna Ōhtere(s). . . .

- Wōd þā þurh þone wælrēc, wīgheafolan bær
 frēan on fultum, fēa worda cwæð :
 ‘ Lēofa Biowulf, læst eall tela,
 ‘ swā ðū on geoguðfēore gēara gecwæde :
 360 ‘ þæt ðū ne ālæte be ðē lifigendum
 ‘ dōm gedrēosan ; scealt nū dædum rōf,
 ‘ æðeling ānhȳdig, ealle mægene
 ‘ feorh ealgian ; ic ðē fullæstu.’
 Æfter ðām wordum wȳrm yrre cwōm,
 365 atol inwitgæst, ōðre sīðe,
 fȳrwylmum fāh, fīonda nīos[ian],

- lāðra manna ; ligyðum forborn
 bord wið rond(e) ; byrne ne meahte
 geongum gārwigan gēoce gefremman,
 370 ac se maga geonga under his mæges scyld
 elne geēode, þā his āgen w[æs]
 glēdum forgrunden. Þā gēn gūðcyning
 m[æ]rða] gemunde, mægenstrengo slōh
 hildebille, þæt hyt on heafolan stōd
 375 nīþe genyded ; Nægling forbærst,
 geswāc æt sæcce sweord Biowulfes,
 gomol ond grægmæl. Him þæt gifeðe ne wæs
 þæt him irenna ecge mihton
 helpa æt hilde ; wæs sio hond tō strong,
 380 sē ðe mēca gehwane mīne gefræge
 swenge ofersōhte, þonne hē tō sæcce bær
 wæpen wund(r)um heard ; næs him wihte ðe sēl.
 Þā wæs þeodsceaða þridan siðe,
 frēcne fýrdraca, fæhða gemyndig,
 385 ræse on ðone rōfan, þā him rūm āgeald.
 hāt ond heaðogrim, heals ealne ymbefēng
 biteran bānum ; hē geblōdegod wearð
 sāwuldrīore ; swāt yðum wēoll.
 Ðā ic æt þearfe (gefrægn) þeodcyninges
 390 andlongne eorl ellen cýðan,
 cræft ond cēnðu, swā him gecynde wæs ;
 ne hēdde hē þæs heafolan, ac sio hand gebarn
 mōdiges mannes, þær hē his mæges healp
 þæt hē þone nīdgæst nioðor hwēne slōh,
 395 secg on searwum, þæt ðæt sweord gedēaf
 fāh ond fæted ; þā ðæt fýr ongon
 sweðrian syððan. Þā gēn sylf cyning
 gewēold his gewitte, wælseax gebræd
 biter ond beaduscearp, þæt hē on byrnan wæg ;
 400 forwrat Wedra helm wrym on middan,
 fēond gefylde ; ferh ellen wræc,
 ond hī hyne þā bēgen ābroten hæfdon,
 sibæðelingas ; swylc sceolde secg wesan,
 þegn æt ðearfe.

F. BEOWULF'S OBSEQUIES

ll. 3137-3177

The body of the dragon has been pushed over the cliff into the sea; the treasure has been brought out of the cave; the funeral pile is built and Beowulf's body placed on it, surrounded with weapons, armour and ornaments. The fire is lighted and the hero's widow breaks into lamentations and forebodings. Then the Geat warriors build a grave-mound and having placed in it ornaments and weapons, they ride round the barrow chanting the praises of their dead king.

- 405 Him ðā gegiredan Gēata lēode
 ād on eorðan unwācligne,
 helm(um) behēngon, hildebordum,
 beorhtum byrnum, swā hē bēna wæs.
 Ālegdon ðā tōmiddles mærne þēoden,
 410 hæleð hīofende hlāford lēofne.
 Ongunnon þā on beorge bālfyra mæst
 wīgend weccan; wud[u]rēc āstāh
 sweart ofer swiððole, swōgende lēg
 wōpe bewunden— windblond gelæg—
 415 oð þæt hē ðā bānhūs gebrocen hæfde,
 hāt on hreðre. Higum unrōte
 mōdceare mændon mondryhtnes cw[e]alm;
 swylce giōmorgyd [sīo geō]mēowle
 [æfter Bīowulfe b]undenheorde
 420 [song] sorgcearig, sægðe geneahhe
 þæt hīo hyre [hearmda]gas hearde on[dr]ēde,
 wælfylla worn, [wīgen]des egesan,
 hȳ(n)ðo [ond] h[æft]nȳd; heofon rēce swe[a]lg.
 Geworhton ðā Wedra lēode
 425 hl[æw] on (holmh)liðe, sē wæs hēah ond brād,
 [wæ]gliðendum wīde g[e]sȳne,
 ond betimbredon on tȳn dagum
 beadurōfes bēcn; bronda lāfe
 wealle beworhton, swā hyt weorðlicost
 430 foresnotre men findan mihton.
 Hī on beorg dydon bēg ond siglu,
 eall swylce hyrsta swylce on horde ær

407. behongen.

413. swiððole; let.

420. sælðe.

422. wonn.

425. on holmhliðe S., on liðe MS.

- nīðhēdige men genumen hæfdon ;
 forlēton eorla gestrēon eorðan healdan,
 435 gold on grēote, þær hit nū gēn lifað
 eldum swā unnyt swā hi[t æro]r wæs.
 Þā ymbe hlæw riodan hildedēore,
 æþelinga [b]ea[r]n ealra twelfe ;
 woldon [hīe] cwīðan, kyning mænan,
 440 wordgyd wrecan ond ymb w[er] sprecan ;
 eahtodan eorlscipe ond his ellenweorc
 duguðum dēmdon. Swā hit gedē[fe] bið
 þæt mon his winedryhten wordum herge,
 ferhðum frēoge, þonne hē forð scile,
 445 of lichaman [lȳsed] weorðan.
 Swā begnornodon Gēata lēode
 hlāfordes [hry]re, heorðgenēatas,
 cwædon þæt hē wære wyruldcyning(a),
 manna mildust ond mon[ðw]ærust,
 450 lēodum līðost ond lofgeornost.

G. HERO-LAYS IN THE MAKING

ll. 853-874

This passage, which immediately precedes the account of Sigemund and Fitela (see No. 4 B), is interesting as showing that the custom of singing lays of heroes was not confined to the banqueting-hall. A body of mounted Danes, gathered from far and wide on learning the news of the mighty struggle between Beowulf and Grendel in Heorot, are returning from a visit to the mysterious mere into which the wounded Grendel has plunged. The *Beowulf* poet may well have taken part himself in such an outing.

- þanon eft gewiton ealdgesīðas,
 swylce geong manig, of gomenwāþe,
 fram mere mōdge, mēarum rīdan,
 beornas on blancum. Ðær wæs Bēowulfes
 455 mārðo gemæned ; monig oft gecwæð
 þætte sūð ne norð be sām twēonum
 ofer eormengrund oþer nænig
 under swegles begong sēlra nære
 rondhæbbendra, rīces wyrðra.

- 460 Ne hīe hūru winedrihten wiht ne lōgon,
 glædne Hrōðgar, ac þæt wæs gōd cyning.
 Hwīlum heaþorōfe hlēapan lēton,
 on geflit faran, fealwe mēaras,
 ðær him foldwegas fægere þūhton,
 465 cystum cūðe. Hwīlum cyninges þegn,
 guma gilphlæden, gidda gemyndig,
 sē ðe ealfela ealdgesegena
 worn gemunde, word oþer fand
 sōðe gebunden. Secg eft ongan
 470 sið Bēowulfes snyttrum styrian
 ond on spēd wrecan spel gerāde,
 wordum wrixlan.

H. SCENES IN HEOROT

The scenes in the banqueting-hall described in *Beowulf* may be regarded as taken by the poet from his own society, rather than as traditional descriptions handed down by gleemen. In any case, it is unlikely that social conditions and customs changed much in a Germanic society uninfluenced by Roman culture.

1. *Beowulf and his men in Heorot* (ll. 611–630)

- Ðær wæs hæleþa hleahtor, hlyn swynsode,
 word wæron wynsume. Eode Wealhþēow forð,
 475 cwēn Hrōðgāres, cynna gemyndig ;
 grētte goldhroden guman on healle,
 ond þā frēolic wīf ful gesealde
 ærest Eāst-Dena ēþelwearde,
 bæd hine bliðne æt þære bēorþege,
 480 lēodum lēofne ; hē on lust geþeah
 symbel ond selesful, sigerōf kyning.
 Ymbēode þā ides Helminga
 duguþe ond geogoþe dæl æghwylcne,
 sincfata sealde, oþ þæt sæl ālamp
 485 þæt hīo Bēowulfe, bēaghroden cwēn
 mōde geþungen, medoful ætbær ;
 grētte Gēata lēod, Gode þancode
 wīsfæst wordum þæs ðe hire se willa gelamp

þæt hēo on ænigne eorl gelyfde
 490 fyrena frōfre. Hē þæt ful geþeah,
 wælreow wiga, æt Wealhþēon,
 ond þā gyddode gūþe gefýsed.

2. ll. 1008-1042

After the fight between Beowulf and Grendel, the hall Heorot is set in order and a banquet held, at which the grateful Hrothgar gives Beowulf splendid presents.

þā wæs sæl ond mæl
 þæt tō healle gang Healfdenes sunu ;
 495 wolde self cyning symbol þicgan.
 Ne gefrægn ic þā mægþe mārān weorode
 ymb hyra sincgyfan sēl gebæran.
 Bugon þā tō bence blæd[āgen]de,
 fyllē gefægon, fægere geþægon
 500 medoful manig ; māgas wāro(n)
 swiðhicgende on sele þām hēan,
 Hrōðgār ond Hrōþulf. Heorot innan wæs
 frēondum āfyllēd ; nalles fācenstafas
 Ðēod-Scyldingas þenden fremedon.
 505 Forgeaf þā Bēowulfe bearn Healfdenes
 segen gylđenje sigores tō lēane,
 hroden hiltēcumbor, helm ond byrnan,
 mære mādþumsweord ; manige gesāwon
 beforan beorn beran. Bēowulf geþāh
 510 ful on flette ; nō hē þære feohgyfte
 for sc(ē)oten(d)um scamigan ðorfte.
 Ne gefrægn ic frēondlīcor fēower mādmas
 golde gegyrede gummanna fela
 in ealobence ðōðrum gesellan.
 515 Ymb þæs helmes hrōf hēafodbeorge
 wīrum bewunden walū ūtan hēold,
 þæt him fē(o)la lāf frēcne ne meahte
 scūrheard sceþðan, þonne scyldfreca
 ongēan gramum gangan scolde.
 520 Heht ðā eorla hlēo eahta mēaras

500. þara.

505. brand.

516. walan.

517. meahton.

fætedhlēore on flet tēon
 in under eoderas; þāra ānum stōd
 sadol searwum fāh, since gewurþad;
 þæt wæs hildesetl hēahcýninges
 525 ðonne sweorda gelāc sunu Healfdenes
 efnan wolde; nǣfre on ōre lǣg
 wīdcūþes wīg, ðonne walu fēollon.

3. *Preparations for the night* (ll. 1232—1250)

After the banquet Hrothgar and his court retire, leaving Beowulf and his men in Heorot.

þær wæs symbla cyst,
 druncon wīn weras, wyrd ne cūþon,
 530 geōscaft grimme, swā hit āgangen wearð
 eorla manegum. Syþðan æfen cwōm,
 ond him Hrōþgār gewāt tō hofe sīnum,
 rīce tō ræste. Reced weardode
 unrīm eorla, swā hīe oft ær dydon;
 535 bencþelu beredon; hit geondbræded wearð
 beddum ond bolstrum. Beorscealca sum
 fūs ond fæge fletæste gebēag.
 Setton him tō hēafdon hilderandas,
 bordwudu beorhtan; þær on bence wæs
 540 ofer æþelinge yþgesēne
 heaþostēapa helm, hringed byrne,
 þrecwudu þrymlic. Wæs þēaw hyra
 þæt hīe oft wæron anwīggearwe
 ge æt hām ge on herge, ge gehwæþer þāra,
 545 efne swylce mæla swylce hira mandryhtne
 þearf gesælde; wæs sēo þēod tilu.

I. BEOWULF IS MADE A HEREDITARY CHIEF

ll. 2190—99

On Beowulf's return home he presents his uncle, Hygelac king of the Geats with the gifts he has received from Hrothgar, the Danish king. Thereupon Hygelac confers on him a share in the royal domain, with appropriate endowment and privileges.

Hēt ðā eorla hlēo in gefetian,
 heaþorōf cyning, Hrēðles lāfe

golde gegyrede ; næs mid Gēatum ðā
 550 sincmāðpum sēla on sweordes hād ;
 þæt hē on Bīowulfes bearm ālegde,
 ond him gesealde seofan þūsendo,
 bold ond bregostōl. Him wæs bām samod
 on ðām lēodscipe lond gecynde,
 555 eard, ēðelriht, ðōrum swiðor
 sīde rīce, þām (þe) ðær sēla wæs.

J. WEAPONS AND ARMOUR

In *Beowulf* the chief weapon for close fighting is the sword, *sweord*, *bill*, *mēce*, etc. ; for more distant attack the spear or javelin, *spere*, *gār*, *æsc*, *æscholt*, etc. ; also the bow, *boga*, and arrow, *flān*. The protective armour consists of a tunic of steel links, *byrne*, *līcsyrce*, *hringnet*, etc., a helmet of iron or steel, *helm*, *grimhelm* ; in some cases surmounted by the image of a wild boar, *eofor*, *eoforlic*, *ferh*. The band or hoop round the helm is called *walu*. The circular shield of linden-wood, *scyld*, *rand*, *bord*, *lind*, etc., is covered with metal. Swords are valued for their age and history ; they are handed down from father to son and are a favourite form of valuable gift. They bear names, such as *Hrunting*, *Nægling*, *Mimming* (in *Waldere*).

1. *Beowulf and his men march to Heorot* (ll. 321-331)

heard hondloçen, Gūðbyrne scān^{elane}
 song in searwum, hringīren scīr^{be}
 560 in hyra gryregeatwum gangan cwōmon.
 Setton sāmēþe side scyldas,
 rondas regnhearde, wið þæs recedes weal ;
 bugon þā tō bence. Byrnan hringdon,
 gūðsearo gumēna ; gāras stōdon,
 565 sāmanna searo, samod ætgædere,
 æscholt ufan græg ; wæs sē īrenþrēat
 wæpnum gewurþad.

2. *Beowulf girds on his armour* (ll. 1441-64)

Gyrede hine Beowulf
 eorlgewædum, nalles for ealdre mearn ;
 570 scolde hildebyrne hondum gebrōden,

sīd ond searofah, sund cunnian,
 sēo ðe bāncofan beorgan cūþe,
 þæt him hildegrāp hreþre ne mihte,
 eorres inwifeng, aldre gesceþðan ;
 575 ac sē hwīta helm hafelan werede,
 sē þe meregrundas mengan scolde,
 sēcan sundgebland, since geweorðad,
 befongen frēawrāsnum, swā hine fyrndagum
 worhte wāpnas smið, wundrum tēode,
 580 besette swīnlīcum, þæt hine syðþan nō
 brogdne beadomēcas bītan ne meahton.
 Næs þæt þonne mæstost mægenfultuma
 þæt him on ðearfe lāh ðyle Hrōðgāres ;
 wæs þæm hæftmēce Hrunting nama ;
 585 þæt wæs ān foran ealdgestrēona,
 ecg wæs īren, ātertānum fāh,
 āhyrded heaþoswāte ; nāfre hit æt hilde ne swāc
 manna ængum þāra þe hit mid mundum bewand,
 sē ðe gryresīðas gegān dorste,
 590 folcstede fāra ; næs þæt forma sīð
 þæt hit ellenweorc æfnan scolde.

3. *The Giant Sword dissolves in the monster's blood*
(ll. 1556 ff.)

Syððan hē eft āstōd,
geseah ðā on searwum sigeēadig bil,
ealdsweord eotenisc ecgum þȳhtig,
595 wigena weorðmynd ; þæt (wæs) wāpnas cyst,
būton hit wæs mære ðonne ænig mon oðer
tō beadulāce ætberan meahte,
gōd ond geatolic, gīganta geweorc.

Pā þæt sweord ongan
600 æfter heaðoswāte hildegicelum,
 wīgbil wanian; þæt wæs wundra sum
þæt hit eal gemealt ise gelicost,

ðonne forstes bend Fæder onlæteð,

 Ðā wæs gylden hilt gamelum rince,
 605 hārum hildfruman, on hand gyfen,
 enta ærgeweorc; hit on æht gehwearf
 æfter dēofla hryre Denigea frēan,
 wundorsmiþa geweorc,

 Hrōðgār maðelode, hylt scēawode,
 610 ealde lāfe, on ðām wæs ōr writen
 fyrngewinnes, syðþan flōd ofslōh,
 gifen gēotende, gīganta cyn;
 frēcne gefērdon; þæt wæs fremde þēod
 ēcean Dryhtne; him þæs endelēan

615 þurh wæteres wylm Waldend sealde.
 Swā wæs on ðām scennum scīran goldes
 þurh rūnstafas rihte gemearcod,
 geseted ond gesæd, hwām þæt sweord geworht,
 īren(n)a cyst, ærest wære,
 620 wreopenhilt ond wyrmfāh,

15. THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH

This poem is of historical as well as of literary interest. It forms the entry for the year A.D. 937 in the *A.-S. Chronicle* and celebrates the overwhelming victory gained by Æthelstan, king of Wessex, and his brother Eadmund over the Northumbrian Danes, who were joined by Irish Scandinavians, Scots under King Constantine, and the Welsh of Strathclyde, a victory which finally established the supremacy of Wessex in England. A number of places have been suggested as the site of the battle, *e.g.* Bromborough on the Mersey, Burnswark, a hill in Dumfriesshire, and Bramber near Preston, S. of the Ribble. In favour of the last named is the fact that in 1840 a large hoard of silver ingots and coins, none of later date than 930, was unearthed at Cuerdale, a parish some two miles E. of Preston on the Ribble. It is presumed that the treasure was the war-chest of the confederate army.

The tone of the poem is one of triumph; the versification is correct and the style vigorous, though somewhat hackneyed, with phrases and vocabulary of the older poetry. It is to be noted that the *Battle of Brunanburh* is the first of several annals written in the traditional alliterating metre, the others belonging respectively to the years 942, 973, 975, and 1065.

Hēr Æþelstān cyning, eorla dryhten,
 beorna bēahgifa, and his brōþor ēac,
 Eadmund æþeling, ealdorlangne tīr

- geslōgon æt sæcce sweorda ecgum
 5 ymbe Brunnanburh. Bordweal(1) clufan,
 hēowan heaþolinde hamora lāfum
 eaforan Ēadweardes, swā him geæþele wæs
 from cnēomægum þæt hī æt campe oft
 wiþ lāþra gehwæne land ealgodon,
 10 hord and hāmas. Hettend crungon,
 Scotta lēode, and scipflotan
 fæge fēollan, feld dennade
 secga swāte, siðþan sunne ūp
 on morgentīd, mære tungol,
 15 glād ofer grundas, Godes condēl beorht,
 ēces Drihtnes, oð sio æþele gesceaft
 sāh tō setle. Þær læg secg mænig
 gārūm āgēted, guma norþerna,
 ofer scild scoten, swilce Scyttisc ēac,
 20 wērig, wīges sæd. Westseaxe forð
 ondlongne dæg eoredcystum
 on lāst legdon lāþum þēodum,
 hēowan hereflēman hindan þearle
 mēcūm mylenscearpum. Myrce ne wyrndon
 25 heardes hondplegan hæleþa nānum
 þāra ðe mid Anlāfe ofer ēargebland
 on lides bōsme land gesōhton,
 fæge tō gefeohte. Fife lægon
 on þām campstede cyningas geonge
 30 sweordum āswefede, swilce seofēne ēac
 eorlas Anlāfes, unrīm heriges
 flotan and Scotta. Þær geflēmed wearð
 Norðmanna bregu nēde gebæded
 tō lides stefne lýtle weorode ;
 35 crēad cnear on flot, cyning ūt gewāt
 on fealone flōd, feorh generede.
 Swilce þær ēac se frōda mid flēame cōm
 on his cýþþe norð, Constontinus,
 hār hilderinc, hrēman ne þorfte
 40 mēca gemānan ; hē wæs his mæga sceard,
 frēonda gefylled, on folcstede

- beslagen æt sæcce, and his sunu forlēt
 on wælstōwe wundum forgrunden,
 geongne æt gūðe; gelpan ne þorfte
 45 beorn blandenfeax bilgeslehtes,
 eald inwidda, ne Anlāf þȳ mā
 mid heora herelāfum hlehhan ne þorfton
 þæt hī beaduweorca beteran wurdon
 on campstede, cumbolgehnāstes,
 50 gārmittinge, gumena gemōtes,
 wāpengewrixles, þæs hī on wælfelda
 wiþ Æadweardes eaforan plegodon.
 Gewiton him þā Norþmen nægledcnearrum
 drēorig daroða lāf, on Dynges mere
 55 ofer dēop wæter Dyflen sēcan,
 eft Íraland, æwiscmōde.
 Swilce þā gebrōþor bēgen ætsamne,
 cyning and æþeling, cȳþþe sōhton,
 Westseaxna land, wīges hrēmige.
 60 Lētan him behindan hrāw bryttian
 saluwigpādan, þone sweartan hræfn,
 hyrnednebban, and þone hasopādan,
 earn æftan hwīt, æses brūcan,
 grædigne gūðhafoc, and þæt græge dēor,
 65 wulf on wealde. Ne wearð wæl mære
 on þis īglande æfre gīeta
 folces gefylled beforan þissum
 sweordes ecgum, þæs þe ūs secgað bēc,
 ealde ūðwitan, siþþan ēastan hider
 70 Engle and Seaxe ūp becōman
 ofer brāde brimu, Brytene sōhtan,
 wlance wīgsmiðas, Wēalas ofercōman,
 eorlas ārhwate, eard begēatan.

16. THE BATTLE OF MALDON

The events described in this poem with such vigour and strong feeling are briefly mentioned in the *A.-S. Chronicle* anno 991. They were an incident in the Scandinavian attacks on Britain at the end of the tenth century, which culminated in the conquest by Cnut in 1012. Byrhtnoth, King Æthelred's *ealdorman* or deputy in Essex, is hurrying with his troop to give battle to a

Danish force which has sailed up the estuary of the river Panta, the modern Blackwater, near the site of the modern town of Maldon. On reaching the shore opposite the landing-place of the Danes, Byrhtnoth proceeds to marshal his little force and to instruct his men how best to fight. The rest of the poem is a spirited narrative of the incidents in the fight, which was in reality a losing one for the Englishmen. The old bond of loyalty between chieftain and retainer is still strong and is nowhere expressed with deeper feeling. The heroes of the fight are named in this earliest English 'roll of honour' and their deeds noted, while the cowardly flight of others is branded for ever. The language of the poem is simple, being almost free from the device of repeating the same idea in different words which is used so freely in the older verse. There are also comparatively few compound nouns and adjectives. Considering the date of composition the versification keeps fairly close to the traditional rules, but exhibits some relaxation of the strict standard of *Beowulf* and other older poems. The first lines of the poem have been lost.

- brocen wurde ;
 hēt þā hyssa hwæne horsforlætan,
 feor āfȳsan and forð gangan,
 hicgan tō handum and t(ō) hige gōdum.
 5 Þ(ā) þæt Offan mæg ærest onfunde,
 þæt se eorl nolde yrhðo geþolian,
 hē lēt him þā of handon lēofne flēogan
 hafoc wið þæs holtes, and tō þære hilde stōp ;
 be þām man mihte oncnāwan þæt se cniht nolde
 10 wācian æt þām w(ī)ge, þā hē tō wæpnum fēng.
 Ēac him wolde Ēadrīc his ealdre gelæstan,
 frēan tō gefeohte ; ongan þā forð beran
 gār tō gūþe ; hē hæfde gōd geþanc
 þā hwile þe hē mid handum healdan mihte
 15 bord and brād swurd ; bēot hē gelæste,
 þā hē ætforan his frēan feohtan sceolde.
 Þā þær Byrhtnōð ongan beornas trymian,
 rād and rædde, rincum tæhte
 hū hī sceoldon standan and þone stede healdan,
 20 and bæd þæt hyra randas rihte hēoldon
 fæste mid folman, and ne forhtedon nā.
 Þā hē hæfde þæt folc fægere getrymmed,
 hē lihte þā mid lēodon þær him lēofost wæs,
 þær hē his heorðwerod holdost wiste.
 25 Þā stōd on stæðe, stiðlice clypode
 wicinga ār, wordum mælde,

- sē on bēot ābēad brimliþendra
 ærænde tō þām eorle, þær hē on ðfre stōd :
 'Mē sendon tō þē sǣmen snelle ;
 30 'hēton ðē secgan þæt þū mōst sendan raðe
 'bēagas wið gebeorge, and ēow betere is
 'þæt gē þisne gārræs mid gafole forgyldon
 'þon(ne) wē swā hearde (h)ilde dælon.
 'Ne þurfe wē ūs spillan ; gif gē spēdaþ tō þām,
 35 'wē willað wið þām golde grið fæstnian.
 'Gyf þū þat gerædest, þe hēr ricost eart,
 'þæt þū þine lēoda lȳsan wille,
 'syllan sǣmannum on hyra sylfra dōm
 'feoh wið frēode and niman frið æt ūs,
 40 'wē willaþ mid þām sceattum ūs tō scype gangan,
 'on flot fēran, and ēow friþes healdan.'
 Byrhtnōð maþelode, bord hafenode,
 wand wācne æsc, wordum mælde,
 yrrē and ānræd, āgeaf him andsware :
 45 'Gehȳrst þū, sǣlida, hwæt þis folc segeð ?
 'hī willað ēow tō gafole gāras syllan,
 'ætttrynne ord and ealde swurd,
 'þā heregeatu þe ēow æt hilde ne dēah.
 'Brimmanna boda, ābēod eft ongēan,
 50 'sege þīnum lēodum miccle lāpre spell,
 'þæt hēr stynt unforcūð eorl mid his werode,
 'þe wile gealgean ēþel þysne,
 'Æþelrēdes eard, ealdres mīnes,
 'folc and foldan ; feallan sceolon
 55 'hǣþene æt hilde. Tō hēanlic mē þinceð
 'þæt gē mid ūrum sceattum tō scype gangon
 'unbefohtne, nū gē þus feor hider
 'on ūrne eard in becōmon.
 'Ne sceole gē swā sōfte sinc gegangan ;
 60 'ūs sceal ord and ecg ær gesēman,
 'grim gūðplega, ær we gafol syllon.'
 Hēt þā bord beran, beornas gangan,
 þæt hī on þām ēasteðe ealle stōdon.
 Ne mihte þær for wætere werod tō þām ōðrum ;

- 65 þær cōm flōwende flōd æfter ebban,
 lucon lagustrēamas ; tō lang hit him þūhte
 hwænne hī tōgædere gāras bēron.
 Hī þær Pantan strēam mid prasse bestōdon,
 Ēastseaxena ord, and se æschere ;
- 70 ne mihte hyra ænig ōprum derian,
 būton hwā þurh flānes flyht fyl genāme.
 Se flōd ūt gewāt ; þā flotan stōdon gearowe
 wīcinga fela, wīges georne.
 Hēt þā hæleða hlēo healdan þā bricge
- 75 wigan wīghheardne, sē wæs hāten Wulfstān,
 cāfne mid his cynne ; þæt wæs Cēolan sunu,
 þe ðone forman man mid his francan ofscēat,
 þe þær baldlicost on þā bricge stōp.
 Þær stōdon mid Wulfstāne wigan unforhte,
- 80 Ælfere and Maccus, mōdige twēgen ;
 þā noldon æt þām forða flēam gewyrcean,
 ac hī fæstlice wið ðā fīynd weredon,
 þā hwile þe hī wæpna wealdan mōston.
 Þā hī þæt ongēaton and georne gesāwon,
- 85 þæt hī þær bricgweardas bitere fundon,
 ongunnon lytegian þā lāðe gystas ;
 bædon þæt hī ūpgang āgan mōston,
 ofer þone ford faran, fēþan lædan.
 Ðā se eorl ongan for his ofermōde
- 90 ālȳfan landes tō fela lāþere ðēode.
 Ongan ceallian þā ofer cald wæter
 Byrhtelmes bearn ; beornas gehlyston :
 ‘Nū ēow is gerȳmed, gāð ricene tō ūs,
 ‘guman tō gūþe ; God āna wāt
- 95 ‘hwā þære wælstōwe wealdan mōte.’
 Wōdon þā wælwulfas, for wætere ne murnon,
 wīcinga werod, west ofer Pantan,
 ofer scīr wæter scyldas wēgon,
 lidmen tō lande linde bāron.
- 100 Þær ongēan gramum gearowe stōdon
 Byrhtnōð mid beornum ; hē mid bordum hēt
 wyrcean þone wihagan, and þæt werod healdan

- fæste wið fēondum. þā wæs f(e)ohthe nēh,
 tīr æt getohte ; wæs sēo tid cumen
- 105 þæt þær fæge men feallan sceoldon.
 þær wearð hrēam āhafen, /remmas wundon,
 earn æses georn ; wæs on eorþan cyrm.
 Hī lēton þā of folman fēolhearde speru,
 gegrundene gāras flēogan ;
- 110 bogan wāron bysige, bord ord onfēng,
 biter wæs se beaduræs ; beornas fēollon
 on gehwæðere hand, hyssas lāgon.
 Wund wearð Wulfmær, wælraeste gecēas,
 Byrhtnōðes mæg, hē mid billum wearð,
- 115 his swustersunu, swiðe forhēawen.
 þær wærð wciungum wiþerlēan āgyfen ;
 gehyrde ic þæt Eadweard ānne slōge
 swiðe mid his swurde, swenges ne wyrnde,
 þæt him æt fōtum fēoll fæge cempa ;
- 120 þæs him his ðeoden þanc gesæde,
 þām būrþene, þā hē byre hæfde.
 Swā stemnetton stiðh(c)gende
 hys(s)as æt hilde, hogodon georne
 hwā þær mid orde ærost mihte
- 125 on fægean men feorh gewinnan,
 wigan mid wæpnum ; wæl fēol on eorðan.
 Stōdon stædefæste, stihte hī Byrhtnōð,
 bæd þæt hyssa gehwylc hogode tō wige,
 þe on Denon wolde dōm gefeohtan.
- 130 Wōd þā wīges heard, wæpen ūp āhōf,
 bord tō gebeorge, and wið þæs beornes stōp ;
 ēode swā ānræd eorl tō þām ceorle ;
 ægþer hyra oðrum yfeles hogode.
 Sende ðā se sārinc sūþerne gār,
- 135 þæt gewundod wearð wigena hlāford ;
 hē scēaf þā mid ðām scylde, þæt se sceaft tōbærst,
 and þæt spere sprengde, þæt hit sprang ongēan.
 Gegremod wearð se gūðrinc ; hē mid gāre stang
 wlancne wicing þe him þā wunde forgeaf.
- 140 Frōd wæs se fyrdrinc, hē lēt his francan wadan
106. bremmas. 113. weard. 116. wærd. 122. stiðhugende.

- þurh ðæs hysses hals ; hand wīsoðe
 þæt hē on þām fāersceaðan feorh geræhte.
 Ðā hē oþerne ofstlice scēat,
 þæt sēo byrne tōbærst ; hē wæs on brēostum wund
 145 þurh ðā hringlocan, him æt heortan stōð
 ætterne ord. Se eorl wæs þē bliþra,
 hlōh þā mōdi man, sæde Metode þanc
 ðæs dægweorces þe him Drihten forgeaf.
 Forlēt þā drenga sum daroð of handa,
 150 flēogan of folman, þæt sē tō forð gewāt
 þurh ðone æþelan Æþelrēdes þegen.
 Him be healfe stōð hyse unweaxen,
 cniht on gecampe, sē full cāflīce
 bræd of þām beorne blōdigne gār,
 155 Wulfstānes bearn, Wulfmæ̃r se geonga,
 forlēt forheardne faran eft ongēan ;
 ord in gewōð, þæt sē on eorþan læg,
 þe his þēoden ær þearle geræhte.
 Æode þā gesyrwed secg tō þām eorle ;
 160 hē wolde þæs beornes bēagas gefeʒgan,
 rēaf and hringas, and gerēnod swurd.
 Ðā Byrhtnōð bræd bill of scēðe,
 brād and brūnecg, and on þā byrnan slōh ;
 tō raþe hine gelette lidmanna sum,
 165 þā hē þæs eorles earm āmyrde ;
 fēoll þā tō foldan fealohilte swurd,
 ne mihte hē gehealdan heardne mēce,
 wæpnas wealdan. Þā gýt þæt word gecwæð
 hār hilderinc, hyssas bylde,
 170 bæd gangan forð gōde gefēran ;
 ne mihte þā on fōtum leng fæste gestāndan,
 (.) hē tō heofenum wlāt :
 ‘(Ic) geþanc(i)e þē, ðēoda Waldend,
 ‘ealra þæra wynna þe ic on worulde gebād ;
 175 ‘nū ic āh, milde Metod, mæste þearfe
 ‘þæt þū mīnum gāste gōdes geunne,
 ‘þæt mīn sāwul tō ðē siððian mōte,
 ‘on þīn gewæld, þēoden engla,

- 'mid friþe ferian ; ic eom frymði tō þē
 180 'þæt hī helsceaðan hȳnan ne mōton.'
 Ðā hine hēowon hǣðene scealcas,
 and bēgen þā beornas þe him big stōdon,
 Ælfnōð and Wulmǣr, bēgen lāgon ;
 ðā onemn hyra frēan feorh gesealdon.
 185 Hī bugon þā fram beaduwe þe þær bēon noldon.
 Þær wurdon Oddan bearn ærest on flēame,
 Godrīc fram gūþe, and þone gōdan forlēt
 þe him mænigne oft mēar gesealde ;
 hē gehlēop þone eoh þe āhte his hlāford,
 190 on þām gerǣdum þe hit riht ne wæs,
 and his brōðru mid him bēgen ær(n)don,
 Godwine and Godwīg, gūþe ne gȳmdon,
 ac wendon fram þām wīge and þone wudu sōhton
 flugon on þæt fæsten, and hyra fēore burgon,
 195 and manna mā þonne hit ænig mǣð wære
 gyf hī þā geearnunga ealle gemundon
 þe hē him tō duguþe gedōn hǣfde.
 Swā him Offa on dæg ær āsǣde
 on þām meþelstede, þā hē gemōt hǣfde,
 200 þæt þær mōdelīce manege spræcon
 þe eft æt þære (þearfe) þolian noldon.
 Ðā wearð āfeallen þæs folces ealdor,
 Æþelrēdes eorl ; ealle gesāwon
 heorðgenēatas þæt hyra heorra læg.
 205 Þā ðær wendon forð wlance þegenas,
 unearge men, efston georne ;
 hī woldon þā ealle oðer twēga,
 lif forlætān oððe lēofne gewrecan.
 Swā hī bylde forð bearn Ælfrices,
 210 wiga wintrum geong, wordum mælde ;
 Ælfwine þā cwæð, hē on ellen spræc :
 'Gemuna(ð) þā mǣla þe wē oft æt meodo spræcon,
 'þonne wē on bence bēot āhōfon,
 'hæleð on healle, ymbe heard gewinn ;
 215 'nū mæg cunnian hwā cēne sȳ.
 'Ic wylle mīne æþelo eallum gecȳþan,
 192. godrine. 200. manega. 208. forlætun. 212. gemunu þa.

- 'þæt ic wæs on Myrcon miccles cynnes ;
 'wæs mīn ealda fæder Ealhelm hāten,
 'wīs ealdorman, woruldgesælig.
 220 'Ne sceolon mē on þære þēode þegenas ætwītan,
 'þæt ic of ðisse fyrde fēran wille,
 'eard gesēcan, nū mīn ealdor ligeð
 'forhēawen æt hilde ; mē is þæt hearma mæst ;
 'hē wæs ægðer mīn mæg and mīn hlāford.'
 225 Þā hē forð ēode, fæhðe gemunde,
 þæt hē mid orde ānne geræhte
 flotan on þām folce þæt sē on foldan læg
 forwegen mid his wæpne. Ongan þā winas manian,
 frýnd and gefēran, þæt hī forð ēodon,
 230 Offa gemælde, æscholt āscēoc :
 'Hwæt þū, Ælfwine, hafast ealle gemanode
 'þegenas tō þearfe : nū ūre þēoden lið,
 'eorl on eorðan, ūs is eallum þearf
 'þæt ūre æghwylc oþerne bylde
 235 'wigan tō wīge þā hwile þe hē wæpen mæge
 'habban and healdan, heardne mēce,
 'gār and gōd swurd. Ūs Godrīc hæfð,
 'earh Oddan bearn, ealle beswicene ;
 'wēnde þæs formoni man þā hē on mēare rād,
 240 'on wlancan þām wicge, þæt wære hit ūre hlāford ;
 'forþan wearð hēr on felda folc tōtwæmed,
 'scyldburh tōbrocen. Ābrēoðe his angin,
 'þæt hē hēr swā manigne man āflȳmde.'
 Lēofsunu gemælde, and his linde āhōf,
 245 bord tō gebeorge ; hē þām beorne oncwæð :
 'Ic þæt gehāte, þæt ic heonon nelle
 'flēon fōtes trym, ac wille furðor gān,
 'wrecan on gewinne mīnne winedrihten.
 'Ne þurfon mē embe Stūrmere stedefæste hælæð
 250 'wordum ætwītan, nū mīn wine gecranc,
 'þæt ic hlāfordlēas hām siðie,
 'wende fram wīge ; ac mē sceal wæpen niman,
 'ord and īren.' Hē ful yrre wōd,
 feaht fæstlice, flēam hē forhogode.

- 255 Dunnere þā cwæð, daroð ācwehte,
 unorne ceorl, ofer eall clypode,
 bæd þæt beorna gehwylc Byrhtnōð wrāce :
 ‘Ne mæg nā wandian sē þē wrecan þenceð
 ‘frēan on folce, ne for fēore murnan.’
- 260 Þā hī forð ēodon, fēores hī ne rōhton ;
 ongunnon þā hīredmen heardlice feohtan,
 grame gārberend, and God bādon
 þæt hī mōston gewrecan hyra winedrihten,
 and on hyra fēondum fyl gewyrcan.
- 265 Him se gýsel ongan geornlice fylstan ;
 hē wæs on Norðhymbron heardes cynnes,
 Ecglāfes bearn, him wæs Æscferð nama ;
 hē ne wandode nā æt þām wīgplegan,
 ac hē fýsde forð flān genehe ;
- 270 hwilon hē on bord scēat, hwilon beorn tāsde ;
 æfre embe stunde hē sealde sume wunde
 þā hwile ðe hē wæpna wealdan mōste.
 Þā gýt on orde stōd Ēadweard se langa,
 gearo and geornful ; gylpwordum spræc
- 275 þæt hē nolde flēogan fōtmæl landes,
 ofer bæc būgan, þā his betera leg ;
 hē bræc þone bordweall and wið ðā beornas feaht,
 oð þæt hē his sincgyfan on þām sēamannum
 wurðlice wrec ær hē on wæle lāge.
- 280 Swā dyde Æþeríc, æþele gefēra,
 fūs and forðgeorn, feaht eornoste,
 Sībyrhtes brōðor and swīðe mænig oþer
 clufon cellod bord, cēne hī weredon ;
 bærst bordes lārig, and sēo byrne sang
- 285 gryrelēoða sum. Þā æt gūðe slōh
 Offa þone sālidan, þæt hē on eorðan fēoll
 and ðær Gaddes mæg grund gesōhte.
 Raðe wearð æt hilde Offa forhēawen ;
 hē hæfde ðeah geforþod þæt hē his frēan gehēt,
- 290 swā hē bēotode ær wið his bēahgifan,
 þæt hī sceoldon bēgen on burh rīdan,
 hāle tō hāme, oððe on here crinagan,

- on wælstōwe wundum sweltan ;
 hē læg ðegenlice ðeodne gehende.
 295 Ðā wearð borda gebræc ; brimmen wōdon,
 gūðe gegremode ; gār oft þurhwōd
 fæges feorhhūs. Forð (ð)ā ēode Wīstān,
 Þurstānes sunu, wið þās secgas feaht ;
 hē wæs on geþrang(e) hyra þrēora bana,
 300 ær him Wigelmes bearn on þām wæle læge.
 Þær wæs stið gemōt ; stōdon fæste
 wigan on gewinne, wīgend cruncon,
 wundum werge ; wæl fēol on eorþan.
 Ōswold and Ēadwold ealle hwīle,
 305 bēgen þā gebrōþru, beornas trymedon,
 hyra winemāgas, wordon bāedon
 þæt hī þær æt ðearfe þolian sceoldon,
 unwāclīce wǣpna nēotan.
 Byrhtwold maþelode, bord hafenode ;
 310 sē wæs eald genēat, æsc ācwehte,
 hē ful baldlice beornas lārde :
 ‘ Hige sceal þē heardra, heorte þē cēnre,
 ‘ mōd sceal þē mære, þe ūre mægen lýtlað.
 ‘ Hēr lið ūre ealdor eall forhēawen,
 315 ‘ gōd on grēote ; ā mæg gnornian
 ‘ sē ðe nū fram þīs wīgplegan wendan þenceð.
 ‘ Ic eom frōd fēores ; fram ic ne wille,
 ‘ ac ic mē be healfe mīnum hlāforde,
 ‘ be swā lēofan men, licgan þence.’
 320 Swā hī Æþelgāres bearn ealle bylde
 Godric tō gūþe ; oft hē gar forlēt
 wælspere windan on þā wīcingas,
 swā hē on þām folce fyrrest ēode ;
 hēow and hýnde, oð þæt hē on hilde gecranc ;
 325 næs þæt nā se Godric þe ðā gūðe forbēah.

298. suna.

300. wigelines.

324. od.

325. gude.

IV. BIBLICAL AND CHRISTIAN

In the preceding three sections, which illustrate the traditional lore and the mentality of the Anglo-Saxon poet, the influence of Christian ecclesiasticism is not prominent. In the present section we give specimens exhibiting Biblical subjects and Christian ethos and doctrine as viewed by earnest, naive Anglo-Saxon churchmen, and by them set down in the native verse. The happy idea, attributed by Bede to Cædmon as the result of a heavenly monition, of telling the Hebrew Scriptural story and inculcating Christian principles in the traditional poetic language and metre, must have seemed a veritable gift of God to the Anglo-Saxon churchmen.

17

A. CÆDMON'S HYMN

This little poem is quoted by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, written in A.D. 731, as the first poem composed by Cædmon after the visit of the heavenly messenger who told him to sing of the Creation. The original Northumbrian text of the poem has fortunately been preserved in one of the Latin MSS. of the *History*. It is one of the earliest specimens of Old English that we possess, as well as the earliest written version of an Anglo-Saxon poem.

1. *Northumbrian Version*

Nū scylun hergan hefænricæs Uard,
Metudæs mæcti end his mōdgidanc,
uerc uuldurfadur, suē hē uundra gihuæs,
ēci Dryctin, ōr āstelidæ.
5 Hē ārist scōp ælda barnum
heben til hrōfe hāleg scepē;
thā middungeard moncynnæs uard,
ēci Dryctin, æfter tiadæ
fīrum folda, Frēa allmectig.

2. *Later West Saxon Version*

Nu sculon herigean heofonrīces Weard,
 Meotodes meahte ond his mōdgeþanc,
 weorc wuldorfæder, swā hē wundra gehwæs,
 ēce Drihten ōr onstealde.
 5a Hē ærest sceōp eorðan bearnum,
 heofon tō hrōfe, hālig Scyppend;
 þā middangeard moncynnes Weard,
 ēce Drihten, æfter tēode
 fīrum foldan, Frēa ælmihtig.

B. BEDE'S DEATH-SONG

Bede died in the year A.D. 735 at the monastery of Jarrow, near the mouth of the Tyne. There is extant a letter from Cuthbert, Abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, to Cuthwine, a friend, describing Bede's last moments. Cuthbert says, 'In our own tongue also (for he was skilled in our native songs), speaking of the dread departure of the soul from the body, he sang :

10 Forē thēre nēidfaerae nænig ni uuirthit
 thoncsnotturra than him tharf sīe
 tō ymbhycgannae ær his hiniongae
 huaet his gāstae gōdaes aeththa yflaes
 aefter dēothdaege dǣmid uueorthae.'

Cuthbert also mentions that Bede translated into his own language part of St. John's Gospel and some extracts from the works of Bishop Isidore (A.D. 560-636).

18. BIBLICAL AND RELIGIOUS PASSAGES IN
BEOWULF

We have reproduced the chief passages in *Beowulf* of a biblical and religious character, as it is important to know their nature and extent in this poem, treating as it does of a period long anterior to the conversion to Christianity of any independent people of the Germanic race, yet probably composed in Bede's lifetime. At one time critics were of opinion that all these passages were later interpolations in a pre-Christian poem, but this view has been generally given up. The tone and phraseology of ll. 4-9 of the first passage remind us strongly of those of Cædmon's *Hymn*. Noteworthy is the *nativité* of the poet, who makes the *scop* sing the story of Creation in the hall Heorot. Hrothgar the Danish king himself, like Beowulf the Geat, acknowledges the wisdom and power of God, and attributes to him success and victory. Yet, as we see in passage C, the poet calls the Danes 'heathen,' and pities their

benighted state, doubtless with an eye to the warning and edification of his readers or hearers. The religious passages, especially the numerous shorter ones, refer almost exclusively to the power of the Almighty (Metod, Dryhten, Alwealda, Wuldorcynig, etc.).

A. THE MINSTREL SINGS THE STORY OF CREATION

ll. 89-98

þær wæs hearpan swēg,
 swutol sang scopes ; sægde sē þe cūpe
 frumsceaft fīra feorran reccan,
 cwæð þæt se Ælmihtiga eorðan worh[te],
 5 wlitebeorhtne wang, swā wæter bebūgeð,
 gesette sigehrēþig sunnan ond mōnan
 lēoman tō lēohte landbūendum,
 ond gefræt Wade foldan scēatas
 leomum ond lēafum ; lif ēac gesceōp
 10 cynna gehwylcum þāra ðe cwice hwyrfaþ.

B. THE CURSE OF CAIN

ll. 99-114

Swā ðā drihtguman drēamum lifdon
 ēadiglice oð ðæt ān ongan
 fyrene fre[m]man, fēond on helle ;
 wæs sē grimma gæst Grendel hāten,
 15 mære mearcstapa, sē þe mōras hēold,
 tēn ond fæsten ; fifelcynnes eard
 won sēli wer weardode hwile
 siþðan him Scyppend forscrifen hæfde.
 In Caines cynne þone cwealm gewræc
 20 ēce Drihte, þæs þe hē Ābel slōg ;
 ne gefeah hē þære fæhðe, ac hē hine feor forwræc,
 Metod for þy mæne, mancynne fram.
 þanon untýdras ealle onwōcon,
 eotenas ond ylfe ond orcnēas,
 25 swylce gīgantas, þa wið Gode wunnon
 lange þrāge ; hē him ðæs lēan forgeald.

C. HEATHEN SACRIFICES

ll. 175-188

Hrothgar, the Danish king, and his wise men, alarmed by Grendel's nightly attacks, take counsel as to what had best be done. They appeal to their gods in vain, and the poet pities their heathen ignorance.

Hwilum hīe gehēton ^{sometimes} æt hærgratrum ^{heathen to}
 wigweorþunga, wordum bædon
 þæt him gæstbona ^{ghosts} gēoce gefremede
 30 wið þeodþreaum. Swylc wæs þeaw hyra,
 hæþenra hyht, helle gemundon
 in mōdsefan, Metod hīe ne cūþon,
 dæda dēmend, ne wiston hīe Drihten God
 ne hīe hūru heofena helm herian ne cūþon,
 35 wuldres waldend. Wā bið þām ðe sceal
 þurh slōðne nið sǣwle bescūfan
 in fýres fæþm, frōfre ne wēnan,
 wihte gewendan; wēl bið þām þe mōt
 æfter dēaðdæge Drihten sēcean
 40 ond tō Fæder fæþmum freoðo wilnian.

D. HIDDEN TREASURE

ll. 3051-3073

When men of old buried the hoard of treasure they laid a spell on it, pronouncing the curse of God on any who should disturb it.

Þonne wæs þæt yrfe ēacencræftig,
 iūmonna gold, galdre bewunden,
 þæt ðām hringsele hrīnan ne mōste
 gumena ænig, nefne God sylfa,
 45 sigora sōðcýning, sealde þām ðe hē wolde—
 hē is gehyld manna— hord openian,
 efne swā hwylcum manna swā him gemet ðūhte

Swā hit oð dōmes dæg dīope benemdon,
 þeodnas mære, þā ðæt þær dydon,

50 þæt se secg wære synnum scildig,
 hergum geheaðerod, hellbendum fæst,
 wommum gewītnad, sē ðone wong strude.

E. SELECTED SHORTER PASSAGES

1. ll. 381-384

 hine hālig God
 for ārstafum ūs onsende
 55 tō West-Denum, þæs ic wēn hæbbe,
 wið Grendles gryre.

2. ll. 478, 479

 God ēaþe mæg
 þone dolsceaðan dāda getwāfan.

3. ll. 685-687

 ond siþðan wītig God
 60 on swāhwæþere hond, hālig Dryhten,
 mārðo dēme, swā him gemet þince.

4. ll. 930, 931

 ā mæg God wyrcan
 wunder æfter wundre, wuldres Hyrde.

5. ll. 977-979

 ðær ābīdan sceal
 65 maga māne fāh miclan dōmes,
 hū him scīr Metod scrīfan wille.

6. ll. 1609-1611

 Fæder onlæteð,
 onwindeð wælrāpas, sē geweald hafað
 sæla ond mæla; þæt is sōð Metod.

7. ll. 2819, 2820

 him of hreðre gewāt
 70 sāwol sēcan sōðfæstra dōm.

19. EXODUS

The Bodleian MS. Junius xi., written in the first half of the eleventh century, contains a number of A.-S. poems dealing with the following biblical subjects: (1) The first twenty-two chapters of Genesis, (2) the march of the Hebrews out of Egypt across the Red Sea (the *Exodus*), (3) the first five chapters of the book of Daniel, (4) the temptation of Christ by Satan. At one time the whole of these poems were attributed to Cædmon, in view of Bede's statement that he sang 'of the whole story of Genesis, of the departure of Israel from Egypt, and of many other stories of Holy Scripture,' as well as 'of the Lord's incarnation, passion, resurrection, and ascension into heaven.' But closer investigation has shown that there is considerable variety of style and language as well as inequality of merit in these poems. At the same time it is quite possible that some of Cædmon's work may have survived in them. We thus conclude that the MS. is an anthology of A.-S. ecclesiastical poetry, more limited in its scope than the famous Exeter Book, written about the same time, which contains secular as well as religious verse. *Exodus* and *Judith* are the finest examples of A.-S. biblical verse-narrative. In *Exodus* the Bible story is not slavishly followed as it is in *Genesis*. The poet uses his fancy freely and writes almost as if he thought he had himself marched with the Israelites, sharing their fears and hopes. He has been in some measure influenced by *Beowulf*, judging by his use of certain words and phrases, yet he has a vigour and boldness of style which are his own. While the march of the Hebrews under Moses and their passage of the Red Sea are vividly described, the personality of Moses, unlike that of the leading figures in *Beowulf*, remains indistinct. On linguistic grounds *Exodus* is usually considered to be the earliest of the A.-S. poems of an exclusively biblical character, earlier than *Genesis*, *Daniel*, and Cynewulf's poems. But in vocabulary, phraseology, and metre it does not differ much from *Judith*, which is usually ascribed to the tenth century.

Two passages, of some 110 lines in all, have been omitted, being much inferior to the rest of the poem and probably later interpolations. The text of the MS. has been somewhat carelessly written by the copyist, so that a number of conjectural emendations have had to be made.

Hwæt, wē feor ond nēah gefrigen habbað
ofer middangeard Moyses dōmas,
wræclico wordriht, weru cnēorissum
in ūprodor, ēadigra gehwām
5 æfter bealusðe, bōte līfes
lifigendra gehwām, langsumne ræd
hæleðum secgan; gehyre sē ðe wille.
Þone on wēstenne weroda Drihten,
sōðfæst cyning, mid his sylfes miht
10 gewyrðode, ond him wundra fela
ēce Alwalda in æht forgeaf.
Hē wæs lēof Gode, lēoda aldor,

- horsc ond hreðerglēaw ; herges wīsa,
 freom folctoga, Faraones cyn,
 15 Godes andsaca(n), gyrdwīte band,
 þær him gesealde sigora Waldend,
 mōdgum magoræswum, his māga feorh,
 onwist ēðles Abrahames sunum.
 Hēah wæs þæt handlēan, ond him hold Frēa
 20 gesealde wæpna geweald wið wrāðra gryre ;
 ofercōm mid þȳ campe cnēomāga fela,
 fēonda folcriht. Ðā wæs forma sīð
 þæt hine weroda God wordum nægde,
 þær hē him gesægde sōðwundra fela,
 25 hū þās woruld worhte wītig Drihten,
 eorðan ymbhwyrft, ond ūprodor
 gesette sigerīce, ond his sylfes naman,
 ðone ylde bearn ær ne cūðon,
 frōd fædera cyn, þēah hīe fela wiston.
 30 Hæfde hē þā geswīðed sōðum cræftum
 ond gewurðodne werodes aldor,
 Faraones fēond, on forðwegas.
 Þā wæs unġera ealdum wītum,
 dēaðe gedreæced drihtfolca mæst,
 35 hordwearda hryre ; hēaf wæs genīwad,
 swæfon seledrēamas since berofene ;
 hæfde mǣnsceaðan æt middere niht
 frēcne gefylled, frumbearna fela,
 ābrozene burhweardas ; bana wīde scrāð,
 40 lāð lēodhata. Land drysmode
 dēadra hræwum ; dugoð forð gewāt,
 wōp wæs wīde, worulldrēama lȳt ;
 wæron hleahtorsmiðum handa belocene,
 ālȳfed lāðsīð lēode grēt(t)an,
 45 folc fērende ; fēond wæs berēafod,
 hergas on helle ; heofon þider becōm,
 druron dēofolgyld. Dæg wæs mære
 ofer middangeard, þā sēo mengeo fōr ;
 swā þæs fæsten drēah fela missera

33. ingere.

40. dryrmyde.

34. gedrenced.

44. grettan S.

39. abrotene S., abrocene MS.

45. freond.

- 50 ealdwērige, Ēgypta folc,
 þæs þe hīe wīdeferð wyrnan þōhton
 Moyses māgum, gif hīe Metod lēte,
 onlangne lust lēofes sīðes.
 Fyrd wæs gefýsed, from sē ðe lādde,
 55 mōdig magoræ(s)wa, mægburh heora.
 Oferfōr hē mid þȳ folce fæsten(n)a worn,
 land ond lēodgeard lāðra manna,
 enge ānpaðas, uncūð gelād,
 oð þæt hīe on gūðmyrce geaþwe bāeron ;
 60 wæron land heora lyfthelme beþeaht,
 mearchofu mōrheald ; Moyses ofer þā
 fela meor(r)inga fyrde gelædde.
 Heht þā ymb twāniht tīrfæste hæleð,
 siððan hīe fēondum oðfaren hæfdon,
 65 ymbwīcigean werodes bearhtme,
 mid ælfære, Æthānes byrig,
 mægnes mæste, mearclandum on.
 Nearwe genȳddon on norðwegas,
 wiston him be sūðan Sigelwara land,
 70 forbærned burhhleoðu, brūne lēode,
 hātum heofoncolum. Þær hālig God
 wið færbryne folc gescylde,
 bælce oferbrædde byrnendne heofon,
 hālgan nette, hātwendne¹lyft.
 75 Hæfde wederwolcen wīdum fæðmum
 eorðan ond ūprodor efne gedæled,
 lædde lēodwerod, ligfȳr ādranc
 hāte heofontorht. Hæleð wāfedon,
 drihta gedrȳmost. Dægsceldes hlēo
 80 wand ofer wolcnum ; hæfde wītig God
 sunnan sīðfæt segle ofertolden,
 swā ðā mæstrāpas men ne cūðon,
 ne ðā seglrōde gesēon meahton
 eorðbūende ealle cræfte,
 85 hū āfæstnod wæs feldhūsa mæst.
 Siððan hē mid wuldre geweorðode

57. leodweard.

63. tīrfæstne.

59. geaþwe *S.*, gearwe *MS.*

66. ælfære.

79. dægscældes.

62. meorringa *S.*

81. swegle.

- þēoden holde, þā wæs þridða wīc
 folce tō frōfre ; fyrd eall geseah
 hū þær hlifedon hālige seglas,
 90 lyftwundor lēoht ; lēode ongēton,
 dugoð Israhela, þæt þær Drihten cwōm,
 weroda Drihten wīcsteal metan.
 Him beforan fōran fȳr ond wolcen
 in beorhtodor, bēamas twēgen,
 95 þāra æghwæðer efngedælde
 hēahþegnunga hāliges gāstes,
 dēormōdra sīð, dagum ond nihtum.
 Þā ic on morgen gefrægn mōdes rōfan
 hebban herebȳman hlūdan stefnum,
 100 wuldres wōman. Werod eall ārās,
 mōdigra mægen, swā him Moyses bebēad,
 mære magoræswa, Metodes folce,
 fūs fyrdgetrum ; forð gesāwon
 lifēs lāt/ēow lif(t)weg metan.
 105 Segl sīðe wēold, sǣmen æfter
 fōron flōdwege ; folc wæs on sālum,
 hlūd herges cyrm. Heofonbēacen āstāh
 æfena gehwām, oððer wundor
 syllic æfter sunnan— setlrāde behēold—,
 110 ofer lēodwerum līge scīnan,
 byrnende bēam. Blāce stōdon
 ofer scēotendum scīre lēoman,
 scinon scyldhrēoðan, sceado swēðredon,
 neowle nihtscuwan nēah ne mihton,
 115 heolstor āhȳdan. Heofoncandel barn ;
 nīwe nihtweard nȳde sceolde
 wīcian ofer weredum, þȳ lās him wēstengryre
 hār(es) hǣð(es) holmegum wederum
 o(n) færcclamme ferhð getwǣf(de).
 120 Hæfde foregenga fȳrene loccas,
 blāce bēamas, bǣlegesan hwēop
 in þām hereþrēate, hātan līge,
 þæt hē on wēstenne werod forbærnde,

104. latþeow.

105. swegl.

113. swiðredon.

119. ferclamme.

121. bellegesan.

- nymðe hīe mōðhwate Moyses hȳrde.
- 125 Sceān scīr werod, scyldas līxton ;
 gesāwon randwigan rihte strāete ;
 segn ofer swēoton oð þæt sǣfæsten,
 landes æt ende, lēo(d)mægne forstōd,
 fūs on forðweg ; fyrdwīc ārās,
- 130 wyrpton hīe wērige, wiste genǣgdon,
 mōdige meteþegnas hyra mægen bēt(t)on.
 Bræddon æfter beorgum, siððan bȳme sang,
 flotan feldhūsum ; þā wæs fēorðe wīc,
 randwigena ræst, be þan rēadan sǣ.
- 135 Ðær on fyrd hyra fǣrspell becwōm,
 oht inlende ; egsan stōdan,
 wælgryre weroda. Wræcmon gebād
 lāðne lāstweard, sē ðe him lange ær
 ēðellēasum oð(t)nīed gescrāf,
- 140 wēan wītum fæst ; wære ne gȳmdon,
 þeah þe se yldra cyning ær ge(sealde).
 Ðā wearð yrfeweard ingefolca
 manna æfter mǣðmum, þæt hē swā miceles geðāh ;
 ealles þæs forgēton, siððan grame wurdon,
- 145 Egypta cyn, ymb āne(s) wīg,
 ðā hēo his mægwinum morðor fremedon,
 wrōht berēnedon, wære fræton.
 Wæron heaðowylmas heortan getenge,
 mihtmōd wera ; mānum trēowum
- 150 woldon hīe þæt feorhlēan fācne gylðan,
 þætte hē þæt dægweorc drēore gebohte,
 Moyses lēode, þær him mihtig God
 on ðām spildsīðe spēde forgēfe.
 Þā him eorla mōd ortrȳwe wearð,
- 155 siððan hīe gesāwon of sūðwegum
 fyrd Faraonis forð ongangen,
 oferholt wegan, ēored līxan,
 þūfas þunian, þēod mearc tredan ;
 gāras trymedon, gūð hwearfode ;
- 160 blicon bordhrēoðan, bȳman sungon,

139. onnied.

145. anes wig S., antwig MS.

146. MS. has-heo heo for heo.

- on hwæl (.)
 hrēopon herefugolas hilde grædige,
 dēawigfeðere, ofer drihtnēum,
 wonn wælcēasega. Wulfas sungon
- 165 atol æfenlēoð ætes on wēnan,
 carlēasan dēor, cwyldrōf beodan
 on lāðra lāst lēodmæignes fyl,
 hrēopon mearcweardas middum nihtum,
 flēah fæge gāst, folc wæs geh(n)æged.
- 170 Hwīlum of þām werode wlance þegnas
 mæton mīlpaðas mēara bōgum.
 Him þær segncyning wið þone segn foran,
 manna þengel, mearcþrēate rād;
 gūðweard gumena grimhelm gespēon,
- 175 cyning cinberge— cumbol līxton—
 wīges on wēnum, wæhlhencan sceōc,
 hēt his hereciste healdan georne
 fæst fyrdgetrum; frēond on sǣgon
 lāðum ēagan landmanna cyme.
- 180 Ymb hine wæron wīgend unforhte,
 hāre heorowulfas, hilde grētton,
 þurstige þræcwīges, þēodenholde.
 Hæfde him ālesen lēoda dugeðe
 tīrēadigra twā þūsendo,
- 185 þæt wæron cyningas and cnēowmāgas
 on þæt ea(l)de riht æðelum dēore;
 forðon ānra gehwīlc ūt ālædde
 wæpnedcynnes wigan æghwīlcne
 þāra þe hē on ðām fyrste findan mihte.
- 190 Wæron inge men ealle ætgædere,
 cyningas on corðre; cūð oft geb(ē)ad
 horn on hēape tō hwæs hægstealdmen,
 gūðþrēat gumena, geatwe bæron.
 Swā þær eorþ werod, ēcan lǣddon,
- 195 lāð æfter lāðum, lēodmæignes worn,
 þūsendmælum, þider wæron fūse;

162. hwreopon.
 178. syrdgetrum; onsigon.
 181. heorawulfas.

167. ful.

176. hwæhlhencan.
 180. wæron *S.*, wægon *MS.*
 193. geatwe *S.*, gearwe *MS.*

- hæfdon hīe gemynted tō þām mægenhēapum
 tō þām ærdæge, Israhela cynn
 billum ābrēotan on hyra brōðorgyld.
 200 Forþon wæs in wīcum wōp ūp āhafen,
 atol æfenlēoð. Egesan stōdon,
 weredon wælnet, þā se wōma cwōm ;
 flugon frēcne spel ; fēond wæs ānmōd,
 werud wæs wīgblāc, oð þæt wlance forseāf
 205 mihtig engel, sē ðā menigeo behēold,
 þæt þær gelāðe mid him leng ne mihton
 gesēon tōsomne ; sið wæs gedæled.
 Hæfde nýdfara nihtlangne fyrst,
 þeah ðe him on healfa gehwām hettend seomedon,
 210 mægen oððe merestrēam ; nāhton māran hwyrft,
 wæron orwēnan ēðelrihtes,
 sæton æfter beorgum in blācum rēafum
 wēan on wēnum. Wæccende bād
 eall sēo sibgedriht somod ætgædere
 215 māran mægenes, oð (ðæt) Moyses bebēad
 eorlas on ūhttīd ærnum bēmum,
 folc somnigean, frecan ārīsan,
 habban heora hlencan, hycgan on ellen,
 beran beorht searo, bēacnum cīgean
 220 swēot sande nēar ; snelle gemundon
 weardas wīglēoð. Werod wæs gefýsed,
 brūdon ofer burgum— bȳman gehȳrdon—
 flotan feldhūsum, fyrd wæs on ofste.
 Siððan hīe getealdon wið þām tēonhete
 225 on þām forðherge fēðan twelfe
 mōde rōf(r)a ; mægen wæs onhrēred.
 Wæs on ānra gehwām æðelan cynnes
 ālesen under lindum lēoda duguðe
 on folcgetæl fīftig cista ;
 230 hæfde cista gehwīlc cūðes werodes
 gārberendra, gūðfremmendra,
 tȳn hund geteled, tīrēadigra ;
 þæt wæs wīglic werod ; wāc(e) ne grēttan
 in þæt rincgetæl rāswan herges,
 235 þā þe for geoguðe gȳt ne mihton

- under bordhrēoðan brēostnet wera
wið flāne fēond folmum werigean,
ne him bealubenne gebiden hæfdon
ofer linde lærig, licwunde swoʒ,
240 gylpplegan gāres. Gamele ne mōston,
hāre heaðorincas, hilde onþēon,
gif him mōdhēapum mægen swēðrade,
ac hīe be wæstmum wīg(hēap) curon,
hū in lēodscipe lāestan wolde
245 mōd mid āran; ēac þan mægnes cræft
(. . . .) gārbeames feng.
þā waes handrōfra here ætgædere,
fūs forðwegas. Fana ūp (ge)rād,
bēama beorhtost; biðon ealle þā gēn
250 hwonne siðboda sǣstrēamum nēah
lēoht ofer lindum lyftedoras bræc.
Āhlēop þā for hǣleðum hildecalla,
bald bēohata, bord ūp āhōf,
heht þā folctogan fyrde gestillan,
255 þenden mōdiges meðel monige gehýrdon.
Wolde reordigean rīces hyrde
ofer hereciste hālgan stefne;
werodes wīsa wurðmyndum spræc:
‘Ne bēoð gē þý forhtran, þēah þe Faraon brōhte
260 ‘sweordwīgendra sīde hergas,
‘eorla unrīm. Him eallum wile
‘mihtig Drihten þurh mīne hand
‘tō dæge þissum dǣdlēan gyfan,
‘þæt hīe lifigende leng ne mōton
265 ‘ōgnian mid yrmðum Israhela cyn.
‘Ne willað ēow andrædan dēade fēðan,
‘fǣge ferhðlocan; fyrst is æt ende
‘lānes lifes. Ēow is lār Godes
‘ābrōden of brēostum; ic on beteran rǣd,
270 ‘þæt gē gewurðien wuldres Aldor,
‘ond ēow Liffrēan lissa bidde,
‘sigora gesynto, þær gē siðien.

239. swol *S.*, swor *MS.*

249. buton.

242. swiðrade.

265. ognian *S.*, ægnian *MS.*

- 'Þis is se ēcea Abrahames God,
 'frumsceafta Frēa, sē ðās fyrd wereð,
 275 'mōdig ond mægenrōf mid þære miclan hand.'
 Hōf ðā for hergum hlūde stefne
 lifgendra lēod, þā hē tō lēodum spræc :
 'Hwæt, gē nū ēagum tō on lōciað,
 'folca lēofost, færwundra sum,
 280 'hū ic sylfa slōh, ond þeos swiðre hand,
 'grēne tāne gārsecges dēop ;
 'yð ūp færeð, ofstum wyrceð
 'wæter wealfæsten. Wegas syndon drýge,
 'haswe herestræta, holm gerýmed,
 285 'ealde staðolas, þā ic ær ne gefrægn
 'ofer middangeard men gefēran,
 'fāge feldas, þā forð heonon
 'in ec(ness)e yðe þeahton,
 'sælde sægrundas. Su(n)ð wind fornam,
 290 'bæðweges blæst ; brim is ārēafod,
 'sandsæ āsp(r)an(c). Ic wāt sōð gēre
 'þæt ēow mihtig God miltse gecyððe,
 'eorlas ærglade ! Ofest is sēlost,
 'þæt gē of fēonda fæðme weorðen,
 295 'nū se Āgend(frēa) ūp ārærde
 'rēade strēamas in randgebeorh ;
 'syndon þā foreweallas fægre gestēpte,
 'wrætlicu wægfaru, oð wolcna hrōf.'
 Æfter þām wordum werod eall āras,
 300 mōdigra mægen ; mere stille bād.
 Hōfon herecyste hwīte linde,
 segnas on sande ; sæweall āstāh,
 ūplang gestōd wið Israhelum
 āndægne fyrst ; wæs sēo eorla gedriht
 305 ānes mōdes,
 fæstum fæðmum freoðowære hēold ;
 nalles hī gehyrdon hāliges lāre
 siððan lēofes lēoþ lāeste nēar,

277. þeod.

281. tacne.

283. wealfæsten.

288. ecnesse S.

289. suðwind.

290. bring.

291. sandsæ aspranc S., sand sæcir span MS.

307. hige gehyrdon.

- swēg swīðrode, ond sanges bland.
 310 Þā þæt fēorðe cyn fyrrest ēode,
 wōd on wægstrēam, wigan on hēape,
 ofer grēne grund ; Iūdisc fēða
 ān ōnette uncūð gelād
 for his mægwinum, swā him mihtig God
 315 þæs dægweorces dēop lēan forgeald,
 siððan him gesælde sigorworca hrēð,
 þæt hē ealdordōm āgan sceolde
 ofer cynerīcu, cnēowmāga blæd.
 Hæfdon him tō segne, þā hīe on sund stigon,
 320 ofer bordhrēoðan bēacen āræred
 in þām gārheape, gyldenne lēon,
 drihtfolca mæst, dēora cēnost ;
 be þām herewīsan hȳnðo ne woldon
 be him lifigendum lange þolian,
 325 þonne hīe tō gūðe gārwudu rærdon,
 ðeoda ænigre. Þracu wæs on ōre,
 heard handplega, hægsteald mōdige
 wæpna wælslihtes, wīgend unforhte,
 bilswaðu blōdige, beadumægnes ræs,
 330 grimhelma gegrind, þær Iūdas fōr.
 Æfter þære fyrde flota mōdgade,
 Rūbenes sunu ; randas bāron
 sēwicingas ofer sealtne mersc,
 man(na) menio, micel āngetrum
 335 ēode unforht. Hē his ealdordōm
 synnum āswefede, þæt hē siðor fōr
 on lēofes lāst ; him on lēodsceare
 frumbearnes riht frēobroðor oðþāh,
 ēad ond æðelo ; hē wæs gearu swāþēah.
 340 Þær æfter him (fōron) folca þrȳðum
 suna Simeones, swēotum cōmon,
 þridde þēodmægen,— þūfas wundon
 ofer gārfare— gūðcyste onþrang
 dēa(ð)wigsceaftum. Dægwōma becwōm
 345 ofer gārsecge, Godes bēacna sum,

309. sances.

313. an onette *S.*, an onorette *MS.*

321. leor.

326. þraca.

341. sunu.

344. deaðwigsceaftum *S.*, deawig sceaftum *MS.*

345. garsecges.

morgen mæretorht. Mægen forð gewāt,
 þā þær folcmægen fōr æfter ððrum
 isernhergum; ān wisode
 mægenþrymmum mæst— þy hē mære wearð—

350 on forðwegas, folc æfter folcum,
 cynn æfter cynne; cūðe æghwile
 mægburga riht, swā him Moises bēad,
 eorla æðelo; him wæs ān fæder.

Lēof lēodfruma landriht geþāh,
 355 frōd on ferhðe, frēomāgum lēof,
 cende cnēowsibbe cēnra manna,
 hēahfædera sum, hālige þēode,
 Israela cyn, ānriht Godes.

Swā þæt orþancum ealde reccað,
 360 þā þe mægburge mæst gefrūnon,
 frumcyn fēora, fæderæðelo gehwæs.

Folc wæs āfæred; flōdegas becwōm
 gāstas geōmre, geofon dēaðe hwēop.
 Wæron beorhhlidu blōde bestēmed,

365 holm heolfre spāw, hrēam wæs on yðum,
 (449) wæter wæpna ful, wælmist āstāh.

Wæron Egypte eft oncyrde,
 flugon forhtigende, fær ongēton,
 woldon hereblēaðe hāmas findan,

370 gylp wearð gnornra. Him ongēn genāp
 (454) atol yða gewealc; ne ðær ænig becwōm
 herges tō hāme, ac behindan belēac
 wyrd mid wæge, þær ær wegas lāgon,
 mere mōdgode, mægen wæs ādrenced

375 Strēamas stōdon, storm ūp gewāt
 (459) hēah tō heofonum, herewōpa mæst;
 lāðe cyrmdon— lyft ūp geswearc—
 fægum stefnum; flōd blōd gewōd.

Randbyrig wæron rofene, rodor swīpode

380 meredēaða mæst; mōdige swulton
 (464)

346. mæretorht.

358. anriht *S.*, onriht *MS.*

350. wolcnum.

378. stæfnum.

cýningas on corðre, cýrm swiðrode
 sæs æt ende— wígbord scinon.
 Hēah ofer hæleðum holmweall āstāh,
 merestrēam mōdig; mægen wæs on cwealme

385 fæste gefeterod, forðgang esnes
 (469) searwum āsæled. Sand hī rēnodon
 witodre wýrde hwonne waðema strēam,
 sincalda sæ sealtum ýðum,
 æflāstum gewuna, ēce staðulas,
 390 nacud nýdboda, nēosan cōme,
 (474) fāh fēðegāst, sē ðe fēondum ge~~h~~(w)ēop.
 Wæs sēo hāwene lyft heolfre geblāden;
 brim berstende blōdegesan hwēop
 sāmanna sið, oð þæt sōð Metod

395 þurh Moyses hand mōdge rýmde,
 (479) wīde wæðde, wælfæðmum swēop;
 flōd fāmgoðe, fæge crungon,
 lagu land gefēol, lyft wæs onhrēred;
 wicon weallfæsten, wāgas burston,
 400 multon meretorras, þā se Mihtiga slōh
 (484) mid hālige hand, heofonrīces Weard,
 (on) werbēamas. Wlance ðēode
 ne mihton forhabban, helpendra fæð(m),
 merestrēames mōð, ac hē manegum gesceōð,

405 gyllende gryre; gārsecg wēdde,
 (489) ūp ātēah, on slēap; egesan stōdon,
 wēollon wælbenna. Wigrōd gefēol
 hēah of heofonum, handweorc Godes,
 fāmigbōsma flōðwearde slōh,

410 unhlēowan wæg, alde mēce,
 (494) þæt ðý dēaðdrepe drihte swæfon,
 synfullra swēot, sāwlum lunnon
 fæste befarene, flōðblāc here,
 siððan hīe on hōgum hrān yrringa

415 mōdwæga mæst. Mægen eall gedrēas,

(499) 381. cyre. 385. forðgang esnes *S.*, forðganges nep *MS.*

386. æsæled. hi renodon *S.* barenodon *MS.* 387. fyrde.

391. gehweop *S.*, geneop *MS.* 403. fæðm *S.*, pað *MS.*

407. wigrod *S.*, witrod *MS.*

414. on hogum hran yrringa *S.*, on bogum brun yppinge *MS.* 415. modewæga.

- 4(*ē*)aþe gedre(n)cte, dugoð Egypta,
 Faraon mid his folcum; hē onfond hraðe,
 siððan (hē grund) gestāh, Godes andsaca,
 þæt wæs mihtigra mereflōdes weard;
 420 wolde heorufæðmum hilde gesceādan,
 504) yrre ond egesfull. Egyptum wearð
 þæs dægweorces dēop lēan gescēod;
 forðām þæs heriges hām eft ne cōm,
 ealles ungrundes, ænig tō lāfe,
 425 þætte sið heora secgan mōste,
 509) bodigean æfter burgum bealospella mæst,
 hordwearda hryre hæleða cwēnum,
 ac þā mægenþrēatas meredēað geswealh,
 (swā ēac) spelbodan, sē ðe spēd āhte;
 430 āgēat gylp wera; hīe wið God wunnon.
 514) Ðanon Israhelum ēce rādas
 on merehwearfe Moyse(s) sægde,
 hēahþungen wer, hālige spræce,
 dēop ærende

 435 Swā reordode rāda gemyndig
 548) manna mildost, mihtum swiðed,
 hlūdan stefne; here stille bād
 witodes willan, wundor ongēton,
 mōdiges mūðhæl; hē tō mænegum spræc:
 440 'Micel is þēos menigeo, mægenwīsa trum,
 553) 'fullesta mæst, sē ðās fare lādeð,
 'hafað ūs on Cananēa cyn gelȳfed
 'burh ond bēagas, brāde rīce,
 'wile nū gelæstan þæt hē lange gehēt
 445 'mid āðsware, engla Drihten,
 558) 'in fyrndagum fæderyncynne,
 'gif gē gehealdað hālige lāre,
 'þæt gē fēonda gehwone forð ofergangað,
 'gesittað sigerīce be sām twēonum,
 450 'bēorselas beorna; bið ēower blāed micel.'
 563) Æfter þām wordum werod wæs on sālum,

416. deaþe S., ða þe MS.

417. onfeond.

420. huru fæðmum.

442. MS. has ufon for us on.

- sungon sigebȳman, segnas stōdon
 on fægerne swēg. Folc wæs on lande ;
 hæfde wuldres bēam werud gelæded,
 455 hālige hēapas, on hyld Godes.
 (568) Līfe gefē(g)on, þā hīe oðlæded hæfdon
 feorh of fēonda dōme, þēah ðe hīe hit frēcne genēðdon,
 weras under wætera hrōfas. Gesāwon hīe þær weallas standan ;
 ealle him brimu blōdige þūhton, þurh þā heora beadosearo
 wægon.
 460 Hrēðdon hildespelle, siððan hīe hām wiðfōron,
 (573) hōfon hereþrēatas hlūde stefne
 for þām dædweorce —Drihten heredon—
 weras wuldres sang, wif on oðrum,
 folcswēota mæst, fyrdlēoð gōlan
 465 āclum stefnum, eallwundra fela.
 (578) Þā wæs eðfynde Afrisc mēowle
 on geofones staðe, golde geweorðod,
 hand āhōfon, halswurðunge,
 bliðe wæron, bōte gesāwon,
 470 hēddon hererēafes— hæft wæs onsæled,
 (573) ongunnon sālāfe segnum dælan
 on ȳðlāfe, ealde mādmas,
 rēaf ond randas ; heo(m) on riht scēo(de)
 gold ond godweb, Iosepes gestrēon,
 475 wera wuldorgesteald. Werigend lāgon
 (588) on dēaðstede, drihtfolca mæ(st).

20. CYNEWULF

Four of the best A.-S. Christian poems, *Juliana*, *Elene*, *Fates of the Apostles*, *Crist*, closely akin in treatment and style, have one peculiarity in common. Each of them contains a passage with an acrostic written in runic letters. Besides standing for one of the significant words in the text each rune at the same time represents a letter of the alphabet. In each poem these letters taken together in the order in which they occur spell the name *Cynwulf* or *Cynwulf*. The natural inference is that this is the name of the poet, who wished in this way to perpetuate his memory. His identity has not been established with certainty; some scholars think he was the Northumbrian bishop Cynwulf who lived in the eighth century.

In the poems attributed to Cynwulf there is comparatively little left of the

influence of the old heroic poetry which is so strong in *Exodus* and *Judith*. They have a pensive and mystically tender tone which on occasion, especially in *Crist*, swells into lyrical exaltation. Their author was a bookman, not a man of action; he is well versed in lives of saints and homilies, as well as in the Bible. As a narrator he is clear and straightforward.

A. CRIST

The poem *Crist*, numbering 1693 lines, consists of three parts, dealing respectively with the Advent, the Ascension, and the Last Judgement. The second part, ll. 440–866, contains an acrostic giving the name of the poet; the latest editor, Professor A. Cook, believes they are all by Cynewulf, but that they were not necessarily all written at the same period.

1. ll. 214–274

- Ēalā þū sōða ond þū sibsuma
 ealra cyninga cyning, Crīst ælmihtig,
 hū þū ær wære eallum geworden
 worulde þrymmum mid þinne wuldorfæder
 5 cild ācenned þurh his cræft ond meaht.
 Nis ænig nū eorl under lyfte,
 secg searoþoncol, tō þæs swīðe glēaw
 þe þæt āsecgan mæge sundbūendum,
 āreccan mid ryhte, hū þē rodera Weard
 10 æt frymðe genōm him tō frēobearne.
 Þæt wæs þāra þinga þe hēr þēoda cynn
 gefrugnōn mid folcum, æt fruman ārest
 geworden under wolcnum, þæt wītig God,
 līfes ordfruma, lēoht ond þýstro
 15 gedælde dryhtlice, ond him wæs dōmes gewæld;
 on þā wīsan ābēad weoroda ealdor:—
 ‘Nū sīe geworden forþ ā tō wīdan fēore
 ‘lēoht lixende lifgendra gehwām
 ‘þe in cnēorissum cende weorðen.’
 20 Ond þā sōna gelomp, þā hit swā sceolde;
 lēoma lēohtade lēoda mægþum,
 torht mid tunglum, æfter þon tīda bigong;
 sylfa sette þæt þū sunu wære
 efeneardigende mid þinne āngan frēan

12. gefrugnen.

16. MS. has ond for on.

18. lixende gefea lifgendra.

24. engan.

- 25 ær þon ðht þisses æfre gewurde.
 þū eart sēo snyttro þe þās sīdan gesceaft
 mid þy Waldende worhtes ealle.
 Forþon nis ænig þæs horsc, ne þæs hygecræftig,
 þe þīn fromcyn mæge fīra bearnum
 30 sweotule gesēþan. Cum nū, sigores Weard,
 Meotod moncynnes, ond þīne miltse hēr
 ārfæst ywe; ūs is eallum nēod
 þæt wē þīn mēdrencynn mōtan cunnan,
 ryhtgerȳno, nū wē āreccan ne mægon
 35 þæt fædrencynn fier ōwihte.
 Þū þisne middangeard milde geblissa
 þurh ðinne hērcyme, hælende Crīst,
 ond þā gyldnan geatu þe in gēardagum
 ful longe ær bilocen stōdan,
 40 heofona hēahfrēa, hāt ontȳnan;
 ond ūsic þonne gesēce, þurh þīn sylfes gong,
 ēaðmōd tō eorþan. Ūs is þīnra ārna þearf.
 Hafað se āwyrghda wulf tōstenced,
 deorc dēaðscūa, Dryhten, þīn ēowde,
 45 wīde tōwrecene; þæt ðū, Wealdend, ær
 blōde gebohtes, þæt se bealofulla
 hȳneð heardlice, ond him on hæft nimeð
 ofer ussa nīoda lust. Forþon wē, Nergend, þē
 biddað geornlice brēostgehygdum
 50 þæt þū hrædlice helpe gefremme
 wērgum wreccan; þæt se wi(t)tes bona
 in helle grund hēan gedrēose;
 ond þīn hondgeweorc, hæleþa scyppend,
 mōte ārīsan ond on ryht cuman
 55 tō þām ūpcundan æþelan rīce,
 þonan ūs ær þurh synlust se swearta gæst
 fortēah ond fortylde, þæt wē, tīres wone,
 ā būtan ende sculon ermþu drēogan,
 būtan þū ūsic þon ofostlicor, ēce Dryhten,
 60 æt þām lēodsceaþan, lifgende God,
 helm alwihta, hreddan wille.

27. þi.

48. usse.

44. dædscua.

51. wittes S.

2. ll. 779-814

- Ne þearf him ondrædan dēofla strælas
 ænig on eorðan, ælda cynnes,
 gromra gārfare, gif hine God scildeþ
 65 duguða Dryhten. Is þām dōme nēah,
 þæt wē gelīce sceolon lēanum hlēotan,
 swā wē wīdefeorh weorcum hlōdun
 geond sīdne grund. Ūs secgað bēc
 hū æt ærestan ēadmōð āstāg
 70 in middangeard mægnā Goldhord,
 in fæmnan fæðm, frēobearn Godes,
 hālig of hēahþu. Hūru ic wēne mē,
 ond ēac ondræde, dōm ðy rēþran,
 ðonne eft cymeð engla þēoden,
 75 þē ic ne hēold tealā þæt mē Hælend mīn
 on bōcum bibēad. Ic þæs brōgan sceal
 gesēon synwraece, þæs þe ic sōð talge,
 þær monig(e) bēoð on gemōt lāded
 fore onsýne ēces dēman.
 80 Þonne C(ēn) cwacað, gehýreð Cyning mæðlan,
 rodera ryhtend sprecan rēþe word
 þām þe him ær in worulde wāce hýrdon,
 þenden Y(r) ond N(yd) yþast meahtan
 frōfre findan. Þær sceal forht monig
 85 on þām wongstede wērig bīdan
 hwæt him æfter dædum dēman wille
 wrāþra wīta. Biþ se W(yn) scæcen
 eorþan frætwa. Ū(re) wæs longe,
 L(agu)flōdum bilocen lifwynna dæl,
 90 F(eoh) on foldan. Þonne frætwe sculon
 byrnan on bāle ; blāc rāsetteð
 recen rēada lēg, rēþe scrīþeð
 geond woruld wīde. Wongas hrēosað,
 burgstede berstað. Brond bið on tyhte,
 95 æleð caldgestrēon unmurnlice,
 gæsta gīfrast, þæt geō guman hēoldan,
 þenden him on eorþan onmēdla wæs.

B. ELENE

ll. 1236-1276

Elene is one of the longer A.-S. poems, comprising as it does 1320 lines. It describes in flowing narrative of a simpler style than *Exodus* how by order of the Empress Helena a search was made for the cross on which Christ was crucified, and how it was found buried deep in the ground together with the crosses of the two malefactors. The Cross is taken to Helena, who has it splendidly adorned with gold, silver, and precious stones, and commands all believers to commemorate the happy event by a yearly festival.

The poem proper ends with l. 1235, and ends with the word *Finit*. Then follows a passage of 85 lines of which we print here the first half. These lines are usually considered to be an autobiographical note by Cynewulf. The internal rhymes are noteworthy in that they were written at so early a date; they should be compared with those of the *Rhyme Poem*; see No. 23 *infra*.

- þus ic frōd ond fūs þurh þæt fæcne hūs
 wordcræft(ig) wæs ond wundrum læs,
 100 þrāgum þreodude ond geþonc nēodode
 nihtes nearwe. Nysse ic gearwe
 be þære riht(an eaht), ær mē rūmran geþeaht
 þurh ðā mæran meaht on mōdes þeaht
 wīsdōm onwrah. Ic wæs weorcum fāh,
 105 synnum āsæled, sorgum gewæled,
 bitrum gebunden, bisgum beþrunge,
 ær mē lāre onlāg þurh lēohtne hād,
 gamelum tō gēoce, gife unschynde
 Mægencyning āmæt ond on gemynd begēat,
 110 torht ontȳnde, tīdum gerȳmde,
 bāncofan onband, brēostlocan onwand,
 leoðucræft onlēac; þæs ic lustum brēac,
 willum in worlde. Ic þæs wuldres treowes
 oft nales āne hæfde ingemynd,
 115 ær ic þæt wurdor onwrigen hæfde
 ymb þone beorh an bēam, swā ic on bōcum fand,
 wyrda gangum, on gewritum cȳðan
 be ðām sigebēacne. Å wæs secg oð ðæt
 cnyssed cearwelmum, C(ēn) drūsende,
 120 þeah hē in medohealle māðmas þēge,
 æ(p)plede gold; Y(r) gnōrnode,

99. wæs *S.*, wæf *MS.*100. neodode *S.*, reodode *MS.*102. rihtan eaht *S.*103. meaht *S.*, miht *MS.*

104. onwreah.

118. sæcc.

N(ȳd)gefēra, nearusorge drēah,
 enge rūne, þær him **E**(oh) fore
 mīlpaðas mæt, mōdig þrægde
 125 wīrum gewlenced. **W**(yn) is geswēðrad,
 gomen æfter gēarum, geogoð is gecyrred,
 ald onmēdla; **Ū**(r) wæs gēara
 geogoðhādes glæm. Nū synt gewitene,
 lifwynne geliden, swā **L**(agu) tōglīdeð,
 130 flōdas gefȳsde. **F**(eoh) æghwām bið
 læne under lyfte. Landes frætwe
 gewītaþ under wolcnum winde gelicost,
 þonne hē for hæleðum hlūd āstīgeð;
 wæðeð be wolcnum, wēdende færeð
 135 and oft semninga swīge gewyrðeð,
 in nēdcleofan nearwe geheaðrod,
 þrēam forþrycced.

125. geswiðrad.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

21. GNOMIC AND DIDACTIC

There are several A.-S. poems containing wise saws, sage counsels, and short aphoristic remarks about men and things. They are so disconnected that one is tempted to regard them as merely exercises in versification. It is, however, more probable that the monks who wrote them were meeting the popular taste for such saws, grouping them together by alliterating verse. On the scanty evidence of their language, these poems are often considered to be of early date, but such evidence is not conclusive. Indeed, the metre if anything points to a late date, possibly well on in the tenth century.

A. THE WAYS OF CREATION

- Cyning sceal rīce healdan. Ceastra bēoð feorran gesȳne,
orðanc enta geweorc, þā þe on þysse eorðan syndon,
wrætlic weallstāna geweorc. Wind byð on lyfte swiftust,
þunar byð þrāgum hlūdast. Þrymmas syndan Crīstes myccle,
5 wyrð byð swīðost Wīnter byð cealdost,
lencten hrīmigost, hē byð lengest ceald,
sumor sunwlitegost, swegel byð hātost,
hærfest hrēðēadegost, hæleðum bringeð
gēares wæstmas, þā þe him God sendeð.
10 Sōð bið swutolost, sinc byð dēorost,
gold gumena gehwām, ond gomol snoterost,
fyrngēarum frōd, sē þe ær feala gebīdeð.
Wēa bið wundrum clibbor. Wolcnu scrīðað.
Geongne æþeling sceolan gōde gesīðas
15 byldan tō beaduwe ond tō bēahgife.
Ellen sceal on eorle, ecg sceal wið helme
hilde gebīdan. Hafuc sceal on glōfe

10. swicolost.

16. hellme.

- wilde gewunian, wulf sceal on bearowe,
 earm ānhaga, eofor sceal on holte,
 20 tōðmægenes trum. Til sceal on ēðle
 dōmes wyrcean. Daroð sceal on handa,
 gār golde fāh. Gim sceal on hringe
 standan stēap ond gēap. Strēam sceal on yðum
 me(n)cgan mereflōde. Mæst sceal on cēole,
 25 segelgyrd seomian. Sweord sceal on bearme,
 drihtlic īsern. Draca sceal on hlāwe,
 frōd, frætsum wlanc. Fisc sceal on wætere
 cynren cennan. Cyning sceal on healle
 bēagas dælan. Bera sceal on hāðe
 30 eald ond egesfull. Ēa of dūne sceal
 flōdgræg fēran. Fyrd sceal ætsomne,
 tīrfæstra getrum. Trēow sceal on eorle,
 wīsdōm on were. Wudu sceal on foldan
 blædum blōwan. Beorh sceal on eorþan
 35 grēne standan. God sceal on heofenum
 dæda dēmend. Duru sceal on healle,
 rūm recedes mūð. Rand sceal on scylde,
 fæst fingra gebeorh. Fugel uppe sceal
 lācan on lyfte. Leax sceal on wæle
 40 mid sceote scrīðan. Scūr sceal on heofenum
 winde geblanden in þās woruld cuman.
 Þeof sceal gangan þystrum wederum. Þyrs sceal on fenne
 gewunian
 āna innan lande. Ides sceal dyrne cræfte,
 fæmne hire frēond gesēcean, gif hēo nelle on folce geþēon,
 45 þæt hī man bēagum gebicge. Brim sceal sealte weallan,
 lyfthelm ond laguflood ymb ealra landa gehwylc,
 flōwan firgenstrēamas. Feoh sceal on eorðan
 tȳdran ond tȳman. Tungol sceal on heofenum
 beorhte scīnan, swā him bebēad Meotud.
 50 God sceal wið yfele, geogoð sceal wið yldo,
 lif sceal wið dēaþe, lēoht sceal wið þystrum,
 fyrd wið fyrde, fēond wið oðrum,
 lāð wið lāþe ymb land sacan,
 synne stælan. Ā sceal snotor hycgean

- 55 ymb þysse worulde gewinn ; wearh hangian,
 fægere ongildan þæt hē ær fācen dyde
 manna cynne. Meotod āna wāt
 hwyder sēo sāwul sceal syððan hweorfan,
 ond ealle þā gāstas þe for Gode hweorfað
 60 æfter dēaðdæge, dōmes bīdað
 on fæder fæðme. Is sēo forðgesceaft
 dīgol ond dyrne ; Drihten āna wāt,
 nergende Fæder ; nāeni(g) eft cymeð
 hider under hrōfas, þe þæt hēr for sōð
 65 mannum secge hwylc sȳ Meotodes gesceaft,
 sigefolca gesetu, þær hē sylfa wunað.

B. THE GIFTS OF MEN

- Fela bið on foldan forðgesȳnra
 geongra geofona, þā þā gæstberend
 wegað in gewitte, swā hēr weoruda God,
 70 Meotud meahtum swīð, monnum dæleð,
 syleð sundorgiefe, sendeð wīde
 āgne spēde, þāra æghwylc mōt
 dryhtwuniendra dæl onfōn.
 Ne bið ænig þæs earfoðsælīg
 75 mon on moldan, ne þæs medspēdig,
 lȳtelhȳdig, ne þæs læthȳdig,
 þæt hine se Ārgifa ealles biscyrge
 mōdes cræfta oþþe mægendæda,
 wīs on gewitte, oþþe on wordcwīdum,
 80 þȳ lās (hē) ormōd sȳ ealra þinga
 þāra þe hē geworhte in woruldlife,
 geofona gehwylcre ; nāefre God dēmeð
 þæt ænig eft þæs earm geweorðe.
 Nāenig eft þæs swīþe þurh snyttrucræft
 85 in þēode þrym þisses lifes
 forð gestīgeð, þæt him folca Weard
 þurh his hālige giefe hider onsende
 wīse geþohtas ond woruldcræftas,
 under ānes meaht ealle forlæte,

- 90 þý læs hē for wlence, wuldorgeofona ful,
mon mōde swið, of gemete hweorfe
ond þonne forhycge hēanspēdigran.
Ac hē gedæleð, sē þe āh dōmes gewæld,
missenlice geond þisne middangeard
- 95 lēoda leþocræftas londbūendum.
Sumum hēr ofer eorþan æhta onlihð,
woruldgestrēona. Sum bið wonspēdig,
heardsælig hæle, biþ hwæþre glēaw
mōdes cræfta. Sum mægenstrengo
- 100 furþor onfēhð. Sum frēolic bið,
wlitig on wæstmum. Sum bið wōðbora,
giedda giffæst. Sum bið gearuwyrdig.
Sum bið on huntoþe hrēðēadigra,
dēora dræfend. Sum dýre bið
- 105 woruldrīcum men. Sum bið wīges heard,
beadocræftig beorn, þær bord stunað.
Sum in mæðle mæg mōdsnottera
folcrædenne forð gehycgan,
þær witenas bið worn ætsomne.
- 110 Sum mæg wrætlice weorc āhycgan
hēahtimbra gehwæs; hond bið gelæred,
wis ond gewæalden, swā bið wyrhtan ryht,
sele āsettan; con hē sīdne ræced
fæste gefēgan wiþ færdryrum.
- 115 Sum mid hondum mæg hearpan grētan,
āh hē glēobēames gearobrygda list.
Sum bið rýnig, sum ryhtscytte,
sum lēoða glēaw, sum on londe snel,
fēþspēdig. Sum (on) fealone wæg
- 120 stefnan stēoreð, strēamrāde con
weorudes wisa ofer wīdne holm,
þonne sārōfe snelle mægne
ārum bregdað yðborde nēah.
Sum bið syndig, sum searocræftig
- 125 goldes ond gimma, þonne him gumena weard
hāteð him tō mārþum mārþum rēnian.
Sum mæg wæpenþræce, wīge tō nytte
mōdcræftig smið, monige gefremman,

- þonne hē gewyrceð tō wera hilde
 130 helm oþþe hupseax oððe heaþubyrnan,
 scirne mēce, oððe scyldes rond
 fæste gefēgan wið flyge gāres.
 Sum bið ārfæst ond ælmesgeorn,
 þēawum geþýde. Sum bið þegn gehweorf
 135 on meoduhealle. Sum bið mēares glēaw,
 wic(g)cræfta wīs. Sum gewealdenmōd
 þafað in geþylde þæt hē þonne sceal.
 Sum dōmas con, þær dryhtguman
 ræd eahtiað. Sum bið hrædtæfle.
 140 Sum bið gewittig æt wīnþege,
 bēorhyrde gōd. Sum bið bylda til
 hām tō hebbanne. Sum bið heretoga,
 fyrdwisa from. Sum biþ folcwita.
 Sum biþ æt þearf(e) þrīsthýdigra
 145 þegn mid his þēodne. Sum geþyld hafað,
 fæstgongel ferð. Sum bið fugelbona,
 hæfeces cræftig. Sum bið tō horse hwæt.
 Sum bið swiðsnel, hafað searolic gomen,
 glēodæda gife for gumþegnum,
 150 leoht ond leoþuwāc. Sum bið lēofwende,
 hafað mōd ond word monnum geþwære.
 Sum hēr geornlice gæstes þearfe
 mōde bewindeþ ond him Metudes ēst
 ofer eorðwelan ealne gecēoseð.
 155 Sum bið dēormōd dēofles gewinnes
 bið ā wið firenum in gefeoht gearo.
 Sum cræft hafað circnytta fela,
 mæg on lofsongum lifes Waldend
 hlūde hergan, hafað hēalice
 160 beorhte stefne. Sum bið bōca glēaw,
 lārum leoþufæst. Sum biþ listhendig
 tō āwritanne wordgerýno.
 Nis nū ofer eorþan ænig monna
 mōde þæs cræftig ne þæs mægenēacen
 165 þæt hi(m) æfre ānum ealle weorþen
 gegearwade, þý læs him gilp sceððe,

oþþe fore þære mære mōd āstige,
 gif hē hafað āna ofer ealle men
 wlite ond wīsdōm ond weorca blæd.

- 170 Ac hē missenlice monna cynne
 gielpes stýreð ond his giefe bryttað
 sumum on cystum, sumum on cræftum,
 sumum on wlite, sumum on wige;
 sumum hē syleð monna milde heortan,
 175 þēawfæstne geþōht, sum biþ þēodne hold.
 Swā weorðlice wīde tōsāweð
 Dryhten his duguþe; ā þæs dōm āge,
 lēohtbære lof, sē ūs þis lif giefed
 ond his milde mōd monnum cýþeð.

C. A FATHER'S ADVICE

It is possible, as Brandl suggests (*G.E.L.* p. 962), that these lines, obviously written by a cleric, were intended for the instruction of a young prince or noble (*freobearn*).

- 180 Ðus frōd fæder frēobearn lārde,
 mōdsnottor (mon), magucystum eald,
 wordum wīsfæstum, þæt hē wēl þunge:—
 'Dō ā þætte duge; dēag þīn gewyrht;
 'God þē bið symle gōda gehwylces
 185 'frēa ond fultum, fēond þām oþrum
 'wyrsan gewyrhta. Wene þec þý betran;
 'efn elne þis ā þenden þū lifge.
 'Fæder ond mōdor frēo þū mid heortan,
 'māga gehwylcne, gif him sý Meotud on lufan.
 190 'Wes þū þīnum ylðrum ārfæst symle,
 'fægerwyrde, ond þē in ferðe lāt
 'þīne lārēowas lēofe in mōde,
 'þā þec geornast tō gōde trymmen.'
 Fæder eft his sunu frōd gegrētte
 195 oþre sīþe: 'Heald elne þis:
 'ne fremme firene, ne næfre frēonde þīnum,
 'māge mǣn ne geþafa, þý læs þec Meotud oncunne

- 'þæt þū sý wommes gewita ; hē þē mid wīte gieldeð,
 'swylce þām oþrum mid ēadwelan.'
 200 Ðriddan sīþe þoncsnottor guma
 brēostgehygdum his bearn lārde :
 'Ne gewuna wyrsan wīdan fēore
 'ængum æhta, ac þū þē ānne genim
 'tō gesprecan symle spella ond lāra
 205 'rædhycgende ; sý ymb rīce swā hit mæge.'
 Fēorþan sīðe fæder eft lārde
 mōdlēofne magan þæt hē gemunde þis :
 'Ne āswīc sundorwine, ac ā symle geheald
 'rihtum gerisnum ; ræfn elne þis,
 210 'þæt þū nāfre fæcne weorðe frēonde þīnum.'
 Fīftan sīþe fæder eft ongon
 brēostgeþoncum his bearn lāran :
 'Druncen beorg þē ond dollic word,
 'mān on mōde ond in mūþe lyge,
 215 'yrre ond æfste ond idese lufan ;
 'forþon sceal æwiscmōd oft sīþian,
 'sē þe gewīteð in wifes lufan,
 'fremdre mēowlan ; þær bið ā firena wēn,
 'lādlicre scome, long nīð wið God,
 220 'gēotende gielp. Wes þū ā giedda wīs,
 'wær wið willan, worda hyrde.'
 Siextan sīþe swæs eft ongon
 þurh blīðne geþoht his bearn lāran :
 'Ongiet georne hwæt sý gōd oþþe yfel,
 225 'ond tōsceað simle scarpe mōde
 'in sefan þīnum, ond þē ā þæt sēlle gecēos ;
 'ā þē bið gedæled, gif þē dēah hyge ;
 'wunað wīsdōm in, ond þus wāst geara
 'ondgit yfles ; heald þē elne wið ;
 230 'feorma þū symle in þīnum ferðe gōd.'
 Seofeþan sīþe his sunu lārde
 fæder, frōd guma, sægde fela geongum :
 'Seldan snottor guma sorglēas blissað,
 'swylce dol seldon drýmeð sórgful
 235 'ymb his forðgesceaft, nefne hē fæhþe wite.

- 'Wærwyrde sceal, wīsfæst hæle,
 'brēostum hycgan, nales breahmtme hlūd.'
 Eahtoþan sīþe eald fæder ongon
 his mago monian mildum wordum :
 240 'Leorna lāra lārgedēfe,
 'wene þec in wīsdōm weoruda Scyppend,
 'hafa þē tō hyhte hāligra gemynd,
 'ond ā sōð tō sige, þonne þū secge hwæt.'
 Nigeþan sīþe nāegde se gomola,
 245 eald ūðwita, sægde eaforan worn :
 'Is nū fela folca þætte fyrngewritu
 'healdan wille, ac him hyge broснаð,
 'ellen cōlað, idlað þēodscipe ;
 'ne habbað wiht for þæt, þēah hī wōð dōn
 250 'ofer Meotudes bibod ; monig sceal ongielðan
 'sāwol sūsles. Ac læt þinne sefan healdan
 'forð fyrngewritu ond Frēan dōmas,
 'þā þe hēr on mægðe gehwær men forlætaþ
 'swiþor āsīgan þonne him sý sylfum riht.'
 255 Tēoþan sīþe tornsorgna ful
 eald eft ongon eaforan lāran :
 'Snyttra brūceþ þe fore sāwle lufan
 'warnað him wommas worda ond dāda
 'on sefan symle, ond sōþ fremed :
 260 'bið him geofona gehwylc gōde geýced,
 'meahtum spēdig, þonne hē mǣn flýhð.
 'Yrre ne læt þē æfre gewealdan
 'hēah in hreþre, heoroworda grund
 'wylme bismītan, ac him warnað þæt
 265 'on geheortum hyge. Hæle sceal wīsfæst,
 '(milde) ond gemetlic, mōdes snottor,
 'glēaw in gehygðum, georn wīsdōmes ;
 'swā hē wið ældu mæg ēades hlēotan.
 'Ne bēo þū nō tō tælende ne tō twēospræce,
 270 'ne þē on mōde læt men tō fracope,
 'ac bēo lēofwende ; leoht on gehygðum
 'ber brēostcofan. Swā þū, mīn bearn, gemyne
 'frōde fæderlāre ond þec ā wið firenum geheald.'

22. RIDDLES

Enigmas and riddles must have been current among the people of all countries ages before they were put into writing. Collections of riddles written in Latin verse have been preserved, the earliest of which is that of Symphosius, a continental writer. Their composition was a favourite recreation of learned men in the early Middle Ages, and it is well known that some of the most eminent Anglo-Saxon churchmen wrote riddles, for example Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne, in the seventh century, and Tatwine, archbishop of Canterbury, Eusebius, abbot of Wearmouth, Bonifatius, and Alcuin, archbishop of York, in the eighth century. A collection of riddles is also ascribed to Bede. All these writers used Latin verse. A collection of over ninety A.-S. riddles has been preserved in the Exeter Book, which while owing a good deal to the Latin collections, especially to those of Aldhelm and Symphosius, for their inspiration and method, undoubtedly include much that is native and popular. For a long time the authorship of this collection was ascribed to Cynewulf, but scholars are now inclined to abandon the theory of single authorship. Some of the poems usually included in the riddles of the Exeter Book are not riddles at all; others are descriptions rather than riddles.

The authors of the riddles often write with vigour and liveliness, and with a zest which shows that they enjoy the freedom of the literary *genre* as well as the pleasure of baffling the guesser. Some of the descriptions are remarkably fine, *e.g.* that of the hurricane, the second of our selections. The traditional vocabulary and phraseology of the earlier poetry are occasionally employed, but there is no trace of pre-Christian folk-lore. The pessimistic moralizing of so many A.-S. poems is refreshingly absent; Brandl may be right in thinking that these riddles were intended for the amusement of the polite society of courts, conceivably also, we may add, of monasteries.

Judging by their language and versification the A.-S. *Riddles* would seem to belong to various periods. Some of the earliest, dating from the eighth century, must have been written in the Northumbrian dialect. The original version of one of them (G 2) has been preserved.

A (RID. 1)

Hwylc is hæleþa þæs horsc ond þæs hygecræftig
 þæt þæt mæge āsecgan, hwā mec on sīð wræce,
 þonne ic āstige strong, stundum rēpe,
 þrymful þunie, þrāgum wræðe,
 5 fēre geond foldan, folcsalo bærne,
 reced rēafige? Rēcas stīgað
 haswe ofer hrōfum, hlin bið on eorþan,
 wælcwælm wera. þonne ic wudu hrēre,
 bearwas blēdhwate, bēamas fylle
 10 hēlme gehrēfed, hēahum meahtum

4. wræce.

10. hēlme *S.*, holme *MS.*

wrecen on wāþe, wīde sendeð.
 Hæbbe mē on hrycge þæt ær hādas wrēah
 foldbūendra, flæsc ond gæstas
 somod on sonde. Saga hwā mec þecce,
 15 oþþe hū ic hātte, þe þā hlæst bere.

B (RID. 3)

Hwīlum mec mīn frēa fæste genearwað,
 sendeð þonne under sǣlwonge
 bearm (on) brādan, ond on bid wriceð,
 þrafað on þýstrum þrymma sumne,
 20 hæst(e) on enge, þær mē heārd siteð
 hrūse on hrycge; nāh ic hwyrftweges
 of þām āglāce, ac ic ēþelstōl
 hæleþa hrēru; hornsalu wāgiað,
 wera wīcstede; weallas beofiað
 25 stēape ofer stīwitum. Stille þynceð
 lyft ofer londe, ond lagu swīge,
 oþþæt ic of enge ūp āþringe,
 efne swā mec wīsað sē mec wræðe on
 æt frumsceaft furþum legde,
 30 bende ond clomme, þæt ic onbūgan ne mōt
 of þæs gewealde þe mē wegas tæcneð.
 Hwīlum ic sceal ufan yþa wrēgan,
 (strēamas) styrgan, ond tō staþe þýwan
 flintgrægne flōd; fāmig winneð
 35 wæg wið wealle; wonn āriseð
 dūn ofer dýpe, hyre deorc on lāst
 ēare geblonden oþer fēreð
 þæt hý gemittað mearclonde nēah,
 hēa hlincas. Þær bið hlūd wada,
 40 brimgiesta breahm; bīdað stille
 stealc(e) stānhleoþu strēamgewinnes,
 hopgehnāstes, þonne hēah geþring
 on cleofu crýdeþ; þær bið cēole wēn
 slīþre sæcce, gif hyne sǣ byreð

11. wrecan.

20. hæst; heord.

28. wræde.

17. salwonge.

39. wada S., wudu MS.

- 45 on þā grimman tīd gæsta fulne,
 þæt hē scyle rīce birofen weorþan,
 fēore bifohten, fāmig rīdan
 ȳþa hrycgum ; þær bið egsa sum
 ældum geȳwed þāra þe ic hȳran sceal,
 50 strong on stīðweg ; hwā gestilleð þæt ?
 Hwīlum ic þurhræse þæt mē on bæce rīdeð,
 won wægfatu, wīde tōþringe
 lagustrēama full, hwīlum lāte eft
 slūpan tōsomne. Sē bið swēga mæst,
 55 breahmta ofer burgum, ond gebreca hlūdast,
 þonne scearp cymeð scēo wiþ oþrum,
 ecg wið ecge ; eorpan gesceafte
 fūs ofer folcum fȳre swæ/að,
 blācan lige, ond gebrecu fērað
 60 deorc ofer drēor̅gum gedyne micle,
 farað feohtende, feallan lātað,
 sweart sum senda(ð) sēaw of bōsme,
 wætan of wombe. Winnende fareð
 atol ēoredþrēat ; egsa āstigeð,
 65 micel mōdþrēa, monna cynne,
 brōgan on burgum, þonne blāce scotað
 scriþende scin scearpum wæpnum.
 Dol him ne ondrædeð ðā dēaðsperu,
 swylteð hwæþre, gif him sōð Meotud
 70 on geryhte (forð) þurh regn ufan
 of gestune lāteð stræle flēogan,
 farende flān ; fēa þæt gedȳgað
 þāra þe gerāceð rynegiestes wæpen.
 Ic þæs orleges o̅r anstelle,
 75 þonne gewīte wolcengehnāste
 þurh geþræcþringan þrimme micle
 ofer byrnan 'bōsm ; biersteð hlūde
 hēah hlōðgecrod ; þonne hnīge eft
 under lyfte helm londe nēar
 80 ond mē (on) hrycg hlade þæt ic habban sceal,

57. earpan.

58. swælað *S.*, swætað *MS.*

60. dreontum.

62. sum sendað *S.*, sum sendu *MS.*66. scotað *S.*, scotiað *MS.*70. geryhte forð *S.*, geryhtu *MS.*

77. byrnan.

meahtum gemanad mīnes frēan.
 Swā ic þrymful þēow þrāgum winne,
 hwīlum under eorþan, hwīlum ȳþa sceal
 hēan underhnīgan, hwīlum holm ufan,
 85 strēamas styrges, hwīlum stīge ūp,
 wolcnfare wrēge, wīde fēre
 swift ond swīþfreom. Saga hwæt ic hātte,
 oþþe hwā mec rāere, þonne ic restan ne nōt,
 oþþe hwā mec stæðþe, þonne ic stille bēom.

C (RID. 12)

90 Fōtum ic fēre, foldan slīte,
 grēne wongas, þenden ic gæst bere.
 Gif mē feorh losað, fæste binde
 swearte Wēalas, hwīlum sēllan men.
 Hwīlum ic dēorum drincan selle
 95 beorne of bōsme; hwīlum mec brȳd triedeð
 felawlonc fōtum; hwīlum feorran brōht
 wonfeax Wāle wegeð ond þȳð,
 dol druncmennen, deorcum nihtum
 wāteð in wætre, wyrmeð hwīlum
 100 fægre tō fȳre; mē on fæðme sticap
 hygegālan hond, hwyrfeð geneahhe,
 swifeð mē geond sweartne. Saga hwæt ic hātte,
 þe ic lifgende lond rēafige,
 ond æfter dēaþe dryhtum þēowige.

D (RID. 15)

105 Hals is mīn hwīt ond hēafod fealo,
 sidan swā some; swift ic eom on fēþe,
 beadowæpen bere; mē on bæce standað
 hēr, swylce suē on hlēorum; hlīfiað tū
 ēaran ofer ēagum; ordum ic steppe
 110 in grēne græs. Mē bið gyrn witod
 gif mec onhæle ān onfindeð
 wælgrim wiga, þær ic wīc būge,
 bold mid bearnum, ond ic bīde þær

- mid geoguðcnōsle, hwonne gæst cume
 115 tō durum mīnum; him biþ dēað witod.
 Forþon ic sceal of ēðle eaforan mīne
 forhtmōd fergan, flēame nergan,
 gif hē mē æfterweard ealles weorþeð;
 hī ne ber(i)að brēost. Ic his bīdan ne dear,
 120 rēþes on gerūman— ne ic þæt ræd teale—
 ac ic sceal fromlice fēþemundum
 þurh stēapne beorg stræte wyrcan.
 Eape ic mæg frēora feorh genergan,
 gif ic mōt mægburge mīne gelædan
 125 on dēgolne weg þurh dūne þyrel,
 swāse ond gesibbe; ic mē siþþan ne þearf
 wælhwelþes wīg wiht onsittan,
 gif se nīðsceaþa nearwe stige
 mē on swaþe sēceþ; ne tōsæleþ him
 130 on þām gegnpaþe gūþgemōtes,
 siþþan ic þurh hylles hrōf geræce,
 ond þurh hāst hrīno hildepīlum
 lāðgewinnum þām þe ic longe flēah.

E (RID. 22)

- Ætsomne cwōm siextig monna
 135 tō wægstæþe wicgum rīdan;
 hæfdon endlifen ēoredmæcgas
 firdhengestas, fēower scēamas.
 Ne meahton magorincas ofer mere fēolan
 swā hī fundedon, ac wæs flōd tō dēop,
 140 atol yþa geþræc, oðras hēa,
 strēamas stronge. Ongunnon stigan þā
 on wægn weras; ond hyra wicg somod,
 hlōdan under hrunge; þā þā hors oðbær,
 e(o)h ond eorlas, æscum dealle,
 145 ofer wætres byht wægn tō lande,
 swā hine oxa ne tēah ne esna mægen,

119. hi ne beriað breost *S.*, hine berað breost *MS.*120. ne ic *S.*, nele *MS.*

124. mægburge mot.

132. hest.

137. fridhengestas.

144. eh.

ne fæ̃t hengest, ne on flōde swom,
 ne be grunde wōd gestum under,
 ne lagu drēfde, ne on lyfte flēag,
 150 ne under bæc cyrde; brōhte hwæpre
 beornas ofer burnan, ond hyra bloncan mid,
 from stæðe hēaum, þæt hȳ stōpan ūp
 on ōþerne, ellenrōfe
 weras of wæ̃ge, ond hyra wicg gesund.

F (RID. 32)

155 Is þes middangeard missenlicum
 wīsum gewlitegad, wrættum gefrætwað;
 sīþum sellic ic seah searo hweorfan,
 grindan wið grēote, giellende faran;
 næfde sellicu wiht sȳne ne folme,
 160 exle ne earmas, sceal on ānum fēt
 searocēap swīfan, swīþe fēran,
 faran ofer feldas, hæfde fela ribba;
 mūð wæs on middan, moncynne nyt;
 fere(ð) fōddurwelan, folcscipe drēogeð,
 175 wist in wigeð, ond werum gieldeð
 gaful gēara gehwām, þæs þe guman brūcað
 rīce ond hēane. Rece, gif þū cunne,
 wīs, worda glēaw, hwæt sīo wiht sīe.

G (RID. 35)

1

Mec se wæ̃ta wong wundrum frēorig
 170 of his innape æ̃rest cende.
 Ne wāt ic mec beworhtne wulle flȳsum,
 hārum þurh hēahcræft, hygeþoncum in.
 Wundene mē ne bēoð wefle, ne ic wearp hafu,
 ne þurh prēata geþracu þræd mē ne hlimmeð,
 175 ne æt mē hrūtende hrīsil scrīþeð,
 ne mec ōhwonan sceal ām cnyssan.
 Wyrmas mec ne āwæ̃fan wyrda cræftum,

- þā þe geolo gōdwebb . geatwum frætwað.
 Wile mec mon hwæþre seþēah wide ofer eorþan
 180 hātan for hæleþum hyhtlic gewæde.
 Saga sōðcwidum, searoþoncum glēaw,
 wordum wīsfæst, hwæt þis gewæde sý.

2

The following is a much earlier Northumbrian text of this riddle, written at the end of a Latin MS. (Voss. Q. 106, fol. 24^b), in the Leiden University Library. Some of the words and letters which are damaged or illegible are enclosed in square brackets. The language and spelling should be compared with those of *Cædmon's Hymn* (No. 17 A1) and *Bede's Death-Song* (No. 17 B).

- Mec se uēta uong uundrum frēorig
 170a ob his innaðae ærest caend[ae].
 Nī uuāt ic mec biuorthæ uullan flīusum,
 hērum ðerh hēhcraft higido[n]cum [in].
 Uundnae mē ni bīað ueflæ, ni ic uarp hefæ,
 ni ðerih ðrēa[t]un giðraec ðrēt mē hlīmīth,
 175a ne mē hrūtendi hrisil scelfaeð,
 ni mec ōu[ua]n[a] aam sceal cnyssa.
 Uyrmas mec ni āuēfun uyrdi craeftum,
 ðā ði goelu gōdueb geatum fraetuath.
 Uil mec hudrae suae ðēh uīdæ ofaer eorðu
 180a hātan mith heliðum hyhtlic giuæde.
 Nī anōēgu n(ā) ic mē aerigfaerae egsan brōgum,
 ðēh ði nī[mæn flānas frac]adlicae ob cocrum.

H (RID. 39)

- Gewritu secgað þæt sēo wiht sý
 mid moncynne miclum tīdum
 185 sweetol ond gesýne; sundorcraft hafað
 māran micle þonne hit men witen.
 Hēo wile gesēcan sundor æghwylcne
 feorhberendra, gewīteð eft fēran on weg;
 ne bið hīo nāfre niht þær oþre,
 190 ac hīo sceal wīdeferh wreccan lāste

hāmlēas hweorfan ; nō þȳ hēanre biȳ.
 Ne hafað hīo fōt ne folm, ne æfre foldan hrān,
 ne ēagena (hafað) ægþer twēga,
 ne mūð hafaþ ne wiþ monnum spræc,

195 ne gewit hafað, ac gewritu secgað
 þæt sēo sȳ earmost ealra wihta
 þāra þe æfter gecyndum cenned wære.
 Ne hafað hīo sāwle ne feorh, ac hīo sīþas sceal
 geond þās wundorworuld wīde drēogan.

200 Ne hafað hīo blōd ne bān, hwæþre bearnum wearð
 geond þisne middangeard mongum tō frōfre.
 Næfre hīo heofonum hrān ne tō helle mōt ;
 ac hīo sceal wīdeferh Wuldorcyninges
 lārum lifgan. Long is tō secganne

205 hū hyre ealdorgesceaft æfter gongeð,
 wōhwyrda gesceapu ; þæt (is) wrætlic þing
 tō gesecganne ; sōð is æghwylc
 þāra þe ymb þās wiht wordum bēcneð ;
 ne hafað hēo ænig lim, leofaþ efne seþēah.

210 Gif þū mæge rāselan recene gesecgan
 sōþum wordum, saga hwæt hīo hātte.

I (RID. 55)

Ic seah in heall(e), þær haeleð druncon,
 on flet beran fēower cynna :

wrætlic wudutrēow ond wunden gold,
 215 sinc searobunden, ond seolfres dæl,
 ond rōde tācn, þæs ūs tō roderum ūp
 hlædre rāerde, ær hē helwara
 burg ābræce. Ic þæs bēames mæg
 ēaþe for eorlum æþelu secgan ;

220 þær wæs hlin ond āc, ond se hearda īw,
 ond se fealwa hōlen. Frēan sindon ealle
 nyt ætgædre, naman habbað āne,
 wulfheafōdtrēo ; þæt oft wāpen ābēad
 his mondryhtne, mādōm in healle,

193. eagene.

210. reselan.

223. -heafed-. ahead S., abæd MS.

- 225 goldhilted sweord. Nū mē gieddes þisses
 ondsware ȳwe, sē hi(m) ne ormede
 wordum secgan hū se wudu hātte.

23. RHYME POEM

In the earlier A.-S. verse rhyme is occasionally met with inside the alliterating line, cf. the passage from Cynwulf's *Elene* (No. 20 B); but its use may be regarded as a whim of the poet. Clearly it formed no part of the traditional technique of A.-S. versification. In the verse of the tenth century rhyme begins to occur more frequently in the alliterating verse, but it never rises above a humble rôle during the whole period when the alliterating verse was written. The familiar rhyming Latin hymns may have prompted ecclesiastical writers of A.-S. verse to imitation; it is also not unlikely that rhyming was used in proverbs and popular verse. The *Rhyme Poem*, consisting of eighty-seven lines, of which we here give the first portion, is interesting as an experiment on a considerable scale in a new and difficult technique already utilized to a slight extent. A number of the words used occur nowhere else; the general theme is the familiar one of regret for past happiness. The sense is frequently sacrificed to the rhyme.

- Mē lifes onlāh sē þis leoht onwrah,
 and þæt torhte getāh, tillice onwrah.
 Glæd wæs ic glīwum, glenged hīwum
 blissa blēoum, blōstma hīwum.
 5 Secgas mec sēgon, symbel ne ālēgon,
 feorhgiefe gefēgon; frætwed wēgon
 wic(g) ofer wongum wennan gongum
 lisse mid longum leoma getongum.
 Þā wæs wæstmum āweaht, wor(u)ld ons(ā)ht,
 10 under roderum āreaht, rædmægne oferþeaht.
 Giestas gengdon, gēþscype mengdon,
 lisse lengdon, lustum glengdon.
 Scrifen scrād, glād þurh gescād in brād;
 wæs on lagustrēame lād, þær mē leoƿu ne biglād.
 15 Hæfde ic hēanne hād; ne wæs mē in healle gād,
 þæt þær rōf weor(u)d rād; oft þær rinc gebād
 þæt hē in sele sæge sincgewæge
 þegnum gepyhte. Þenden ic wæs (on) hyhte;
 horsce mec heredon, hilde generedon,
 20 fægre feredon, fēondum biweredon.

225. þisses gieddes. 226. him ne ormede S., hine on mede MS.
 2. geteoh. 6. wægum. 9. onstreht S., onspreht MS. 11. gepscepe S.,
 gerscepe MS. 14. leofu S., leofu MS. 18. wæs ic mægen. 20. feondon.

- Swā mec hyhtgiefu hēold, hygedryht befēold ;
 staþolæhtum stēold, stepegongum wēold ;
 swylce eorþe ol, āhte ic ealdorstōl,
 galdorwordum gōl ; gomel sibbe ne ofōl,
 25 ac wæs g(i)ef(f)æst gēr, gellende snēr,
 wuniendo wær, wilbēc bescær.
 Scealcas wæron scearpe, scyl wæs hearpe,
 hlūde hlynede, hleoþor dynede,
 sweglrād swinsade, swiþe ne minsade ;
 30 burgsele bīfade, beorht hlīfade.
 Ellen ēacnade, ēad bēacnade,
 frēaum frōdade, fromum gōdade ;
 mōd mægnade, mine fægnade,
 trēow telgade, tīr welgade,
 35 blæd blissade, (blēo glissade) ;
 gold gearwade, gim hwearfade,
 sinc searwade, sib nearwade.
 From ic wæs in frætsum, frēolic in geatsum ;
 wæs mīn drēam dryhtlic, drohtað hyhtlic.
 40 Foldan ic freoþode, folcum ic lēoþode ;
 lif wæs mīn longe lēodum in gemonge,
 tīrum getonge, teala gehonge.

24. LATE A.-S. AND TRANSITIONAL VERSE

A

The following poem, which occurs in two MSS. of the *A.-S. Chronicle* (*C* and *D*) anno 1065, is the last surviving example of the traditional alliterating verse. The versification is fairly correct, judged by the earlier standard, more correct than that of the *Battle of Maldon* and the *Fight at Finnsburh*.

- Hēr Ēadward kingc, Engla hlaforð,
 sende sōþfæ[ste] sāwle tō Crīste,
 on Godes wære gāst hāligne.
 Hē on worulde hēr wunode þrāge,
 5 on kyneþrymme, cræftig ræda,
 fēower and twentig frēolic wealdend
 wintra gerīmes weolan brytnode ;

22. steald.

25. gefest, gear.

38. in in geatsum.

24. ofoll.

30. beofode.

- and healfe tīd hæleða wealdend
wēold welgeþungen Wālum and Scottum
10 and Bryttum ēac, byre Æðelrēdes,
Englum and Sexum, ðretmægcum.
Swā ymbclyppað ceald(e) brymmas,
þæt eall Ēadwarde, æðelum kinge,
hȳrdon holdlice hagestealde menn.
15 Wæs ā blīðemōd bealulēas kyng,
þēah hē lang(e) ær lande berēafod
wunode wræclāstum wīde geond eorðan,
syððan Cnūt ofercōm kynn Æðelrēdes,
and Dene wēoldon dēore rīce
20 Englalandes, eahta and twentig
wintra gerīmes welan bry(t)nodan.
Syððan forð becōm frēolice in geatwum
kyningc kystum gōd, clāne and milde,
Ēadward se æðela ēðel bewerede,
25 land and lēode, oð þæt lungre becōm
dēað se bitera, and swā dēore genam,
æþelne of eorðan. Englas feredon
sōþfæste sāwle innan swegles lēoht
and se frōða swāþēah befæste þæt rīce
30 hēahþungenum menn, Harolde sylfum,
æþelum eorle, sē in ealle tīd
hȳrde holdlice hærran sīnum
wordum and dædum; wihte ne āgæalde
þæs þe þearf wæs þæs þeodkyniges.

B

The so-called 'poetical prose,' mainly 'trochaic' and 'dactylic' in rhythm, of which the earliest dated example occurs in the *A.-S. Chronicle anno 959* (Laud MS.), and which became more and more used, made great use of assonance or weak rhymes resulting from the constant occurrence of the past tense of weak verbs ending in *-de* or *-den* and of nouns ending in *-e*. As time went on, full or 'rich' rhyme was occasionally used. We give first a specimen from the entry *anno 959*:

And Godes lage smeade oft and gelome,
and Godes lof rærde wide and side,
and wislice rædde, oftost a simle,
for Gode and for worulde, ealle his þeode.

In the entry *anno* 975 (Laud MS.) occur the lines :

Næs se flota swa rang
ne se here swa strang.

In the year 1036 (MS. C) we find :

Sume hi man wið feo sealde,
sume hreowlice acwealde,
sume hi man bende,
sume hi man blende . . .
Se æþeling lyfode þa gyt,
ælc yfel man him gehet,
oð þæt man gerædde
þæt man hine lædde
to Eligbyrig swa gebundenne.

C

In the famous annal of 1087 (Laud MS.), where the writer is describing the character and deeds of the Conqueror, he breaks out into a rugged metre with rhyme fairly well established.

Se cyning wæs swa swiðe stearc
and benam of his underþeoddan manig mearc

goldes and ma hundred punda seolfres ;

ðæt he nam be wihte
and mid mycelan unrihte
of his landleode,
for littelre neode.
He wæs on gitsunge befeallen,
and grædinesse he lufode mid ealle.
He sætte mycel deorfrið,
and he lægde lage þærwið,
þæt swa hwa swa sloge heort oððe hinde
þæt hine man sceolde blendan.¹

He forbead þa heortas, swylce eac þa baras ;

¹ blendian.

swa swiðe he lufode þa headeor
 swilce he wære heora fæder.
 Eac he sætte be þam haran
 þæt hi mosten freo faran.

His rice men hit mændon, and þa earme men hit becearodan,

ac he (wæs) swa stið
 þæt he ne rohte heora eallra nið;

ac hi moston mid ealle þes cynges wille folgian, gif hi woldon
 libban oððe land habban,

land oððe eahta,
 oððe wel his sehta.

Walawa, þæt ænig man sceolde modigan swa, hine self upp
 ahebban, and ofer ealle men tellan.

Se ælmihtiga God cyþe his saule mildheortnisse,
 and do him synna forgifenesse.

In Laȝamon's *Brut*, written perhaps a century later, this doggerel has become somewhat more regular in the number of syllables in the line, and the rhythm, mostly of a 'trochaic' or 'dactylic' character, is more marked, but the rhymes are still introduced at the fancy of the writer, casually, as it were. We take the following lines as an example of the *Brut* metre:

Arður þat iherde, wraðest kinge,
 þat Modred wæs i Cornwale, mid muchele monweorede,
 And þer wolde abiden þat Arður come riden.
 Arður sende sonde ȝeond al his kinelonde,
 And to cumen alle hehte þat quic wæs on londe,
 þa to vihte oht weoren, wepnen to beren;
 And whaswa hit forsete þat þe king hete,
 þe king hine wolde a folden quic al forbernen.

APPENDIX ON ANGLO-SAXON VERSIFICATION

§ 1. The whole body of A.-S. verse which has survived, amounting to some 30,000 lines, is with a few exceptions written in the alliterating unrhymed metre common to the old Germanic literatures. As the early A.-S. verse is much older than the extant verse of other Germanic literatures, *e.g.* Old High German, Old Saxon, and Old Icelandic, we may regard it as exemplifying the early technique of this style of versification.

§ 2. Throughout the A.-S. period there was one standard form which was adhered to on the whole with remarkable uniformity. This metre was based on the stress-accent, *i.e.* the word-accent and the sentence-accent. Quantity, or length of syllables, played an important part, whereas the number of syllables was relatively unimportant. Thus the A.-S. metre differed from the purely quantitative metre of Greek and Latin verse, from the purely syllabic metre of modern French poetry and from the syllabic, irregularly-stressed metre of most modern English poetry.

§ 3. A.-S. verse is written in lines, each line being divided in the middle by a caesura into two half-lines. In each half-line there are two strongly-stressed syllables, which are usually long.¹ The first syllable of the second half-line alliterates with one (the first) or both of the stressed syllables of the first half-line, *i.e.* it begins with the same sound; each consonant alliterates with itself only; any vowel alliterates with any other vowel.

§ 4. We take as an example the line :

Wúndorlic wægþora wéras scéawedon

Here the strongly-stressed syllables are marked with acute accents, and the alliterating sound, here *w*, is in black type. It will be seen that the *w* of *weras* alliterates with the *w* of *wuldorlic* and *wægþora*. But in the line

se þe méregrúndas mēngan scólde

¹ With the exception of some monosyllabic nouns, *e.g.* *God*. A short syllable can only take a strong or a secondary stress when it immediately follows a long syllable with a strong or secondary stress.

the *m* of *mengan* alliterates with only one of the two stresses of the first half-line, viz. *mére*. Again, in the line

écg wæs íren átertanum fáh

the *a* of *atertanum* alliterates with the *e* of *ecg* and the *i* of *iren*.

§ 5. In printed texts the cæsure of the line is indicated by a space; as a rule it does not cut across a phrase-group, *i.e.* it would not come between the adjective and its noun,¹ or the preposition and its noun. The lines are grouped into paragraphs of irregular length much as in modern English blank verse, and not into stanzas; further, *enjambement* often occurs, *i.e.* the sense runs over from one line to the other as in blank verse. This running-on is often, but not necessarily, carried out by the device of using 'equivalents' or 'kennings.' Thus in the lines

*geþenc nu se mæra maga Healfdenes,
snottra fengel, nu ic eom siðes fus,
goldwine gumena, hwæt wit geo spræcon*

the phrases *snottra fengel* and *goldwine gumena* are merely equivalents or repetitions of *maga Healfdenes*.

§ 6. The **strong stresses** are the essential part of the alliterating metre. We further distinguish 'secondary' or half-stresses, and 'weak' stresses or unstressed syllables. A secondary stress is indicated by a grave accent, and a weak stress by a small cross, as in *lándfrùma^x, fòrð^x gewát^x*. Large numbers of compound nouns and adjectives used in A.-S. verse have the three grades of stress *e.g.* *góldwlànce^x, mérestàpa^x, þéodscìpe^x*, etc.

§ 7. Structurally all normal half-lines belong to one or other of **five types**,² of which the following are the simplest but not necessarily the commonest forms:

A. 'x'x *gómbān gýldān* 4 11.

B. x'x' *on flóðes éht* 4 42.

C. x''x *in gúmstóle* 4 112, *on béarm scípes* 4 35.

D. ''x *léof lándfrùma* 4 31, *ýmbsittèndra* 4 9.

E. ''x' *wígèndra hléo* 4 89.

§ 8. In each type variations are permissible and frequently occur. In the first place, both strong and secondary stress may be 'resolved,'

¹ Exceptions occasionally occur, especially in late verse.

² These types were established by Professor Edward Sievers, whose researches first placed the study of early Germanic versification on a sound basis.

i.e. the stress may be borne by two short syllables instead of by one long one. Moreover, the number of less strongly stressed syllables varies considerably in the types.

A. Each or both of the weaker stresses may be a secondary one, *e.g.* *isig^x ond^x útfús* 4 33, *héard^x ond^x hringmæl* 4 237, *gúðrinc^x góldwłanc* *Beo.* l. 1881. Also the first strong stress may be followed by two or even three weak stresses, *e.g.* *wéox^x únder^x wólcnum* 4 8, *énne^x ofér^x ýðe^x* 4 46; the second strong stress is never followed by more than one inferior stress, whether secondary or weak.

B. The first strong stress is often preceded by more than one weak stress, *e.g.* *he^x þás^x frófre^x gebád* 4 7, *op^x þæt^x him^x eft^x onwóc* 4 56. The second stress is sometimes preceded by two weak stresses, *e.g.* *in^x mægþa^x gehwám* 4 25.

C. The first strong stress is generally preceded by more than one weak stress, *e.g.* *hwæt^x we^x Gár-Déna^x* 4 1, *ne^x hyrdé^x ic^x cýmlicor^x* 4 38. The second stress may also be preceded by two weak stresses, *e.g.* *þæt^x hit^x on^x wéalle^x atstód* 4 81.

D. The order ' ` x may be replaced by ' x ` , *e.g.* *fáger^x földan^x bæarm* 4 197, *lig^x éalle^x fōrswealg* 4 182, *winter^x ýþe^x béledc* 4 192. The first stress may be followed by a single weak stress, *e.g.* *frófor^x eft^x gelámp* 4 340.

E. In place, of ' ` x ' we occasionally meet with ' ` x x ' , *e.g.* *méodosetla^x oftéah* 4 5.

§ 9. In the first half-line, never in the second, there frequently occurs a **one-stress** type, ending like an A-type in ' x . In this case the strong stress is preceded by several words with weak sentence-stress. Scholars usually regard this type as a variety of A; they assign strong stress to one of the words preceding the penultimate stressed syllable, and they regard any syllable or syllables preceding the arbitrarily assigned strong stress as being an *anacrousis*, like a 'grace-note' in music. This, however, is unnecessary; the type is clearly a distinct one.

§ 10. Occasionally a series of 'extended' half-lines is met with for several lines in succession, as in the following passage from *Exodus* (No. 19, ll. 457-459):

<i>féorh^x of^x féonda^x dóme^x,</i>	<i>þeah^x ðe^x hie^x hit^x frécne^x genlðdon^x,</i>
<i>wéras^x únder^x wétera^x hrófás.</i>	<i>Gesawon^x hie^x þær^x wéallas^x stándan^x;</i>
<i>ealle^x him^x brtmu^x blóðige^x þúhton</i>	<i>þurh^x þa^x heora^x beadoscero^x wægon.</i>

Other examples occur in *Beo.*, *Judith*, *Dream of the Cross*, etc. They may be looked upon as an extension of the A-type, often with three strong stresses and several weak stresses at the beginning of the half-line. Most scholars are of opinion that this form of metre is employed to give especial solemnity to a passage.

§ 11. The gradations of stress employed in A.-S., as in all early Germanic alliterating versification, are those which occurred in the spoken language, *i.e.*, they conformed to the rules of sentence-stress. This differed greatly from the sentence-stress of modern English and is more nearly represented by that of modern German, which in many ways is more conservative than our language. Among the more important rules of A.-S. verse-stress are the following :

§ 12. (a) Nouns, adjectives, infinitives, and participles take strong stress.

(b) Verbs in the indicative, subjunctive, and imperative usually take either secondary or weak stress, but may on occasion take strong stress. They are, however, practically always subordinate in stress to the preceding class. Examples are : *hēold* ^ˈ*þēdēn* ^ˈ*līfde* 4 57, *nānig* ^ˈ*þæt* ^ˈ*dōrste* 4 93, *blād* ^ˈ*wīde* ^ˈ*sprāng* 4 18, *fāder* ^ˈ*ēllor* ^ˈ*hwed̥rf* 4 55, *bāi* ^ˈ*on* ^ˈ*bēarm* ^ˈ*scīpes* 4 86, *gēwat* ^ˈ*him* ^ˈ*ða* ^ˈ*se* ^ˈ*gōða* 4 348, *gēmundē* ^ˈ*ða* ^ˈ*ða* ^ˈ*āre* 14 349.

(c) Some adverbs take strong, others weak stress ; others again either strong or weak, according to their position in the sentence, *e.g.* *fēor* ^ˈ*gēwitan* 4 42, *fōrð* ^ˈ*gērmed* 4 59, *wīde* ^ˈ*mārost* 4 88, *ðar* ^ˈ*hio* ^ˈ*syððan* ^ˈ*wel* 4 111, *āfrē* ^ˈ*gēmāndēn* 4 161, *oft* ^ˈ*Scýld* ^ˈ*Scēfing* 4 4.

(d) A preposition takes weak stress when it precedes its noun and strong stress when it follows it, *i.e.* when it has an adverbial or semi-adverbial function, *e.g.* *gēong* ^ˈ*in* ^ˈ*gēardūm* 4 13, *Scēdelāndūm* ^ˈ*in* 4 19, *þone* ^ˈ*þe* ^ˈ*ðu* ^ˈ*mīd* ^ˈ*rihte* 4 256, *þa* ^ˈ*him* ^ˈ*mīd* ^ˈ*scōldon* 4 41.

(e) Pronouns take weak or strong stress according to their class, and according to the presence or absence of words of stronger stress, *e.g.* *swa* ^ˈ*hē* ^ˈ*sēlfā* ^ˈ*bād* 4 29, *him* ^ˈ*on* ^ˈ*bēarme* ^ˈ*lāg* 4 40, *nalles* ^ˈ*hi* ^ˈ*hine* ^ˈ*lāssan* 4 43, *þonne* ^ˈ*hē* ^ˈ*swūlcēs* ^ˈ*hwāt* 4 70, *nē* ^ˈ*bið* ^ˈ*swýlc* ^ˈ*cwēntlic* ^ˈ*þeaw* 4 100.

Demonstrative pronouns, which normally take weak stress, occasionally take so-called 'rhetorical' stress for emphasis, *e.g.* *on* ^ˈ*þām* ^ˈ*dēge* ^ˈ*þýsses* ^ˈ*līfes* *Beo.* 197, *þonne* ^ˈ*þá* ^ˈ*dýdon* 4 44.

(f) Verbal prefixes such as *ge-*, *on-*, *for-*, *be-*, etc., take weak stress.

§ 13. A knowledge of the principles of A.-S. versification has enabled scholars to amend many errors due to careless copying of MSS.

§ 14. Regarded æsthetically, the A.-S. versification can hardly be said to please the ear of even the practised modern student. For one thing, the choice of the various types of half-lines is arbitrary, so that the effect produced is that of a jumble of rhythms; thus a 'trochaic' or A-type of half-line may be immediately followed by an 'iambic' or B-type, a reversal of rhythm which shocks the modern ear. Occasionally, however, there is a succession of A-types, which has a familiar and pleasing effect on the ear, but such a succession is not found in the case of the other types. The types C, D, E, are frankly unacceptable, they have a limping not to say a lumbering effect.

§ 15. What then could our forefathers have found pleasing in the *form* of their poetry? We must bear in mind that the alliterating verse was chanted to the accompaniment of the harp and was not intended to be read. It is obvious that without the harp a good deal of the artistic effect would be lost. It is not unlikely that the strongly stressed syllables would be reinforced by strongly sounded chords, while the secondary stresses may have been rendered with less heavily struck chords, and the weak stresses may have been unaccompanied or accompanied with single notes. This, however, is pure conjecture. There was doubtless a recognized method of accompanying the voice, and the singer himself chanted in the traditional manner. We can form some notion of the 'flatness' of effect of A.-S. verses read instead of sung by imagining how some modern popular kinds of song would sound if read like ordinary verse. Whereas our literary versification shows regularity in the number of syllables and variety in the number and grouping of the stresses, the A.-S. versification shows regularity in the number of stresses and variety in their grouping. We may be quite sure that our forefathers enjoyed their poetical form as keenly as we enjoy ours. For every people at any given time has a verse-technique which, being based on the normal national speech-habits, satisfies the great majority of hearers or readers.

§ 16. The types A and B represent the natural rhythm of ordinary A.-S. speech, or indeed of any language with a strongly-marked stress-accentuation. Types D and E, and to some extent C, are in a manner more artificial, and their function is to admit of the use of the large number of picturesque compound nouns and adjectives, so characteristic of A.-S. poetry. By the end of the eleventh century the traditional versification and poetical language no longer appealed to the ordinary people, and exact knowledge of their technique was practically extinct except in the monasteries. The use of compound nouns and adjectives had now nearly disappeared and with it the need for the types D and E and partly also C. Secondary stress consequently ceased to play a part in verse. In the *Brut*, a poem of the end of the twelfth century, the

vast majority of the lines show A and B types alone, see p. 124 *supra*. Towards the end of the A.-S. period prose-writers began to use a well-marked trochaic and dactylic rhythm of the general type (x)'x'x'x'x', with assonance of weak endings. The best example of this rhythm is the *Sermo ad Anglos*, which might well be regarded as verse; *cf.* also p. 122 B *supra*. Full rhyme is frequently though unsystematically used in some of these writings; see p. 123 *supra*, and the passage from the *Brut*, p. 124. The trochaic and dactylic rhythm doubtless continued to be used in popular, orally-delivered lays and stories and reappears in the written, alliterating romances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was on account of the popularity of this rhythm that Langland employed it for his great work. The alliterating M.E. verse is therefore to be regarded as the direct descendant, through popular channels, of the A.-S. system of versification adapted to the changed conditions of word- and sentence-stress of the English language. The long line has still the caesura; the second half line is almost exclusively of the A-type and ends in a weak -e, or -en, -es, while the first admits of an occasional B-type. The alliteration is more irregular than in the A.-S. verse and the sentence-stress is noticeably different.

NOTES

I. GERMANIC LEGEND AND STORY

1. WIDSITH

An * indicates 'not identified.'

MS. in Exeter Book, fol. 84b-87a.

Edition. The latest and by far the best edition is by R. W. Chambers, 1912.

5. Most commentators have taken Ealhild to be the wife of Eadgils, Widsith's lord (l. 93). According to this view she gives the gleeman a second ring after he has on his return home handed over to Eadgils the splendid ring given him by Ermanric. Another view is that Ealhild is a princess on her way to the court of Ermanric to whom she is to be married, accompanied by her minstrel Widsith. This interpretation rests on the word *mid*, 'in company with' (l. 5). Ealhild thus gives Widsith a ring following the present made to the bard by her husband the Gothic king. But if the lady's father Eadwine (l. 98) is the same as Eadwine father of the great Longobard king Ælfwine (Alboin) whom Widsith claims (l. 70) to have visited, it is clear that she cannot have been the wife of Ermanric, who lived two centuries earlier. We must not, however, expect the poet to be strictly historical; his imaginary traveller knows no bounds of either place or time.

7. **Hreðcyninges**: the meaning of the prefix *Hreð-* is obscure. It may be the O.E. word *hreð*, 'fame,' 'glory,' which occurs as the first element of proper names; cf. *Hreðric*, *Beo.* l. 1189, and *Hreðmanna*, *ib.* l. 445; or else it may be due to 'popular etymology,' *hreð* supplanting an earlier form *hræð*, which would correspond to the prefix in the O.N. name *Reiðgotaland*, and the O.Sw. *Hraiðmarar*; see also note on *Hræda*, l. 120.

8. **Ongle**: Angel or Ongel was, as we learn from the geographical introduction to King Alfred's *Orosius*, the territory occupied by the Angles before they crossed over to Britain. It corresponded to Jutland, Zealand, and various other islands, now Danish. The modern Angeln, a district in Slesvig, perhaps represents the territory occupied by the original tribe, the *Angli* of Tacitus, before its sway extended over other tribes. The sense of **eastan of Ongle** is strictly speaking 'from the east, from Angel,' which seems to indicate the point of view of a writer living in England.

Eormanrices: Ermanaric, the great chief of the Ostrogoths, famous in Germanic hero-legend, who died about A.D. 375. The epithet **wraþes warlogan**, 'the fierce breaker of treaties,' is in accordance with his legendary reputation; cf. 3 21.

13. If **se þe** is taken as the subject of **wile**, the construction is unusual, being a

case of the accus. with the infin. The construction is normal, but the sense not so good, if *se þe his* be taken as a rel. pron., 'whose throne is to prosper.'

14. **Hwala**: Ettmüller's emendation for the MS. reading *wala* occurs in the list of W.S. kings given in *A.-S. Chron.*, anno 855.

15. **Alexandreas**: Alexander the Great, whose legendary fame was widely spread among the Germanic peoples. The spelling may be due to confusion with the name Andreas.

18. **Ætla**: Attila, king of the Huns, who reigned from A.D. 434 to 453, was an important figure in Germanic legend, which embodies two traditions concerning him, one favourable, the other unfavourable. This is due to the fact that among the Germanic peoples he had both allies and enemies. The Ostrogoths were alternately friends and foes of the Huns; their names occur together in l. 57, also in 4 B 20, 58. Cf. also 2 6.

19. **Becca**: the treacherous Bikki of the prose *Edda* and the *Volsungasaga*.
***Baningum**. **Burgendum**: the Burgundians were originally settled in the E. of Germany on the Vistula and Oder, next to the Goths, but later migrated across the Rhine. In the geographical introduction to King Alfred's *Orosius* Wulfstan speaks of Burgundians as living on the coast of the Baltic, opposite Laaland.

Gifica: the legendary founder of the Burgundian dynasty, not known to history.

20. **Casere**, 'Caesar,' i.e. the emperor of the Eastern empire, always so called in A.-S. literature. The name Caesar appears also in the German *Kaiser* and the Russian *tsar* (for *Kesar*).

***Cælic**. **Finnun**: the Finns are mentioned in the account of Ohthere's voyage in King Alfred's *Orosius* as inhabiting the northern coastal district of Norway and supporting themselves by fowling and fishing. They were a non-Germanic race akin to the Laplanders, not to the modern Finns.

21. **Hagena**: the Hogni of the prose *Edda*, a figure in one of the finest Germanic legends. In 2 he is a friend of King Guthhere.

Holmrygum: either the Scandinavian *Holmrygir*, a tribe of S. Norway, or the Rugii, a tribe mentioned by Tacitus (*Germania*, xliii. *ad fin.*) as living on the shores of the Baltic. Riigen, the large island near the mouth of the Oder, probably owes its name to this tribe; see l. 69 n.

Heoden: the Heðin of Snorri's story in the prose *Edda*; cf. 3 36 n.

***Glommum**: there is a river named Glommen in Norway.

22. **Witta** occurs in a genealogy of Hengest given by Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 15; nothing is known of him.

Swæfum: the Suevi of the Roman historians, the modern Schwaben, 'Swabians,' one of the chief confederations among the Germanic peoples, comprising many tribes scattered over a wide territory, from the Baltic to the southern limits of Germany. In the text the name may refer to one of the northern tribes of the Suevic race.

Wada: the famous water-giant of Germanic story, the father of Weland (Wayland) the smith. The names of these two are found till a late period in English romance and song; cf. Chaucer's 'he tolde tale of Wade,' *Troilus and Cresseide*, iii. 614.

Hælsingum: probably a tribe dwelling on the S. shore of the Baltic. The name occurs as the first element of several place-names, such as Helsingfors, Helsingör, etc.

23. ***Meaca**, ***Mearchealf**. **Myrgingum**: apparently Widsith's own tribe, also mentioned in ll. 42, 84, 96, 118. It is not clear who they were, but there is some evidence that they inhabited N. Holstein.

Hundingum perhaps lived on the S. shore of the Baltic.

24. **Peodric**, the son of Chlodwig (Clovis), ruled the Franks from A.D. 511

to 534. He is the Wolf-Dietrich of M.H.G. epic, which, however, draws on a far later tradition of his deeds than that of *Widsith*. Theodric's son defeated and slew the Geatish king Hygelac; see 4 F.

Froncum: the Franks, who about 100 B.C. left the Suevic confederacy and descended the Rhine to near the mouth. Tacitus and Pliny refer to the Franks by the name *Istaevones*. In the fifth century A.D. they subjugated the territory on the left bank of the lower Rhine, the Salian Franks settling near the mouth of the river, and the Ripuarian Franks higher up, with Cologne as their capital. Their rule extended as far as the Zuyder Zee and the Frisian islands; see also 4 F.

Pyle may be a name formed from the O.E. word *hyle*, 'orator,' 'court wit,' such as was Unferth in 14 I. The O.N. form is *þulr*. Müllenhoff thought that the name *hyle* here stands for some faithful counsellor of Theodric.

***Rondingum**.

25. **Breoca**: the Breca who competes with Beowulf in a swimming-match; see 14 A.

***Brondingum**: some scholars think that both *Breca* and *Brandingas* are 'made-up' names referring to the sea. *Breki* in O.Icel. poetry means 'breaker,' and *branding* is still a Low German and Danish word meaning 'breakers,' 'surf.'

Billing occurs as a dynastic name of the early kingdom of Saxony. It also occurs in a number of English place-names, such as Billingsgate, Billingham, etc.

Wernum: the Varini mentioned by Tacitus (*Germania*, xl.) as dwelling near the Angles. There are several references to them in early records and the name may possibly occur in some English place-names, such as Warnham, Warnborough, etc.

26. ***Oswine**.

Eowum is considered by some commentators to be written for *Eawum*, which they explain as the Aviones mentioned by Tacitus immediately before the Angles (*Germ.* xl.).

Ytum: the Jutes. *Yte*, *Ytas*, *Ytan* are the late W.S. forms for corresponding Anglian and Kentish forms with *eo* as the stem-vowel. These people are the Jutae of Bede (*Hist. Eccl.* iv. 16), who says they conquered and occupied the Isle of Wight and the adjacent coastal district of Hampshire, and that they also conquered and settled in Kent. The name of this people survived in the name *Ytene*, which in Florence of Worcester's chronicle is given to a part of the New Forest. Bede further tells us that the Jutes originally came from the district north of the Angles, *i.e.* the modern Jutland. After the Jutes left Jutland for Britain their place was taken by Danes from the adjacent islands.

***Gefwulf**: see also 4 D.

27. **Fin**, the Finn of 4 D and 5, must have been a prominent figure in A.-S. hero-legend. There were many Frisians settled in England in early A.-S. times, and they would naturally bring their own stories.

Fresna: the Frisians inhabited the coastal district of Holland and the islands which still bear their name. They were divided into two tribes, the West Frisians, who with the Franks defeated and killed Hygelac (see 4 F), and the main body of the Frisians, Finn's people.

Folewalding: Finn is called *Folewaldan sunu* in 4 D 149.

28. **Sigehere**: the O.N. Sigarr, a popular hero of Scandinavian legend.

Sæ-Denum may mean the Danes of the islands, contrasted with those of the south coast of Sweden, their original habitat.

29. **Hnæf** in *Beo.* is the son of Hoc and brother of Hildeburh, wife of Finn. He is slain in a quarrel with Finn's men; and Finn in turn is killed by Hnæf's people, the Half-Danes; see 4 D.

Hocingum: Hoc's people, the Half-Danes. The name *Hoc* seems to occur in some English place-names, *e.g.* Hoxton.

Helm: not met with elsewhere as the name of a ruler. The Helmings are mentioned in *Beo.* l. 620 as the people of Wealhtheow, wife

of the Danish king Hrothgar.

Wulfingum: apparently the same as the Wilfings or Wylfings mentioned in *Beo.* ll. 461, 471. The Wulfinge formed the bodyguard of Dietrich von Bern.

30. ***Wald, *Woingum.**

Pyringum are by some scholars, *e.g.* by Möller, thought to be the Thoringi, a Frankish people dwelling near the confluence of the Rhine and Meuse, rather than the main body of the Thuringians, the *Pyringas* mentioned by King Alfred in his *Orosius*, and the Modern German Thüringen.

31. **Sæferð**: the same as *Sigeferð* in 5 25, the prefixes *Sæ-* and *Sige-* being confused.

Sycgum, the *Secgena* of 5 25, have not been identified with certainty.

Sweom: the Swedes, here and in *Beo.* the name of a people inhabiting a part of S. Sweden, N. of Lakes Wetter and Wener.

Ongendþeow: the Ongentheow of *Beo.*, where the story of his war with the Geats is told at some length; see 4 G 2.

32. ***Scaefthere.**

Ymbrum: apparently the same as the Ymbria or Imbria of the Latin Danish chronicles, a people inhabiting the island Fehmarn, E. of Kiel Bay and S. of Laaland. Another view is that the Ymbre were the Ammeri, lying between the Weser and the Ems, W. of Oldenburg; *cf.* the modern Ammerland.

Sceafa: probably identical with Scaef, the name of the first king in the W.S. genealogy. In *Beo.* Scyld is called *Scefing*, which seems to be formed from the name Scaef; see 4 A 4 n.

Longbeardum: the Lombards are here thought of as living in their original home on the lower Elbe, S. of the Angles, before they migrated south. Tacitus, in *Germ.* xl., praises their spirit of independence. The name Lombardy bears witness to their invasion of Italy in A.D. 568; see also 1 70 n.

33. ***Hun.**

Hætwerum: the Hetware of *Beo.*, who fought with and defeated Hygelac and his Geats; see 4 F. They were a Frankish tribe dwelling on the lower Rhine near the Zuyder Zee, the Hattuarii or Attoarii of the Latin chronicles; see 1. 24 n.

***Holen, *Wrosnum.**

34. ***Hringweald, *Herefarena**: these two names, like others in the poem, may be inventions of the poet.

35. **Offa**: mentioned in *Beo.* as the husband of a bad queen; see 4 C. The Danish chroniclers, writing in Latin some six centuries after *Widsith* was composed, relate the story of Offa's duel with two 'Saxon' champions on the river Eider. Offa, who is called Uffo in the chronicles, is represented as a Danish king. This points to an Anglian story being adapted for Danish hearers when the Danes took the place of the Angles after the latter migrated to Britain. Some of the incidents of the story of Offa were in later times transferred to Offa the Mercian king.

Alewih: not known, except as a name, Alweo, in the pedigree of Mercian kings in *A.-S. Chron.*

Denum: see 1. 28 n.

37. 'Nevertheless he did not excel Offa in daring deeds.'

38. **ac**, as often, must be rendered 'for.'

geslog, 'won'; *cf.* 1. 44. The prefix *ge-* modifies the sense of the simple verb, to which it gives a perfective meaning.

40. **maran eorlscipe** is a modal dative, 'with greater gallantry.'

41. **ane sweorde**: either 'with the sword alone' or 'with his single sword,' *i.e.* in single combat. The latter meaning suits the Danish chronicler Saxo's version of the Offa story.

42. **merce**: for *meorce*, 'boundary,' perhaps owing to confusion with *Merce*, 'Mercians.'

gemærde: either 'proclaimed,' 'declared,' or 'fixed,' 'determined,' according as we connect it with *mære*, 'famous,' or *gemære*, 'boundary.'

43. **Fifeldore**: the river between Holstein and Slesvig; see 2 42 n.
heoldon: either 'observed' (the new boundary), or 'occupied.'

44. **geslog**: either 'fixed' (the boundary) or 'won' (territory).

45. In *Beo.* the feud between the Danes of Hrothgar and Hrothwulf on the one hand and the Heathobards of Ingeld on the other is foretold by Beowulf; see 4 E.

47. **Wicinga**: the Heathobards. This word is not used with the same sense as *wicingas*, which was applied in later times to the Scandinavian freebooters, and borrowed from the O.N. *vikingar*, 'men of the fjords.'

48. **Ingeldes**: in *Beo.* called 'son of Froda'; see 4 E 225.

49. **Heorote**: the great hall of Hrothgar the Danish (Scylding) king, the scene of the events in the first part of *Beo.*

Heaðobeardna are generally considered to be a remnant of the Longobards, after the latter migrated south from the lower Elbe. But this identification is not certain; see l. 32 n.

50. **swa** has here a resumptive sense. Widsith returns to his theme after the long digression.

53. **folgade** means here, as Chambers notes, 'served as a retainer'; cf. the noun *folgað*, 'band of retainers.'

54. **secgan spell** is probably only a variant of *singan* or *manan*.

56. 'How royal benefactors treated me generously.' In *Beo.* the word *gōð* frequently means 'generous,' 'freely giving.'
cystum: the d. plur. of abstract nouns is often used adverbially; cf. *brymmum*, *bryðum*, etc.

57. **Hunum**: see l. 18 n.

Hreð-Gotum: see ll. 7, 18 n.

58. **Geatum**: Beowulf's people, who dwelt in S. Sweden, south of Lakes Wener and Wetter. They are almost certainly identical with the O.N. *Gautar*, who were afterwards absorbed into the Swedish kingdom; see also 4 G.

59. **Wenlum**: cf. *Wendla*, *Beo.* l. 348. These people were probably dwellers in the N. of Jutland, though Müllenhoff identifies them with the Vandals, who originally came from N. Germany.

Wænum: see l. 25 n.

Wicingum: see l. 47 n.

60. **Gefþum**: called *Gifþum*, *Beo.* l. 2494, the Gepidae, originally from near the mouth of the Vistula.

Winedum: the Wends, the Veneti of Tacitus (*Germ.* xlv.), a general name for the Slavs, especially for the peoples who gradually took the place of emigrating German tribes in the N. of Germany. At the present time the Wends, or Sorbs, as they call themselves, number under a hundred thousand, and form a racial island half-way between Berlin and Dresden. In King Alfred's *Orosius*, *Weonodland*, 'the land of the Wends,' is said to extend along the S. coast of the Baltic from the Vistula as far as the Elbe.

***Gefflegum.**

61. ***Ænenum.**

62. **Seaxum**: the Saxons originally occupied part of the modern Holstein but afterwards crossed the Elbe and settled as far as the Frisian territory on the coast of what is now called Holland.

Sycgum: see l. 31 n.

Sweordwerum: perhaps a 'made-up' name; cf. l. 34 n.

63. ***Hronum.**

***Deanum** (not the Danes).

Heafo-Reamum

are mentioned in 14 A 21; they probably gave their name to Romerike, a district E. of Christiania.

64. **Pyringum**: see l. 30 n.

***Prowendum.**

65. **Burgendum**: see l. 19 n.

66. **Gudhere**: the O.N. Gunnar, the famous Burgundian king Gundahari, who with most of his army was slain by the Huns in A.D. 437. This heroic battle is the theme of one of the most famous of Germanic legends.

68. **Froncum** : see l. 24 n.

Frysum : the West Frisians ; see l. 27 n.

***Frumtingum**.

69. **Rugum, Glommum** : see l. 21 n. By the middle of the fifth century A.D. the Rugii had migrated to the S. as far as Austria. **Rumwalum** : the Romans. The O.E. word *walh*, *wealh* means 'foreigner,' the plur. *wālas* giving the modern name Wales.

70. **Eatule** : Italy, the Northumbrian form of *Eotole*, from *Itale* by 'back-vowel umlaut.'

Ælfwine : Alboin, the great Longobard (Lombard) king who invaded Italy in A.D. 568. He was assassinated in 573.

72. The meaning of this line is not clear ; **lofes to wyrcenne** is an unusual construction, *to wyrcenne* being apparently equivalent to *to weorcum*. We may translate 'he had the readiest hand (*i.e.* an exceptional capacity) for winning fame.' Dr. Chambers translates *lofes to wyrcenne*, 'for deed of praise,' *i.e.* for rewarding his followers. **wyrcenne** was probably *wyrcean* in the original text, as the shorter form is required by the metre (A-type) ; see Appendix, §§ 7, 8.

75-87. These lines are clearly a late interpolation.

75. **Sercingum** : supposed by some to be the Saracens in the earlier sense, *i.e.* the Arab tribes inhabiting the borders of the Syrian desert in N.W. Arabia. But *Sercingas* may perhaps stand for *Serica*, Σηρικῆ, a name given in very early times to a country or countries in the far E. of Asia, the modern China, from which the silkworm, σῆρ, was brought.

Seringum may be only another form of Σηρικῆ, of which there was a short form Σῆρες. Brandl thinks *Seringum* means 'Syrians.'

76. **Creacum** : see l. 20 n.

Finnium : see ll. 20, 79 n.

Casere :

see l. 20 n.

78. **Wala** : either the *Rumwalas* of l. 69, or the Gauls, who were early Romanized.

79. **Scottum** : the people who, as Bede tells us, came over from Ireland to settle in Caledonia, to which they gave their name.

Peohtum, the Picts, a race inhabiting parts of Ireland and Scotland. Authorities are not agreed as to their origin or racial affinities. In the course of time they lost their language and became merged in the surrounding population of Britons, Scots, and Angles.

Scride-Finnium : one of the primitive races inhabiting the extreme north of Europe, collectively termed 'Finns' by Greek and Latin writers. The Scride-Finns, who dwelt in Norway, are mentioned by King Alfred in his *Orosius* as dwelling N.W. of the Swedes, to the north of the 'Northmen' (Norwegians). They probably were the ancestors of the modern Laplanders. *Scride*, from *scriðan*, 'slide,' refers to their use of snow-shoes ; cf. also l. 20 n.

80. **Lid-Wicingum** are identified by Chambers with the *Lidwicas* mentioned in *A.-S. Chron.*, anno 885, the British settlers in Armorica, the modern Bretons.

Leonum inhabited the modern district of Östergötland in the E. of Sweden, probably giving their name to the chief town, Linköping.

81. **Hæðnum**, the O.N. *Heiðnir*, who dwell in *Heiðmork*, between Norway and Sweden.

Hæreþum inhabited *Hordaland*, on the Hardangerfjord, called *Hereðaland* in *A.-S. Chron.* (Laud MS.), anno 787.

Hundingum :

see l. 23 n.

82. **Exsyringum** : Assyrians, according to Müllenhoff.

84. **Moidum** : Medes (Müllenhoff). Chambers suggests that these Biblical names may have been corruptions of names of Celtic and Baltic tribes imperfectly remembered or transcribed. The MS. reading *Myrgingum* in ll. 84, 85 cannot

be right in both cases. The text is clearly corrupt; **ongend** makes no sense and *mid* has been omitted before the names in l. 85.

85, 86. **Mofdingum, Amothingum**, according to Müllenhoff, may stand for the Moabites and Ammonites. Holthausen reads *Amoringum*, 'Amorites.'

87. ***Eolum**. **Istum** dwelt on the shores of the E. Baltic; they are apparently the Aestii of Tacitus, who says they spoke a language like that of Britain, and gathered amber (*Germ.* xlv.). They are doubtless the *Este* mentioned in Wulfstan's voyage in King Alfred's *Orosius*, and are the modern Ests or Esthonians.

Idumingum may be the *Ydumaei* mentioned by a Latin chronicler, a small tribe dwelling in what is now called Livonia, on the Gulf of Riga. But the word may be a corruption of an earlier reading.

88. **ealle þrage**, 'all the time,' may merely mean 'a long time.'

89. **me gode dohte**, 'availed me with good,' i.e. treated me generously.

92. **sceatta scillingrime**: the exact meaning is not clear, since *sceatt* has both a general and a special meaning, either 'money' 'treasure,' or 'piece of money' 'coin.' The Russian *skot*, borrowed from Germanic, means 'cattle.' The *scilling* was a denomination of value, not a coin; cf. our 'pound,' 'guinea.' Further, the exact relation of the *sceatt* to the *scilling* varied according to locality in A.-S. times. We had perhaps better transl. 'six hundred shillings,' a large sum, equal to half a thane's *wergild*; see Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon institutions*, chap. i.

95. **þæs þe**, 'because.'

96. A full stop is put after **Myrginga** on the assumption that Ealhild is Ermanric's queen, in whose train Widsith went to the Gothic king's court; see l. 5 n.

103. **wit Scilling**, 'Scilling and I,' the usual idiom. Scilling was an ordinary A.-S. personal name.

104. **sigidryhtne**: Eadwine.

107. **sprecan**: North. for *spræcon*.

108. The first half-line is metrically unusual, as in a B-type it is the first full stress syllable that should alliterate; see Appendix, §§ 3, 8. For **song** we suggest *songas*.

112. ***Heðcan**.

Beadecan: not known, except as the first element of some A.-S. place-names.

Herelingas: the Harlungs of M.H.G. story. In German Latin chronicles they are called Embrica (**Emerca**) and Fritla (**Fridla**). They were the nephews of Ermanric, who, according to tradition, had them put to death.

113. **Eastgotan**: Ostrogotha, the famous king of Germanic legend. The mention of him here is out of place, as he was an ancestor of Ermanric.

114. ***Unwenes**.

115. ***Secca**.

Beccan: see l. 19 n.

***Seafolan**.

Peodric: not Theodric the Frankish king mentioned in l. 24, but rather, as Chambers convincingly shows, the earlier Theodric the Ostrogoth, who is mentioned in 3 18 and in 2 36. This Theodric also was famous in Germanic story.

116. ***Heaporic**.

Sifecan: Sibich, the traitor of M.H.G. legend.

Hlīpe: by some supposed to be a Longobard king, but more probably identical with *Hloðr* of the *Hervararsaga*.

Incgenþeow: not known, unless he is the *Angantyr* of the *Hervararsaga*, the English form of which name, however, is *Ongentheow*.

117. **Eadwine** and **Ægelmund** are perhaps Longobard kings.

Elsan: perhaps, as Chambers suggests, a hero of the story of the earlier Theodric

(Dietrich von Bern). **Hungar**: probably the Gothic chief Hunigaisus, who acted as interpreter and diplomat for Attila.

118. **Wip-Myrginga**: see l. 23 n.

119. ***Wulfhere**: the name, a common one, occurs in place-names, e.g. in Wolverhampton.

Wyrnhere: probably the *Ormarr* of the *Her-vararsaga*.

120. **Hræda**: a name for the Goths; see l. 7 n.

121. The historic fight between the Goths and the Huns is here alluded to.

Wistlawudu: the Goths came originally from the lower Vistula.

122. **Ætlan**: see l. 18 n.

123. **Rædhere, Rondhere**: possibly retainers of Ermanric. **Rumstan**:

one of the Gothic king's retainers, the *Rimstein* of M.H.G. legend.

Gislhere: called *Gislaharius* in the Burgundian laws. The Burgundians were originally neighbours of the Goths.

124. **Wipergield** may be the *Wiðergyld* of 4 E 251. **Freoperic**: probably the Friderich of M.H.G. story, the son of Ermanric.

Wudgan: a Gothic hero, earlier than Ermanric and Theodric, though he came to be associated with them in M.H.G. and Icelandic story. In 2 36 he is called *Widia*.

Haman, the Heime of M.H.G. legend and Heimr of the *Þidrekssaga*, is mentioned in *Beo.* as carrying off the *Brosinga mene*, the famous necklet, from Ermanric; see 4 H 422.

126. For **anihst** Holthausen reads the older dissyllabic form *anēist*, in order to restore the metre (the one-stress type); see Appendix, § 9.

131. The metre of the first half-line is faulty; it would be improved by reading *onfunde* instead of **onfond**; see Appendix, § 9.

133. **se þe him**, 'to whom,' an early stage in the development of the relative pronoun.

135 to end. These lines look like a later ending tacked on to the original poem.

139. **gydda**: see 4 125 n.

2. WALDERE

MS. Two vellum leaves at the Royal Library in Copenhagen, printed, together with an emended text, in Grein-Wülcker i. pp. 7-13. *Edition.* The

fragment has been edited by F. Holthausen in *Die altenglischen Waldere-Bruchstücke*, 1899; also in *Runic and Heroic Poems*, by B. Dickinson, 1915; for other literature see Brandl, p. 988.

1. The subject of **hyrde** is doubtless *Hildegyð* (Hildegund), who begins speaking in l. 2.

2. **Welandes**: the famous smith and craftsman of Germanic legend, the O.N. *Volundr* whose story is told in the *Edda* and in *Þidrekssaga*; cf. 3 1. In *Beo.*

l. 455, a chain-corslet is called *Welandes geweorc*. King Alfred also speaks of *ðæs wisan gow'smiðes* . . . *Welondes* (*Boethius*, p. 46 l. 20).

3. **Mimming**: in *Beo.* two famous swords have names, *Nægling* and *Hrunting*.

6. **Ætlan**: see l. 18 n. Walther had been, though a hostage, one of Attila's captains.

8. A half-line is clearly missing, though there is no gap indicated in the printed copies of the *MS.* We may supply *dom alicgan*, 'your glory fail,' on the analogy of *Beo.* l. 1528, *his dom alæg*.

9. **oðer twega**, 'either'; lit. 'one of two things.'

10. **lange**: adv.

13. **ðy . . . gesawe**, '(reproach thee) with having seen thee.'

15. **on weal**, 'behind the protecting rampart.'

18. **ac**, 'nay,' 'no, for.'

19. **mæl ofer meare**: *mæl* has various meanings. In *Genesis* l. 1719 occurs the sentence *ða ðæs mæles was mearc agongen*, 'the limit of the time had come.' We may translate, 'thou didst ever push on to fresh fights, seeking occasion without limit.'

metod here has its primitive meaning of 'destiny.'

21, 22. **oðres monnes wigrædenne** is usually taken to mean 'combat with another.' But it may possibly mean 'military service with another,' with special reference to Walther's service with Attila; cf. l. 6, and see 4 D 202 n.

21. The MS. reading *ætstealle* occurs nowhere else, unless it is the same word as *ætstalle* in *Guthlac* l. 150, the meaning of which is uncertain. The sense here required is clearly 'battle.' For *æscstealle* cf. *æscstede*, 'spear-place,' 'scene of combat'; see 12 17. It may be noted that there are hardly any examples in O.E. of a noun with *æt-* as a prefix.

23. **ðin**: g.s., 'for thee.'

24. **ne . . . mece**, 'do not trouble about the sword,' i.e. your sword (Mim-ming) will not fail you.

25. **eoce**: the dropping of initial *g* before *eo* occurs in Kentish texts or texts copied by Kentish scribes.

ðy etc., 'therefore (or 'with it') thou shalt humble Guthhere's boast, for he was the first to,' etc.

28. We are told in Ekkehard's poem that Walther offered Gunther treasure to cease fighting, but the latter refused.

swurde: not necessarily Mim-ming, the loss of which would have been fatal to Walther.

29. The subject of **sceal** is Guthhere.

30. **hlafurd** refers to Guthhere.

33. The first half-line may have been *ne gefrægn ic on monnum*. Guthhere admits the excellence of Mim-ming, but he says he has in reserve a still more famous sword.

39. **genam**: the subject is either Theodric, 'he took it (out of his hoard),' or Widia, 'he received it as a reward, for he (Widia), kinsman of Nithhad and son of Weland, had freed him (Theodric) from bondage; he (Theodric) then hastened forth through the region of monsters.' The writer of the poem is evidently familiar with the Gothic legend of Theodric as a slayer of monsters which is preserved in the *Pidrekssaga*.

40. **Niðhades**: cf. 3 5.

41. **Welandes**: see l. 2 n.

42. **fifela**: marine monsters of some kind. The word *fifel* occurs in *fifelstream*, *Boeth. Metra*, xxvi. l. 26, and *fifelcynnes eard*, *Beo.* l. 104; cf. also *Fiseldore*, l. 43.

44, 45. **hildefrofre . . . gripe**, 'the grasp of a sword, comforting in battle.' The use of the pl. **guðbilla** for the sing. can be paralleled. It is, however, possible that **gripe** may have the concrete sense of 'the part grasped,' 'handle.'

47. Apparently Walther has slain Hagen.

49. **heaðuwerigan**: sc. *me*.

52. **ealles**: adv., 'entirely.'

54 ff. **ne . . . dydon**, 'it does not play the foe to me when false kinsmen renew their tricks (**eft ongynnað**) and attack me with the sword, as you people have done.' *Onginnan* in the sense of 'take in hand,' 'attempt,' usually takes an object; hence it is possible that **eft** may be an error for *oht*, 'persecution,' 'hostility.'

59 ff. The meaning of this passage depends on the word **moten** in l. 62. If we accept the MS. reading *mtoten* (obviously an error for *moten*)—and there is no valid reason for rejecting it—we must take **þonne** to mean ‘than.’ Transl. ‘the man who trusts in the Holy One for help, in God for comfort, shall find ready, if he is thinking of reward, (more) than the wealth which proud ones may dispense or the possessions they may control.’ Before **þonne** we must supply *mā*, a not unusual omission.

59. **him** is reflex. dat. and need not be transl. ; **helpe** and **gioce** are gen. sing.

3. DEOR

MS. in Exeter Book, fol. 100a; printed in Grein-Wülcker, i. pp. 278-9.

Edition by B. Dickins in *Runic and Heroic Poems*, 1915; also edited with notes in Holthausen’s *Beowulf*. For literature see Brandl, p. 975, § 19.

1. **Weland**: see 2 2 n. The MS. reading *wurman* makes no sense. Adopting Wülcker’s emendation **wearnum** we transl. ‘experienced misery (lit. exile) to the full.’ *Wearn* is used as equivalent to *worn*, ‘abundance,’ ‘multitude,’ hence ‘many’; the dat. plur., with and without *to*, occurs, with the same sense; see B.T. *sub voce*. It is possible, however, that *wurman* may be a proper name; though in that case we should expect *on* rather than *be*.

4. The MS. reading *wrace* will not scan (E-type) if the *æ* is long, and if it is short it is an impossible form; see Appendix, § 7. **wrace** is acc. fem. of *wracu*.

5 ff. King Nithhad lamed Weland to prevent him from escaping, but the smith made himself wings and flew away, having first killed the king’s sons and violated his daughter Beaduhild. Transl. ‘after Nithhad had by force laid upon him, the better man, supple sinew-bonds.’

For **Niðhad** cf. 2 40.

6. There is no need to emend the MS. reading *seonobende* to *seonobenne* ‘sinew-gash,’ though there is strong temptation to do so in order to conform the A.-S. account to the continental versions of the story. Editors who adopt the emendation, recognizing that **swoncre** does not fit *seonobenne*, change it into *swongre*, but this word is equally unsuitable, as it means ‘sluggish,’ ‘slow,’ not ‘grievous.’

7. ‘That passed away, and so may this.’ For this unusual use of the genitive as subject of a verb cf. l. 26.

9. **hyre sylfre þing**, ‘her own condition,’ brought about by Weland; see note on l. 5 ff.

10. **gearolice**, ‘for certain,’ with which meaning *gearwe* or *geare* is more usual.

12. **hu . . . sceolde**, ‘how it should be about that,’ i.e. how she was to face the consequences.

14 ff. Some editors, noting the MS. reading *mæð hilde*, assume that *hilde* is a short form of Beaduhild, and that these lines are a continuation of the preceding passage. To support this assumption the common feminine noun *mæð*, ‘measure,’ ‘proportion,’ is given the meaning ‘violence,’ ‘outrage.’ But the use of the second element of a compound personal name for the whole name is not proved for early O.E. poetry. Taking **Mæðhilde** (Mathilda) as another woman’s name and with Rieger inserting **be**, we may transl. ‘many of us have heard this concerning Mæthhild, (namely) that the Geat’s love (for her) was boundless, so that his love-pangs robbed him entirely of sleep.’

15. Tupper takes **Geates** to refer to Nithhad, in which case **frige** would mean his love for his sons, slain by Weland; cf. l. 8. But it may be noted that

in the only other passages where *frige* occurs, *Crist* ll. 37 and 419, the word is used expressly of a man's love for a woman.

18. **Deodric**: the elder Theodric, the Ostrogoth; see 1 115 n., and cf. 2 36. The allusion here is obscure, but if *Maringa burg* was not Theodric's own city, but held by him as a conqueror, it would be a famous case of misfortune, comparable to the others in the poem. Possibly instead of *ahte* we should read *ēhte*, 'persecuted.'

21. **Eormanrices**: see 1 8 n.

24. **secg monig**: i.e. the victims of the Gothic king's tyranny.

28. The subject of *siteð* has to be supplied, 'a man sits.'

31. **þonne**, 'however,' a frequent sense.

32. **wendeþ geneahhe**, 'makes frequent change.'

36. **Heodeninga**: the *Hjaðningar* of Snorri's *Edda*. Who these people were is not known.

39. **Heorrenda** corresponds in form to *Horant*, the sweet singer of the M.H.G. poem *Kudrun*. It is possible that the A.-S. poet is not really speaking of himself, but is dealing with an imaginary situation and using well-known historic names, as a modern poet would do.

4. BEOWULF

MS. The only MS. of the poem in existence is in the Cotton collection of the British Museum, bound up with other MSS. in one codex designated Vitellius A. xv. The whole text was photographed and the phototypes published with a transcription and notes on the state of the MS. by J. Zupitza in 1882.

Editions. The most recent annotated editions are those by F. Holthausen, 1912; Heyne-Schücking, 1913; W. J. Sedgefield (2nd edition), 1913; Wyatt-Chambers, 1914; F. Klaeber, 1922. In his *Gesch. d. altengl. Lit.*, A. Brandl gives an excellent survey and discussion of *Beowulf* questions, with a full bibliography. Another valuable handbook is Dr. R. W. Chambers's *Beowulf*, 1921, in which among other matters the relation of the events described in the poem to the main body of Germanic and especially Scandinavian story is ably discussed. Klaeber's edn. (576 pp.) is a veritable encyclopedia of recent *Beowulf* research.

A

1. **Gar-Dena**, 'Spear-Danes.' The word *Dene* often occurs in the poem with a prefix such as *Beorht-*, *East-*, *Hring-*, etc., partly for metrical reasons.

4 ff. 'Often did Scyld Scefing with his bands of warriors take away from many tribes their dwelling-places; he struck terror into men, ever since he was in early years found abandoned. For this he lived to find (*gebad*) consolation; he grew up, prospered in honours, until each one of the surrounding peoples across the sea (lit. whale-path) was forced to obey him, to pay him tribute.'

Scefing: there has been much controversy over the meaning of this word. Some take it to mean 'son of Scaef,' others explain it as 'of the sheaf.' The former is the more obvious meaning, especially as the name Scaef occurs in the patronymic Scaefing at the beginning of the W.S. genealogy given in two MSS. of *A.-S. Chron.*, anno 855, and the name *Sceafa* is mentioned in 1 32, as a ruler of the Longobards, however. But the question is complicated by the fact that the story told of Scyld in *Beo.* ll. 6-11 is related by two English chroniclers¹ of much later times of a personage named Scaef or Scef, who is called the father of Sceldius (Scyld). William of Malmesbury further says that

¹ Ethelwerd (10th cent.) and William of Malmesbury (12th cent.).

the child Scaef was discovered by the inhabitants of the island Scandza asleep with his head resting on a sheaf of corn, whence his name. We cannot decide whether this story of the sheaf is due to 'popular etymology' of a hero's name or whether Scaef, 'sheaf,' was a name anciently given to a mythological introducer of agriculture to one or all of the Germanic peoples and adopted by these peoples as the first name in their royal genealogies. Perhaps Scyld was a name invented to account for the dynastic name Scylding, and was coupled by the poet with Scef for the sake of alliteration.

sceaþena: lit. 'harmers,' 'destroyers.' **þreatum**, like other words meaning 'band,' 'army,' etc., can be used without the preposition *mid*.

5. mægþum: here the dat. is used as an ablative.

6. eorlas is Sievers's emendation, as *egsode* requires an object. **wearð** is often used instead of *wæs* to form a compound past tense; cf. the similar use of Germ. *ward*, *wurde*.

7. gebad, 'gained by waiting,' i.e. lived to experience; for the function of *ge-* see 1 38 n., to which we may add that *ge-* often converts an intrans. verb into a trans. one.

8. under wolcnum is one of several 'otiose' words and phrases used to fill up a line; cf. *in geardum* l. 13, and *under heofenum* l. 52.

12. ðæm, 'to him.'

13. þone, 'him.' The distinction between the relative and demonstrative use of *se*, *sēo*, *þæt* is not very marked in early A.-S. poetry.

15. Scyld apparently dies while Beowulf his son is still a child.

16. þæs, 'for this'; cf. l. 7. **lifþrea:** one of the numerous names for God in A.-S. poetry. In **17 A.**, one of the very oldest specimens of A.-S. verse, God is called *wuldorfæder*, 'Father of glory.' In *Beo.* mention is frequently made incidentally of the power and wisdom of God, but never at any length; see 18.

18. Beowulf the Dane, not to be confused with the hero of the poem, Beowulf the Geat.

19. Scedelandum, now Skåne, the most southerly part of Sweden, originally inhabited by the Danes. In *Beo.* l. 1686 the form *Scedenigge* occurs. The name is here probably used for the whole of the Danish territory, including the islands, Hrothgar's dominions.

20-25. Such remarks by the poet on the character and duties of rulers occur fairly often, but are usually restricted to a line or half-line; cf. l. 11.

20. gode: here a noun, 'by liberality.' For this common meaning of *gōd* cf. 1 112.

21. fæder: the older form of the gen. s.

22. þæt introduces the object of *gewyrcean*, viz. the noun-clause.

24. gelæsten with dat. means 'help.'

26. After the digression about Beowulf the poet returns to Scyld.

a kind of reflexive use with verbs of motion, especially with *gewiltan*.

27. feran is complementary infin. to *gewat*, and need not be transl.

wære usually means 'covenant,' 'agreement,' see 4 D 160; here it means 'safe-keeping.'

28. hi is explained by *swæse gesiþas*: *gesið* properly means 'fellow-traveller' or 'comrade in an expedition,' from *sið*. The prefix *ge-* gives a collective meaning to nouns, as in *geneat*, *gefera*, etc.

30. wine, 'friend,' often used of a ruler. The affectionate and loyal relations between the hereditary chief and his people are frequently referred to in A.-S. poetry.

him :

31. **lange ahte** is a repetition of the idea contained in **weold**.
 32. **hringedstefna**: one of the numerous names of a ship in A.-S. poetry.
 33. **utfus**, 'eager to depart'; the ship, like the sword, is personified; *fus* is connected with *fundian*, 'to be ready or eager to go.'
 35. **beaga**; *beag* is any kind of ring-like ornament, such as a crown, armlet, collar, etc.
 38. **gegyrwan** may be transl. by a passive verb, 'was ever adorned more handsomely.'
 40. **him**: a common use for *his*, cf. l. 49.
 41. **mid** is here an adverbial preposition and follows its case; it therefore takes a full stress and alliterates; see Appendix, § 11 d.
 43. **læssan**: d. pl. **teodan**: the weak verb *teon* 'adorn,' 'equip' must not be confused with the strong verb meaning 'draw,' 'pull.'
 46. **æne**, 'alone.' **umborwesende**: acc. s. m. The acc. s. m. of pres. participles in verse is often the same as the nom. s.
 50-52. **men . . . selerædende . . . hæleð**: a case of repetition or the use of 'equivalents,' a characteristic feature of A.-S. verse; see Appendix, § 5.
 55. **fæder**: Scyld. **ellor hwearf**, 'went elsewhere,' i.e. died.
 56. **him eft onwoc**, 'for him afterwards arose,' i.e. he begat.
 58. **glæde**, 'prosperous'; for this meaning cf. l. 225.
 59. **forð gerimed**, 'counted forward,' i.e. in succession.
 60. **ræswa** refers to Heorogar alone. Kemble emended to the n. pl. *ræswan*.
 62, 63. The name of Healfdene's fourth child, a daughter, must have been included in the passage inadvertently omitted by the copyist. Grundtvig's suggestion **Onelan** seems fairly certain. Onela was a son of the Swedish king Ongentheow and brother of Olthere; see 4 G. The names of the royal Danish house occur also in the Scandinavian sagas and in the history written in Latin in the twelfth century by a Danish monk, Saxo Grammaticus, who made use of current sagas.
 63. **Scilfingas** is the old Northumbrian gen. s.; cf. *Merewioingas* in 4 F 302. *Scilfing* or *Scylfing*, properly the name of the royal Swedish house, was applied to the Swedish people. The prefix *Heaðo-* is found in several tribal names, such as *Heaðobeardan* and *Heaðoremas*.

B

65. Grein's emendation of the MS. reading *Sigemunde* makes better sense, but the separation of **fram** from its noun **ellendædum** is unusual. Sigemund and Fitela correspond to Sigmund and Sinfjotli of the *Völsungasaga*, where we are told that Völsung, the father of Sigmund and of Signy his sister, is murdered by Signy's husband. Sigmund escapes by flight, accompanied by his nephew Sinfjotli, and meets with many adventures.
 67. **Wælsinges**: Sigemund, son of Wæls (Völsung).
 68 ff. 'Such as none of the sons of men knew well . . . save Fitela and himself, whenever he cared to relate, the uncle to his nephew, some example of the kind. For they ever were comrades in every desperate deed.'
 69. **fæhðe ond fyrena** are an awkward interruption.
 70. **swulces hwæt**, lit. 'something of such,' i.e. some of Sigemund's adventures.
 71. **eam** is here a dissyllable, as the metre (E-type) shows; it corresponds to the Germ. *Oheim*.

73. **eotena**: *eoton*, O.N. *jotunn*, is frequently used in *Beo.* with the meaning of 'giant.' The word survived in provincial English till a late period as 'ettin'; cf. 18 23, 24 n.

75. **unlytel**, 'not little,' i.e. great, an example of the figure of speech called 'litotes' or understatement, common in A.-S. poetry.

76. In the *Volsungasaga* and the *Nibelungenlied* it is the Sigemund's son Sigurðr (or Siegfried) that kills the dragon. **wiges heard**: Sigemund.

77. **hordes hyrde**: in ancient folk-lore the dragon's function was to guard treasure in a cave; cf. 21 26, 27, *draca sceal on hlæwe, frod, frætwum wland.*

83. **aglæca** means properly 'inspirer of terror.' **elne**, d.s. of *ellen*, 'valour,' is often used as an adv. meaning 'quite,' 'absolutely'; cf. l. 137; here, however, it may have the original sense of 'by his bravery.'

85. **selfes dome**, 'at his own discretion,' a common phrase in both prose and verse.

87. **wyrm hat gemealt**, 'the dragon melted away in (its own) fire.'

88. **wreccena**, 'outcasts,' 'exiles.' Among the Germanic peoples every court must have been familiar with such refugees, banished from their native land and serving foreign lords. The modern English 'wretch' shows an extension of the original meaning.

90. **ellendædum** defines **mærost**. **he þæs ær onðah**, 'he on that account prospered long ago.' Cosijn emended the MS. reading to *he þæs æron ðah*, 'he on that account prospered with honours,' *æron* standing for *arum*.

C

91, 92. **modþryðe . . . ondrysne**: this passage has given rise to much discussion. Some editors regard *mod þryðo*, the MS. reading, as standing for two words, the second being taken as Thryth, the name of the violent princess; they transl. 'Thryth displayed anger' (**mod**). Others, reading *þryðe* and inserting *ne* before **wæg**, transl. 'the good queen (i.e. Hygd) did not show the anger of Thryth.' The MS. reading *þryðo* is regarded as a personal name because in a late Latin chronicle, the *Lives of the two Offas*, the wife of the second Offa, king of Mercia, is stated to have been a murderous queen named Drida, which corresponds to the O.E. *þryð*. But there is nothing to show that the first Offa, king of the Angles, had a wife of that name. A third way, which we adopt, is to regard **modþryðe** as an abstract noun; emending *fremu* to **freomu** we transl. 'an active queen of the people showed a violent temper, a dreadful sin.' For **modþryðe wæg** cf. *Genesis* l. 2238, *higeþryðe wæg*, with much the same meaning.

93 ff. **nænig . . . cyðan**, 'not one of the beloved retainers apart from the great lord (i.e. Offa) was bold enough to meet her gaze (lit. gaze on her with eyes) eye to eye; nay, he would have (in that case) regarded as inevitable (lit. destined for him) bonds twisted by hand. Speedily after the strangling (**mundg.ipe**) was the sword appealed to, so that the figured blade might settle the matter (**hit**), make certain (lit. make known) the execution.' The cumbrous phrasing noticeable in this passage is not infrequent in *Beo.* and other A.-S. poems.

94. The prefix *sin-* means 'great,' 'long,' as in *sinniht*, *sinhere*, *sinsnæd*, etc. Some editors read *sin frea*, 'her lord,' but *sin*, a possess. adj., could hardly take the stress and alliteration in this position.

101. **efnan** must be read for *efnanne* of the MS., as the half-line is of the A-type (∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪).

- 102, 103. **þætte . . . mannan** explains **þeaw**. **feores . . . mannan**, 'should after causeless (lit. 'lying') anger demand the life of a dear man'; **feores** is a gen. of definition with an adverbial function, 'in respect of life.'
104. **onhohsnode** for *onhoscnode*, from *husc*, 'scorn.' Offa clearly disapproved of his wife's behaviour. For the metathesis of *c* (*h*) and *s* cf. *huxlic* for *huslic*, *ācsian*, *āhsian*, and *āscian*, etc.
105. **oðer sædan**, 'said further,' or perhaps it means 'gave another version.'
108. **cēman**: Offa.
109. **æðelum diore**, 'brave by descent'; the neut. pl. *æðelu* is occasionally used with the meaning of 'noble origin,' 'lineage.' **dior** is the instr., frequently used for the masc. and neut. dat. sing. of adjs.
110. **fæder**: gen. s.; cf. l. 21.
112. **gode mære**, 'famed for her generosity'; for this meaning of *gōd* see l. 89 and l. 20.
114. **brego**: Offa.
116. **selestan** agrees with **brego**: the 'two seas' are the North Sea and the Baltic, so that the expression means the countries between these seas, the homes of the Angles, Danes, etc.
120. **þonon**, 'from him.' Thorpe suggested **Eomer**, as the MS. reading *geomor* does not alliterate. *Eomær* is a name in the genealogy of the Mercian kings, where he is the grandson of Offa, the Mercian.
121. **Hemminges mæg** is in apposition to **Offa**; cf. l. 104.
122. **niða**, 'in warlike deeds,' a defining gen.; cf. *feores*, l. 102 n.

D

123. **sweg**: either the noise of the banqueting or else the music of the harp; cf. *hearpan sweg*, *Beo.* ll. 89, 2458, 3023.
124. **Healfdenes hildewisan**, 'Halfdene's captain,' i.e. his son Hrothgar, the Danish king and Beowulf's host.
125. **gomenwudu**, 'wood of delight,' an example of the poetic equivalents which play so useful a part in A.-S. verse. The harp is called *gleobeamu* in *Beo.* l. 2263, with the same meaning as *gomenwudu*. **gid**: Chaucer's 'yeddinges' (*C.T. Prolog.* l. 236) is a surviving derivative of *giedd*, which means a story sung or chanted, or a formal speech; cf. *gydda gleawne*, l. 139.
- wrecen**, lit. 'driven out,' 'expelled,' here 'uttered.'
- 128 ff. Some editors think that the minstrel's story begins with the words **Finnes eafterum**, and transl. 'Hnæf, warrior of the Half-Danes, was doomed to fall by the hand of Finn's sons.' Others assume the loss of a line or lines after **mænan scolde** and regard **eafterum** as dependent on some missing word. Others again insert *be* before **Finnes** and transl. 'when Hrothgar's minstrel began the entertainment (**healgamen mænan scolde**) by singing about Finn's sons,' etc. But the addition of *be* renders the half-line (A-type) metrically faulty; see Appendix, § 7.
129. **Healf-Dena** is merely a variant of *Dena*; cf. ll. 150 and 218; they are called *Scyldinga* in ll. 168 and 214.
130. **Freswæle**, 'slaughter of (i.e. fight with) the Frisians.'
131. **ne . . . treowe**: an example of the common figure of speech called 'litotes' or understatement; cf. l. 75 n. and l. 279 n. **Hildeburh**: Finn's queen, daughter of Hoc, king of the Half-Danes, and sister of Hnæf.

- 132. Eotena:** the word *eoton*, O.I. *iolunn*, 'giant,' occurs several times in *Beo.* and other A.-S. poems; it is used of the ogre Grendel as well as of the 'giants of those days.' In the Finn episode it is used of followers of Finn and at first sight appears to be a synonym for Frisians. Some scholars accept this, regarding *eotenas* as a nickname (possibly Danish) for Frisians, the 'giants' or uncouth monsters. Others see in the word a proper name and assign it to various tribes, Frisians, Jutes, or Danes. Chambers and others point out that it would be the Northumbrian form of the W.S. *Yte*, the Jutes, who inhabited the modern Jutland and who, according to Bede, emigrated to Kent, the Isle of Wight, and the opposite coast of Hampshire.
- 134. on gebyrd:** either 'according to their destiny' or 'one after the other.'
- 136. Hoccs:** cf. l. 29.
- 140. fornam,** 'had destroyed'; the events preceding the funeral obsequies are here referred to.
- 142, 143.** 'So that he could not on the battle-field (*i.e.* Hnæf's hall) by any means win the fight against Hengest nor overwhelm the remaining band of the prince's (*i.e.* Hnæf's) thane; nay, they (Finn's party) offered them (the Danes) terms,' etc. The verb *forbringan* is not found elsewhere; the dat. *ðegne* in l. 145 seems to be used as a gen.
- 147. hie:** Hengest and his Danes.
- 148. wið,** 'as compared with.'
- 149. Folcwaldan sunu:** Finn is called *Folcwalding* in l. 27.
- 152. efne swa swiðe,** 'in exactly the same measure.'
- 153. Fresena cyn:** Finn's own people.
- 155. ða hie . . . frioðuwære,** 'at the time both parties were confident of a firm peace.'
- 157. elne unfitme,** 'absolutely without dispute,' *i.e.* quite loyally. For the adverbial use of *elne* see l. 83 n. **unfitme** is prob. from *flitan*, 'to dispute' (mod. Scottish 'flyte'); cf. l. 189 n.
- 158. wealafe:** cf. l. 144.
- 159. arum,** 'with honours,' 'honourably.'
- 161. gemænden** perhaps means 'defile,' from *mæne*, 'wicked,' a derivative of *mān*, 'sin'; or else 'censure,' cf. 13 57; or 'conspire,' from *gemāna*.
- 162, 163. ðeah hie . . . geþearfod was,** 'though they had, after losing their prince (Hnæf), taken service with the slayer (Finn) of their ring-giver, since such need had fallen upon them.'
- 164. þonne,** 'however,' 'notwithstanding.'
- 167.** The MS. reading *ƿicge gold* may be read as either *ond icge* or *ondicge*, neither of which seems to have any meaning. Golden treasure is brought out of Finn's hoard and given to Hengest as an earnest of good faith. Some editors read *að*, 'funeral pile,' for *að*, and make the gold refer to the ornaments placed by the warriors' bodies to be consumed with them by the fire.
- 169. betst beadorinca:** Hnæf.
- 171. swyn and eofer** are the image of a boar crowning the helmets of some Germanic tribes.
- 172. æpeling manig:** both Frisians and Danes.
- 175.** The MS. reading *sunu* is emended by editors to the plur. *suna* in view of *eafurum*, l. 128, and *bearnum*, l. 134.
- 177. eame on eaxle,** 'by the side of their uncle (Hnæf).' The MS. reading *earne*, if retained, is either acc. pl. agreeing with *suna* or instrumental (for dat.) sing., referring to Hnæf, 'by the side of the poor fellow.'
- 178. giddum,** 'dirges.' The MS. reading *gudrinc* would mean 'warrior,'

which does not suit the sense of the passage; **guðhring**, 'battle-ring,' is a picturesque name for a smoke spiral; a final *g* is frequently written *c*, cf. *asþranc* l. 181.

179. **wand**, 'curled,' 'circled.'

180. **for hlawe**, 'before the mound,' i.e. the tumulus or barrow, hollow inside, in which the ashes of the warriors with their weapons and ornaments were buried. Great numbers of such mounds have been opened in modern times, both in Britain and in Scandinavia; cf. 14 425.

182. **laðbite**, 'from the wounds,' lit. 'the hostile bite.'

183. **gæsta gifrost**, 'greediest of creatures' (lit. 'strangers,' 'visitors'), a personification of flame. In O.E. MSS. the words *gāst*, 'spirit,' and *gæst* or *gest* (W.S. *giest*), 'stranger,' are often confused; cf. 18 14 n. **para** refers to **ealle**.

184. **blæd**, 'heyday.'

186. **Fryslanð**: see 1 27 n.

188. **wælfagne**, 'blood-stained'; *wæl* means 'corpse,' or generally 'the slain.' The epithet seems to imply that Hengest helped Finn in his wars during the winter, though inwardly meditating revenge.

189. **elne unflitme** is an emendation of the MS. reading *finnel unhlitme*, on the analogy of l. 157; transl. 'with strict loyalty.'

192. **won** may stand for either *wann*, 'fought,' or *wan*, 'dark.'

194. **geardas**, 'dwellings,' i.e. the earth, the world.

194-196. The MS. reading requires emendation. Keeping **deð** and reading **þam** we transl. 'as it (the year) still does (come) to those who are continually watching the seasons, (watching for) the brilliant weather (of spring).' Retaining **þa** and reading *doað*, Cosijn's suggestion, we transl. 'as do those (years) which observe the seasons,' etc.; *doað* is an earlier form of *dœð*.

195. **sele**: North. for W.S. *sale*.

200. **gif**, 'if only.' **torngemot**, 'meeting of anger,' an expressive term for 'attack,' 'fight.'

201. As the Eotens are on Finn's side we must insert **wið**.

202-205. These lines have caused much discussion. The MS. reading *worldrædenne* occurs nowhere else; it could only mean 'way of the world,' but 'did not refuse the way of the world' is hardly intelligible. Möller's emendation *wordrædenne* = *werodrædenne*, 'troop service,' 'military service,' though not met with elsewhere, gives excellent sense; cf. *wigrædenne*, 2 22. Hunlafing, i.e. 'son of Hunlaf,' seems to have been a young Danish prince plotting vengeance against the slayers of Hnæf; the Guthlaf and Oslaf mentioned in l. 208 may have been the brothers of Hunlaf and survivors of the fight in the hall; cf. 5 15 n. By accepting the sword from the son of Hunlaf, Hengest puts an end to his hesitation and comes into the plot.

205. The sword had shed the blood of Eotens before, and was therefore peculiarly fitted for the task of vengeance.

206. **ferhðfreca**, 'bold champion,' agrees in case with **Fin**, which is the obj. of **begeat**, 'fell upon.'

208. **grimne gripe**: lit. 'the fierce sword-grip,' i.e. the fatal fight when Hnæf was killed; transl. 'when G. and O. after the sea-journey sorrowfully bewailed that grim fight and taunted them (the Danes) on their woes.' Guthlaf and Oslaf are egging on the younger Danes to take vengeance on Finn.

210. The subject of **meahte** must be either **mod** or **Finn** understood; in the former case we transl. 'their restless purpose could no longer be restrained'; in the latter, 'he could not retain his dazed mind,' i.e. he died. We prefer the

first rendering; **forhabban** is used intransitively, as in *Beo.* l. 2609, *ne mihte ða forhabban.* **weana dæl**: see l. 228 n.

212. **feorum**, 'lives,' here used for 'life-blood.'

216. **swylce**, 'such as,' 'whatever.'

219. **leodum**, 'her people,' the Danes.

E

220. **for duguðe** seems to mean here 'before the company,' but it may mean 'from her noble breeding.'

221. **eorlum on ende**, 'to the far end of the rows of warriors.'

225. **gladum**, 'radiant,' 'prosperous'; cf. l. 58.

suna Frodan:

Ingeld, mentioned in l. 48.

226. **þæs geworden**, 'agreed to, arranged this.'

wine Scyldinga:

i.e. Hrothgar, their king.

227. **þæt ræd talað**, 'holds it good policy,' cf. 22 120.

228. This use of **dæl** with another noun in the gen. pl. is fairly common in *Beo.* and other O.E. verse. It is merely a periphrasis for the pl., and serves to fill out a half-line. Cf. *weana dæl*, 4 210.

229. The MS. reading gives no clear sense; some editors insert *no* before *seldan* and, putting no stop after **leodhryre**, transl. 'Often, not seldom (is it the case) where the murderous spear after the fall of a chief rests a little while.' But this puts a strain on the meaning of the O.E. words, as *lytle* does not mean 'a little' but 'only a little,' 'not for long.' The emendation in the text means 'often has fortune changed after the fall of a chief; only a little while does the spear rest'; **selð** is the Northumbrian form of the W.S. *sa/ð*.

231. **duge**, 'be a good one.'

232. As the construction of *offhyncan*, 'mislike,' is dat. of person and gen. of thing (**þæs**) the MS. reading *ðeoden* needs to be emended to **ðeodne**.

ðeodne Heaðobeardna (Ingeld): for the Heathobards see l. 49 n.

234 ff. 'When he (Ingeld) goes into his hall with the lady (Freawaru), attended by a company (of Danish retainers). On them glisten the heirlooms of the old ones' (Heathobards), etc. Some editors retain the MS. reading *duguða* but change **biwenede** to *bi werede* and transl. 'when he, some Danish noble in the troop of retainers, comes into the hall with the lady, on him glisten,' etc. According to this view the **fæmnan þegn** mentioned in l. 259 is here introduced.

238. **hie**: the dead Heathobard chiefs.

239. 'Until they lost in the fight their dear retainers and their own lives.' **forlæddan** means 'led away to their doom.'

241. **cwið**, 'shall say.'

beorn is either a Danish warrior of Freawaru's suite, or the young Heathobard mentioned in l. 244.

245. 'To test his resolution by working on his feelings' is the sense of this line.

248. **frod** is a certain emendation, as the metre is otherwise defective.

251. **Wiðergyld**: this name occurs in l. 124.

252. **Scyldungas** merely repeats **Dene** of l. 250.

253. **þara . . . nathwylces**, 'the son of one or other of the murderers.'

255. **morðres gylpeð**, 'parades the crime' (of his father).

259. **þegn**: the Dane.

fore=*for*, 'on account of.'

fæder,

the earlier form of the gen. s. usual in *Beo.*

261. **ealdres scyldig**, 'obliged to forfeit his life.'

se oðer: the

young Heathobard warrior.

losað; cf. the same use with *gewitan*. **him** is reflex. dat. with the verb of motion

263. bioð, 'shall be.'

264. aðsweord: it would seem that swords were either exchanged as pledges or used to swear oaths upon in the concluding of a solemn treaty, and were broken as a sign that the treaty was ended; see 9, Introd. Note, and l. 65, n. *ib.*

267. þy, 'therefore,' 'for these reasons'; transl. 'therefore I do not consider the loyalty of the Heathobards and their alliance devoid of treachery to the Danes, nor their friendship enduring.' Beowulf is speaking to Hygelac.

F

271. Hygelac: son of Hrethel, king of the Geats and uncle of Beowulf. The Geats were neighbours of the Swedes in the south of what is now Sweden, the Geats living south of the great lakes and the Swedes to the north.

273. Freslondum: the reference is apparently to the West Frisian allies of the Hetware; cf. l. 285.

274. hiorodryncum swealt, 'perished by sword-gulps,' a very bold metaphor.

275. þonan: from Friesland.

276. sundnytte dreah, 'swam,' lit. 'discharged the function of swimming.' Such expressions, strange to us, were merely part of the A.-S. and O.Icel. poet's verbal stock-in-trade, his *wordhord*.

277. him, as often, means 'his.'

ana, the weak form of *ān*, means 'alone.'

279. Hetware: probably the *Hatwere* of l. 33 n.

nealles . . .

feðewiges, 'the H. had no cause to rejoice in their prowess,' an example of the significant under-statement so much employed by A.-S. poets, cf. l. 130 n. The infin. *beon* is omitted with *þorfton*, as it frequently is with *mæg*, *sceal*, etc.

281. lyt, 'few of them'; see l. 229 n.

282. hildfrecan: Beowulf; cf. l. 206.

niosan is complementary to

becwom.

283 ff. Beowulf himself here recalls his share in Hygelac's disastrous expedition, alluded to in the previous lines.

for duguðum: cf. 4 E 220: 'before the armies I was the slayer of Dæghrefn' (who killed Hygelac).

Huga:

a name given to the Franks.

285. frātwe: belonging to Hygelac.

Frescyninge is either a Frisian king under the overlordship of Theodoric, or else Theodoric himself, or his son Theodobert. We are here reminded of the doubt as to the identity of the *Eotenas* in the Finn episode. It must be remembered that the Franks living near the mouth of the Rhine as far as the Zuyder Zee had Frisians as their nearest neighbours.

287. cumbles hyrde, 'the guardian of the standard,' Dæghrefn.

289. Beowulf's terrible hand-grip rendered the use of a sword unnecessary, as is shown in his fight with Grendel.

289, 290. heortan . . . gebræc, 'crushed his heart's founts, his bone-house,' a fine example of A.-S. poetic imagery.

291. Beowulf, after succeeding Heardred, Hygelac's son, as king of the Geats, and reigning many years, now lies dead after slaying the dragon. The messenger who reports his death to his people recalls past feuds and prophecies fresh ones.

292. **underne**, 'not secret,' 'publicly known,' is the predicate of **weorðeð** in l. 294.
 293. **cyninges**: Beowulf.
 295. **Hugas**: see l. 284 n.
 296. **flotherge**: for this use of the dat. without *mid* cf. 4 4 n.
 297. The MS. reading *gehnægdon*, 'brought low,' is metrically faulty, as it brings two alliterations into the second half-line.
 298. **geeodon . . . þæt**, 'brought it to pass . . . that.'
 299. **byrnwiga**: Hygelac.
 301. **dugoðe**, 'to his followers.' A distribution of treasure would have followed victory. **us**, 'to us Geats.'
 302. **Merewioingas**, 'of the Merovingian,' i.e. Theodric, one of the Merovingian dynasty of Frankish kings. For the Northumbrian gen. s. ending as cf. *Scilfingas*, l. 63 n.

G

304. **wid wæter**: the great lakes Wener and Wetter, in the south of Sweden.
 305. Hrethel had three sons, Herebeald, Hæthcen and Hygelac. Herebeald was accidentally killed by Hæthcen; see 11 C, Introd. Note. On Hæthcen's death at the hands of the Swedish king Ongentheow, Hygelac succeeded to the Geatish throne.
 306. The words *oððe him*, which in the MS. immediately precede **Ongenðeowes**, cannot form part of the same half-line, which is of the simple A-type; see Appendix, §§ 7, 8. We must therefore assume either that they were inserted in error by the copyist, or that they are part of one or more lines that have been omitted. **Ongenðeowes eaferan**: Onela and Ohthere; for Ongentheow cf. 1 31.
 308. **heafo**, 'seas,' is the Mercian form of W.S. *hafu*, pl. of *haf*. The reference is to the great lakes Wener and Wetter and numberless smaller ones which lay between the Swedes and the Geats. **Hreosna-Beorh** is a name not occurring elsewhere. Some editors emend to *Hrefna-Beorh* in view of *Hrefnesholt*, l. 334, but there seem to have been two battles at different places.
 309. 'They often made fierce and perfidious attacks.'
 310. **mægwine mine**, 'my kinsmen' (uncles), i.e. Hæthcen and Hygelac.
 312. **oðer**, 'one of the two,' i.e. Hæthcen.
 313. Hæthcen was slain by Ongentheow, as we are told in ll. 323, 324.
heardan ceape, 'a cruel bargain.'
 315. 'Then, I have heard, in the morning one brother (Hygelac) avenged the other (Hæthcen) on the slayer.'
 317. **Eofores**: a Geatish warrior; cf. l. 363.
 318. **Scyfling**: Ongentheow.
 319. **hond**: apparently the hand of Eofor, who slays the old king when the latter attacks him: 'his hand remembered the many (**genoge**) fights; it did not withhold the mortal stroke.'
 321. **to**, 'from.'
 322. **wihte**, 'at all.' **ac**, 'for,' or 'nay, rather,' the usual meaning when a negative sentence precedes.
 326. **leode** is obj. of **gesohton**.
 327. **fæder Ohtheres**: Ongentheow.
 328. **ondslyht ageaf**, 'returned to the attack.'

329. **brimwisan**, 'the sea-chief,' *i.e.* Hæthcen, who had apparently carried off Ongentheow's wife (**bryd**). In l. 353 the Geats are called *samannum*. **afeorde**, 'removed,' 'took away.' Some editors read *ahredde*, 'rescued.'

332. **feorhgeniðlan**: Hæthcen's Geatish followers. 335. **sinherge**, 'with a large force'; for this meaning of the dat. see l. 4 n.; for the prefix *sin-* see l. 94 n.

sweorda lafe, 'what was left by the swords,' *i.e.* the remnant of Hæthcen's followers; *cf.* *wealafe*, l. 144.

338. After **cwæð** the conj. *þæt* is occasionally omitted in *Beo*.

339. **getan**, 'destroy,' properly 'to pour out,' the Anglian form of the W.S. *gietan*, a causal derivative of *gēotan*, 'gush out,' 'pour'; *cf.* the similar Latin use of *fundere*.

341. **sarigmodum**: Hæthcen's band.

342. **hie**: also H.'s band.

344. **dugoðe**, 'with the flower'; *cf.* *sinherge*, l. 335. on last, 'on the track (of Ongentheow).'

347. **mid him**, 'among themselves.'

348. **se goda** here refers to Ongentheow, now fleeing from Hygelac.

350. This line, which is a parenthesis, is not quite clear; we may transl. 'the warrior (Hygelac) had turned Ongentheow back higher up (the hill).'

351. The subj. of **hæfde** is Ongentheow.

353. **þæt** introduces a noun-clause expanding the meaning of **wiðres**.

354. **hord forstandan**: the treasure, including booty and other fruits of victory, was defended to the last.

355. **bearn** is probably pl. **beah**, 'he retreated.'

356. **eorðweall**: a stronghold surrounded by an embankment. **þa**

wæs æht boden, etc.: the meaning of this passage is not clear; we may transl. 'treasure was offered, a banner, to Hygelac by the Swedish people; they came out on the plain. Then Hrethel's men (the Geats) pressed forward to the fort. There Ongentheow the grey-haired was driven to bay by the edge of swords, so that he, the people's king, had to yield to the will of one man, Eofor.' Some editors read *oht*, 'pursuit,' for **æht**, and *Higelaces*, and translate 'then was pursuit offered to the Swedes (*i.e.* the Geats attacked them); the banners of Hygelac advanced over the plain to the fort.'

363. **hyne**, etc., 'him (Ongentheow) Wulf, son of Wanræd, had (previously) attacked fiercely with his weapon.'

365. **him**, 'from him' (Ongentheow).

368. **wyrsan wrixle**, 'with a worse exchange,' worse, that is, for Wulf.

369. **þyder oncirde**, 'returned to the charge.'

370. **sunu Wonredes**: Wulf.

371. **giofan**: a Mercian or Kentish form for W.S. *giefan*.

372. **he**: Ongentheow.

373. **he**: Wulf. **bugan**, 'give way.'

374. **fæge** is regularly used of men whose death is at hand.

375. **hyne gewyrpte**, '(afterwards) recovered.'

376. **þegn**: Eofor. The complementary infin. to **let** is **brecan**, 'caused his broad blade, old and once a giant's, to split the ancient helm over the shield-defence.' Swords were valued for their age and history; **ectonisc** and **entiscne** denote a supernatural degree of excellence. *Entas* were the mighty men of former days, giants or demi-gods; *eoton* was a supernatural monster; *cf.* l. 73 n.

377. **his broðor**: *i.e.* Wulf.

381. **his mæg** : Eofor's brother, Wulf.
 382. **ða him gerymed wearð**, etc., 'when they had been enabled to win the victory' (lit. 'control the slaughter-place').
 384. 'Meanwhile the warrior (Eofor) stripped the other (Ongentheow).'
 388. **he** : Hygelac, Eofor's lord. **feng** here takes the dat.
 389. **leana** is partitive gen., 'some rewards.'
 390. **geald**, 'paid for,' 'rewarded.' **dryhten** : Hygelac.
 391. **ham** with *to* and *æt* does not take the dat. inflexion.
 393. **hund þusenda**, 'the value of 100,000 (*i.e.* *scettas*, see 1 92 n.) in land and linked rings.'
 394. **ne ðorfte**, etc., 'no man on earth need grudge them that reward, after they had won such glory.' Or, if **him** refers to Hygelac, we may transl. 'no man need reproach him' (*i.e.* for giving too small a reward).
 397. **hyldo to wedde**, 'as a pledge of favour'; **hyldo** belongs to a class of indeclinable fem. abstract nouns.
 398. **hyne** : Heardred.
 399. **sunu Ohteres** : Eanmund and Eadgils. Eanmund is mentioned in *Beo.* l. 2611 as a son of Ohthere.
 400. **helm Scyflinga** : Onela.
 402. **Swiorice** : see 1 31 n.
 403. **him . . . wearð**, 'for him (Heardred) that was the limit (of life).'
 404. **for feorme**, 'in return for his support (of Ohthere's son).'
 405. **sunu Hygelaces** is in apposition with **he**.
 406. **Ongenðioes bearn** : Onela.
 408. The subj. of **let**, 'arranged,' is Heardred. We are told in another part of the poem that Hygelac's widow wished Beowulf to succeed to the throne, as her son Heardred was too young, but Beowulf preferred to act as regent, watching over the prince till he came of age. Now that Heardred is dead, Beowulf succeeds him; *cf.* *Beo.* ll. 2369 ff.
 410. **se** : Beowulf; 'he remembered the payment due for the death of his chief'; *i.e.* resolved to take vengeance on Onela.
 412. **folce gesteppe**, 'helped (lit. exalted) with an army.'
 413. **sunu Ohteres** : Eadgils.
 414. **he** : Eadgils.
 415. **cýning** : Onela.

H

416. **him** : Beowulf, to whom a collar is given by Wealhtheow, queen of Hrothgar, the Danish king, as a reward for his having slain the monsters, Grendel and his mother. **ful**, 'cup.'
 422. Hama is the Heime of Germanic story, the companion of Wittich (O.E. Wudga); see 1 130 n.
 425. **Eormenrices** : see 1 8 n. **geceas . . . ræd**, 'chose the eternal way,' a euphemism for 'died.'
 430. **ahsode**, 'experienced.'
 431. **to**, 'from,' 'at the hands of.'
 433. Hygelac was slain in the fight with the Franks and Frisians; see 4 F, Introd. Note.

5. THE FIGHT AT FINNSBURH

MS. The MS. of this fragment has been lost, so that we are dependent on the text printed by G. Hickes in his *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus*, Oxford, 1705. The fragment is edited with notes in the

editions of *Beo.* by Holthausen, Klacber and Wyatt-Chambers; also by B. Dickins, *l.c.*

1 ff. Apparently one of Hnæf's men on the watch has noticed a light approaching the hall and reports it to Hnæf (**cynning**), who at once perceives that the moonlight is reflected from the armour and weapons of an approaching enemy. He thereupon rouses his sleeping men and sends them to their stations.

3. **draca**: dragons were supposed to breathe out fire; see 14 E.

4. **hornas**: the gables ending in horn-like points.

5, 6. There is no break between **berað** and **fugelas** in Hickes's text, but clearly two half-lines at least have been omitted; we may transl. 'but in this case foemen are on the march.'

6 ff. **fugelas** . . . **onewyð**, 'the birds (of battle) are croaking, the grey-coated (wolf) is howling, spears are rattling, shields answer them.' The eagle, the raven, and the wolf are the conventional attendants on battles in O.E. poetry; cf. *Beo.* l. 3024 ff., *se wonna hrefn* . . . (*seal*) *earne secgan hu him æt æte speow, þenden he wið wulfe wæl reafode.*

10. As it stands this line can be transl. 'which will bring to a head this hatred of the people,' but the sense is rather strained. By emending **ðisne** to **ðisses** and **willað** to **willeð** we obtain a better meaning, 'which this people's (the enemy's) malice is about to cause.'

12. **hebbað eowre handa**, 'raise your hands,' *i.e.* take a solemn vow to fight to the death.

12, 13. **hicgeaþ** . . . **mode**, 'fix your purpose on deeds of valour, hurl (your spears) in the van of battle, be of good heart.'

16. **Sigeferð**: see 1 31 n.

Eaha: not elsewhere met with.

17. Ordlaſ and Guthlaſ are probably the Oslaf and Guthlaſ who in the *Beowulf* Finn episode appeal to Hengest for vengeance; see 4 D 208.

18. **hwearf him on laste**, 'followed them'; lit. 'moved in their tracks.'

19. Garulf apparently is the leader of the attacking party.

20 ff. 'That he should not bear his noble life nor his armour to the doors of the hall, since a warrior bold in attack wished to take it' (*i.e.* his life).

22. **nipa heard** probably refers to Sigferth.

23. **he**: Garulf.

25. **Secgena**: apparently the same people as the *Sycgum* of 1 31.

26. **wrecea wide cuð**: cf. 4 B 88.

27. **ðe** . . . **wylle**, 'for thee is destined whatever thou thyself desirest to ask from me,' *i.e.* life or death. **swæper** is a contraction of *swa hwæðer*, 'whichever of two.'

30. **cellod** is Grein's emendation on the analogy of *cellod bord* in 16 283, *q.v.*; its meaning is not known.

31. **banhelm** may mean 'corslet' or 'helmet'; it occurs nowhere else.

35. Hickes's reading **hwearflacra** is clearly an error. Grundtvig's emendation **hwearflira** is metrically weak for an E-type of half-line if judged by the *Beowulf* standard, but might be admitted in view of the slackness observable in the versification of this poem; cf. 21 219 n., and Appendix, § 7. The adj. **hwearflíc** occurs in *Boeth.* p. 25 l. 10, with the meaning 'changing'; the adv. **hwearflíce** occurs once in a gloss with the meaning 'by turns,' so **hwearflira** may mean 'who fell in turn.'

36. **stod**, 'flashed out,' a common meaning.

37. The reading *Finnsburuh* given by Hickes needs emendation, as *Finns* for *Finnes* is inadmissible; *buruh* is a late form of *burh*, which is a monosyllable.

Finnes burh seems here to be a walled town or castle belonging to

Finn, outside his own kingdom. Hnæf's hall, which is being attacked, is in the town or within the castle precincts.

39. *sel* repeats the idea contained in *wurplicor*.

40. This is another corruption in Hickes's text. Grein's emendation of *swanas* for the meaningless *swa noc*, if correct, would mark the poem as very late, as the meaning 'man-at-arms' for *swan* was borrowed from the Danish *sveinn*. In O.E. *swan* means 'swineherd,' as in *A.-S. Chron.*, anno 755, and elsewhere. By the omission of *swa noc*, probably due to careless proof-correction by Hickes, and reading *swetne* for *hwitne* with Ettmüller, we obtain a metrically correct B-type half-line with perfect meaning, 'nor ever better paid for sweet mead.' Thanes were in honour bound to requite their lord's generosity by devotion on the field of battle.

42. *hig*: the *ig* here, as often, denotes a long *i*. *swa . . . feol*, 'without one of them falling.' The metre here is faulty, as the *first* stressed syllable of the second half-line should alliterate; see Appendix, § 3.

44. *wæg*: for *weg*.

47. *folces hyrde* probably refers to Finn.

II. ELEGIAC, LYRIC, AND MORALIZING

6. THE WANDERER

MS. in Exeter Book, fol. 76b. *Text* in Grein-Wülcker, i. p. 284 ff. Ed. and transl. by Miss N. Kershaw in *A.-S. and Norse Poems*, 1922.

5. *wyrd . . . aræd*, 'fate in full is determined'; *aræd* is for *aræded*, p.p. of *arædan*; *ful* is prob. an adj. here.

10. *þe . . . him*, 'to whom,' an early form of the rel. pron.; cf. 1 133 n.

14. *healde his hordcofan*, 'guard his treasure-chest,' i.e. keep his thoughts to himself.

16. *helpe gefremman*, 'provide help,' i.e. find consolation.

17. *domgeorne*, lit. 'desirous of fame,' may here mean 'noble-minded,' 'proud.'

dreorige, 'sad,' agrees with *hyge*.

19. *modsefan* is the obj. of *sælan* in l. 21.

25. *dreorig* qualifies *ic* understood.

27. The MS. reading *mine*, if correct, can only stand for *mýne*, 'mind,' 'purpose.' But the metre would then be faulty, as *mýne* takes a strong 'resolved' stress. Consequently emendation is needed. Wyatt's suggestion, *mīnne*, acc. s.m. of *mīn*, is the best; we should then transl. 'one who had known my (lord) in the meadhall.' Keeping *mýne* we might emend *wisse* to *wissie* and transl. 'one who might guide my purpose.'

29. *wat . . . cunnað*, 'he (alone) knows who makes trial,' i.e. has experience.

30. *to geferan*, 'as a companion.'

32. *warað* usually means 'guard,' 'be in custody or possession of'; here we may transl. 'possesses him,' i.e. fills his thoughts.

36. *wenede to wiste*, 'treated with abundance,' 'spoiled'; cf. l. 29.

37. *wat* is used absolutely, 'understands,' 'has true knowledge.'

42, 43. *on cneo . . . heafod* describes the act of homage.

44. The MS. reading *giefstodas* may be the Northumbrian form of the gen. s., the case required with *breac*.

50 ff. In punctuating and translating this difficult passage it must be remembered that the wanderer is now thought of as rowing or sailing on the sea. *sorg*

... **sefan**, 'his sorrow is renewed when the memory of his kinsmen passes through his mind, he greets with song and eagerly scans the companions of warriors (*i.e.* the occupants of other vessels), but they sail away again (unresponsive, for) the mind of seafarers does not recall many of the familiar songs; grief is renewed for him who time after time (**swiþe geneahhe**) has to send his weary thoughts across the expanse of waters (*i.e.* keep a look-out ahead of the vessel).' Most editors think that this passage describes a dream or vision in which the wanderer joyfully greets the friends of the past and scans their faces, whereupon the visionary forms disappear (**swimmað on weg**).

62. It is possible that the original poem ended with **maguþegnas**, as the remaining portion is of the conventional moralizing kind that is found in other A.-S. poems, such as 12, 13, the *Ruin*, etc.

65. **wintra dæl**, 'a good number of years.' With **sceal** we must supply *beon*.

70 ff. 'A man should wait, when he makes (or intends to make) a promise (or boast), until he, confident in spirit, knows exactly whither his purpose will tend.'

73 ff. Reflections on the fleeting character of this world suggested by the sight of ruined buildings form the burthen of the A.-S. poem called the *Ruin*.

79. **dreame**: the original meaning of *dream* is 'noise of singing, revelry,' etc., as in *Beo.* l. 88, *he . . . dream gehyrde hludne in healle*. By an extension of meaning it came to be used for 'joy.'

80. **bi wealle**: these words are probably inserted to complete the metre rather than to indicate the place where the warriors fell.

81. **ferede in forðwege**, 'bore them on their way forward,' *i.e.* caused their death.

fugel: a bird such as the eagle or raven, which carries off pieces of carrion from the field of battle; see 5 6 and 35.

83. **deaðe gedælde**, 'assigned to death.'

85. **ælda**: the Anglian form of W.S. *ielda*.

86, 87. 'Until the ancient works of giants stood idle, lacking the noise of townsmen'; **burgwara** is g. pl. depending on **breahtma**; **geweorc** must be taken as a plur.

enta: old buildings, also treasure, weapons, and armour found in grave mounds, etc., were regarded as the handiwork of the giants of old; cf. *Beo.* l. 1679, where a sword is called *enta geweorc*, and l. 2717, where the arched entrance to a burial-mound receives the same appellation; cf. also l. 2774, where the treasure-hoard is ascribed to the same source.

90. **feor**, 'far back in time,' a common meaning; **feorran** is also used; cf. 18 A 3.

92 ff. The thoughtful man stands by a ruined hall and soliloquizes as he pictures to himself the life that filled the hall in earlier days.

96. **genap**, 'has faded into mist.' The noun *geniþ* means 'mist,' 'cloud'; cf. l. 104.

97. **on laste . . . duguþe**, 'in the place once occupied by the friendly company'; *last* properly means 'footprint,' 'track.'

98. **fah** properly means 'adorned with a design, pattern or marking.' The 'wall' is here probably the interior wall of the hall. With **wyrmlicum** cf. *wyrmfah*, 14 602.

100. **mære** here means 'notorious.'

104. **nipeð**, 'comes glooming up.'

105. **hæleþum on andan**, 'to the vexation of men.'

111. **gesæt . . . rune**, 'sat apart in meditation.'

112 ff. Such long lines occur fairly often in A.-S. poetry. It is generally thought that they are used in exalted or solemn passages, but this is not always the case.

torn is obj. of **acyþan**.

113. *bote*: obj. of *gefremman*.

114. *eorl* is in apposition with *he*.

mid elne, 'effectually.'

115. *to*, 'from,' a common meaning with verbs of asking, expecting or believing.

7. THE SEAFARER

MS. in Exeter Book, fol. 81b.

Text in Grein-Wülcker, i. p. 290 ff.

Ed. and transl. by Miss N. Kershaw; see 6.

6. *atol* . . . *gewealc*: *yða gewealc* occurs in *Bco.* l. 464, and *atol yða geswing* in l. 848.

8. *he*: sc. *naca*.

9. The *MS.* reading *waron mine fet* is metrically faulty, as in the B and C types of half-line it is the first strong stress that alliterates. The original text may have had *fæte*, the earlier form of *fet*, in which case the half-line would have been of the type with one strong stress; see Appendix, § 9.

13. 'To whom fortune is fairest on land,' *i.e.* who is fortunate enough to live on land.

15. *wræccan lastum*, 'in the tracks of an exile,' *i.e.* far away from home.

16. A half-line has dropped out here, though there is no sign of a lacuna in the *MS.*

20 ff. 'I made the cry of the gannet my delight, and the scream of the gull I put before the laughter of men, the chanting seamew before the drinking of mead.'

24. *þæt*: sc. *clif*.

25. The epithet *urigfepra*, 'wet-feathered,' is applied to the eagle in *Judith* l. 210, and *Elene* l. 29. Two half-lines seem to have fallen out here.

26. *ferhð* seems here to have the meaning of 'soul,' 'person'; transl. 'not one of the kinsmen, not a single poor soul, was (or, would have been) able to sail (in such weather).'

27 ff. 'Therefore he who, proud and luxurious, possesses the good things of life, who (living) in towns (has) experienced but few dangerous journeys, will hardly believe how,' etc. The seafarer has a grievance against the fortunate, unsympathetic landsman.

27. *him* can hardly be transl. here.

31. *nap nihtscua*: cf. 6 104. The past tenses in this line and the next denote recurring action in the past: 'the squall (lit. night-shadow) would loom up, it would snow from the north,' etc.

33. *for þon* . . . *cunnige*, 'so too now my thoughts are battering at my heart, (impelling) me to face in person the deep waters, the heaving of the salt waves.'

34. *hean* is acc. pl. weak, with the def. art. omitted, as is usual in early verse; cf. *ecan*, l. 79.

36. Such 'psychological' words as *moð*, *heorte*, *sefa*, *feorhð*, *hreðer*, *gehysd*, etc., are used vaguely in A.-S. poetry, being practically interchangeable.

37. In the earlier verse *to* is often used with the uninflected infin.

39 ff. A man may be ever so brave and favoured by fortune, yet he cannot face a sea-voyage without anxiety.

39. *þæs*, 'so'; *to þæs* has the same sense.

41. *dryhten* here, as in l. 43, probably means 'earthly lord,' 'chief.'

43. 'As to what commission his lord will charge him with.'

46. *ne* . . . *nefne*, 'nor will he think of aught else save.'

48. *nimað*: here intrans., 'take on,' 'increase.' Miss Kershaw suggests *blostmiað*.

51. **þam . . . þenceð**, 'of him who is thinking of.'
52. We may read either *flodviðgas*, 'sea-waves,' or *flodviðgas*, 'sea-paths.'
53. The cuckoo is also mentioned in 9 40 as the harbinger of summer.
54. **beodeð**, 'utters,' 'proclaims.'
55. **breosthord**: the sense requires the dat. *breosthorde*, but this would be metrically incorrect. But perhaps the sentence means that the bitterly complaining cuckoo fills the mind of the hearer with sadness.
57. 'lay down the footsteps of exile,' *i.e.* wander, travel.
58. **min . . . hræþerlocan**, 'my thoughts pass over the confines of my breast,' *i.e.* go roaming.
- 61 ff. The seafarer likens his spirit (**modsefa**) to a sea-bird.
- 63, 64. **hweteð . . . gelagu**, 'urges my thoughts on irresistibly to the whale-path, over the expanse of waters.'
64. The seafaring part of the poem ends with **gelagu**; the rest is commonplace moralizing, like the latter part of the *Wanderer*. **hatran**, 'more warming,' 'more inspiring.'
- 68 ff. 'Ever for each creature, before its time passes away, one of three things brings a risk (lit. becomes a doubt): either sickness or old age or else armed hate may wrest the life from a man, if he is doomed and about to go. Therefore for each man the best memorial he can win before passing away is the praise of survivors (lit. after-speakers), of the living; let him by bold deeds against the malice of foes, against the devil, bring it to pass (**fremman**) that the sons of men may afterwards praise him, and his fame live,' etc.
69. For the MS. reading *tidege* Grein suggested *tidgege* = *tiddage* 'date' (of occurrence).
73. **lastworda**: lit. 'words that remain'; cf. the phrase *last weardian*, 'remain in one's footsteps,' 'remain behind.'
75. The obj. of **fremman** is the clause introduced by **þæt** in l. 77. For **fremman** Sweet reads *fremme*, to correspond with **gewyrce**.
77. **ælda**: see 6 85 n.
79. **awa to ealdre**, 'for evermore,' lit. 'ever for life.'
80. **dugeþum**, 'the (heavenly) hosts,' a common meaning in religious poetry.
84. **mid him**, 'among themselves.'
85. **dome**, 'glory'; *dom* originally meant 'something laid down,' hence 'judgement,' 'opinion,' then 'good opinion,' 'fame,' 'glory.'
86. **duguð**, 'noble company.'
88. **brucað þurh bisgo**, 'possess it anxiously.'
91. **on** takes a full stress here; see Appendix, § 11 (d).
93. Cf. 6 22, 23.
- 97 to end. 'Though a man may strew with gold the tomb of his own brother, (and so) with various treasures bribe the dead man (to excuse him) from accompanying him, yet no gold, when he buries it in his lifetime here, avails to ease the conscience (**sawle**) of the sinful man from his fear of God.' If the MS. reading *byrgan* be retained, the sense will require **þæt** to be emended to *þeah*; the comma after **geborenun** will have to be omitted, a comma put after **deadun**, and a semicolon after **wille**; we should then transl. 'though he desire to strew the tomb with gold, with various treasures, to bury one brother by another dead brother, yet he will not go with them (*i.e.* enter the tomb).' The change of *byrgan* to *bycgan* gives much better sense.

8. A WOMAN'S COMPLAINT

MS. in Exeter Book, fol. 115a. *Text* in Grein-Wülcker, i. p. 302.
Ed. and transl. by Miss N. Kershaw; see 6.

1. This line is similar to the first line of 7.

4. *niwes* and *ealdes* are, like *yrmba*, partitive gen. depending on *hwæt*.
no . . . nu, 'no more (misery) than (I am suffering) now.'

5. The *MS.* reading *wonn*, 'struggled,' gives no sense unless we supply *wiþ* before *wite*. We might read *gewonn*, 'obtained,' or else *fond*, 'found,' 'experienced.'

8. *hwær lond*es, 'where in the world,' or 'in what land.'

9. 'Then I went away, seeking service in my sad need, a friendless exile.'

me is dat. reflex., the usual construction with *gewitan*. *folgað*
is from *folgian*, 'to follow,' 'be in the service of'; cf. 3 38.

13, 14. *þæt . . . longade*, 'so that we might live (or, have been living) far, far apart in the world—most hateful (fate)—and I might suffer (or, have been suffering) longingly.' *lifdon* may be either indic. or subjunct.

15. 'My lord bade me take up here a hard lot'; Grein reads *card*, 'dwelling,' for *heard*; *her* does not usually take a full stress, but may do so here for emphasis.

21. The order of the half-lines has perhaps been inverted by the copyist: 'many a time, with cries of joy, we vowed that nothing save death alone should part us.'

22. The subject of *gedælde* is *owiht*.

26. *felaleofan* is probably objective gen.; transl. 'I must bear (the consequences of) the enmity displayed against my very dear one.'

27. Apparently the woman has been ordered to pass the daytime in a deserted cave or ruined hut at the foot of an oak in some gloomy mountain valley.

31. *bitre* here perhaps means 'repellent,' 'thorny.'

32. *ful oft . . . frean*, 'oft has my lord's departure fallen grievously upon me,' *i.e.* hit me hard, caused me suffering.

33. 'My dear friends are living in the earth (*i.e.* are dead), they are dwelling in the tomb.'

42. The first half-line is apparently a one-stress type ending 2 1, which is very rare; see Appendix, § 9.

42 ff. Taking these lines to refer to the enemy of the woman's husband, we transl. 'may the young man, who (by nature) should have a happy bearing, be sad—his heart's thought is stern—likewise (*eac þon*) let him have cares, a multitude of sorrows; let his happiness depend upon himself (*i.e.* may he feel remorse for his action), may he be an outcast (lit. enemy) in a far country, because my friend is sitting under a cliff, frozen with the storm-wind, my weary love, with water all around him, in a dreary cave.'

47. We might instead of *þæt* read *þær* or *hwæt* (interj.).

52. *wa . . . abidan*, 'alas for her who in longing must wait for her dear one.' The masculine demonstr. pron. is occasionally used in reference to a fem. noun, cf. *Beo.* ll. 1260, 1344, etc.

9. THE HUSBAND'S MESSAGE

MS. in Exeter Book, fols. 122b, 123a, 123b. The *MS.* is in parts injured or illegible. The *text* is printed in Grein-Wülcker, iii. pp. 218, 219 (Riddle 61) and i. p. 306 ff. Ed. and transl. by Miss N. Kershaw; see 6.

1. **ic**: the piece of wood, or perhaps a length of reed, on which the message in rune-letters is carved.
10. **wordum wrixlan**, 'make changes with words,' *i.e.* speak. The same phrase occurs in 4 G 472. **wundres dæl**, 'a marvel.'
11. **on sefan searolic**, 'a clever device to think of.'
14. **þingum geþydan**, 'have purposely constrained me.'
- 19-22. **ic . . . hæse**, 'I grew up and (now) I have to go on journeys to every foreign land, to cross promptly the salt water at the bidding of my master.'
25. **heahhafu**, 'deep waters.' The MS. reading *heah hofu*, 'high dwellings,' does not make much sense.
27. 'How thou art minded concerning the love of (or, thy love for) my lord.'
29. **þær**, 'in him.' **findest**, 'shalt find.' The O.E. present indic. often has a future sense; *cf.* l. 44.
30. **pisne beam**: *i.e.* myself, the speaker.
37. **þe** is obj. of **læran**, 'he bade me tell thee.'
40. **geac**: *cf.* 7 53-55.
- 41, 42. **sipes . . . gelettan**, 'part thee from thy journey, hinder thee from thy voyage.'
44. **þæt**, 'until.'
46. **monnan** is perhaps pl. here, in which case **þær** means 'among whom.' **þin**, 'of thee.'
- 47 ff. 'To his mind, as he told me, no greater wish in the world can come true.' **þæs þe**, 'as.'
- 52-56. The sense of these lines is that the man has now become rich in his adopted country and has a noble home with many servants.
60. **mengan**, 'mingle,' 'churn up' with oars; *cf.* l. 38, *lagu drefde*.
61. The expression **wilna gad** occurs in *Beo.* l. 660 and l. 949.
- 64, 65. **gif . . . twega**, 'if only he has thee, to crown the vows ye once exchanged.'
- 66 ff. 'I turn together (*i.e.* rearrange) the letters S, R, EO, W, D, (and so) declare by his oath that as long as life lasts he will fulfil the covenant and the plighted vows of love which you and he uttered in earlier days.' The man has carved on the piece of wood the single word 'sword' to show that he has sworn on his sword to be true to his love. The handle of a sword served in Christian times as a crucifix on which to swear. There is evidence that among the Germanic peoples in pre-Christian times it was the custom to swear solemn oaths on the sword or other weapon. The formal breaking of a treaty seems to have been accompanied by the breaking of swords on both sides, if we are to judge by the passage in 4 E 263-4. If however *sweord* in the latter passage be taken as 'swearing' (*swerian*) we may give it that meaning in the present passage, with no change in the general sense.

10. WOLF AND EADWACER

MS. in Exeter Book, fol. 100b. *Text* in Grein-Wülcker, iii. p. 183.

9. 'I brooded in imagination (lit. expectation) on my Wolf.' The MS. reading *dogode* makes no sense.

11. **beaducafa** refers to Wolf.

bogum bilegde, 'surrounded me with branches,' *i.e.* made an arbour to keep the rain out; **bogum** might also mean 'with his arms,' *i.e.* embraced me.

13. **wena þine**, 'my longing (lit. expectation) for thee.'

14. **seoce gedydon** is metrically faulty.

15. 'Twas my sorrowing heart, not want of food (as my friends thought).'
meteliste is pl.

16, 17. The woman is taunting Eadwacer: 'Wolf is bearing our poor child (lit. whelp) to the forest; 'tis easily parted what was never joined, our song together.' The child may be either Wolf's or Eadwacer's, as **uncerne** is ambiguous, meaning 'yours and mine' or 'his and mine.'

11. ELEGIAC AND MORALIZING PASSAGES IN BEOWULF

For *MS.* and *editions* see notes on 4.

A 3. **purh sidne sefan**, 'in his comprehensive purpose.'

5. This line has suffered at the hands of a careless copyist. The *MS.* reading *lufan* makes no sense, and it does not fit the metre; **hlisan**, 'fame,' 'vain-glory,' exactly suits the sense of the passage; *letan hworfan* is metrically unusual, as the first stress should alliterate.

10. **his** goes with **ende**, 'the end of-it.'

12. **no wiht** = *nauht*, 'nothing.'

16. **wendeð on willan**, 'subjects him to his will.'

þæt wyrse, 'a worse fate,' 'misfortune.'

17. **oferhygda dæl**, 'arrogance,' a common periphrasis.

18, 19. **se weard** and **saweles hyrde** refer either to a man's conscience or to his guardian angel.

20. **bisgum gebunden**, 'in the bonds of affliction.'

bona, 'the slayer,' the devil, elsewhere called *gastbona*, 'spirit-slayer.'

21. **fyrenum**, 'with evil purpose,' lit. 'with crimes.'

22. **bið**: *sc.* the arrogant man.

24. The first half-line belongs to the D-type of verse; it is scanned *wóm wíund(o)rbeððum*.

26. **nallas on gylp seleð**, 'he does not give presents, as his reputation requires.'

29. **weorðmynda dæl**: see l. 16 n.

32. **fehð oþer to**, 'another succeeds him.'

33. **unmurnlice**, 'without a thought for him.'

34. **egesane gýmeð**, 'heeds not fear,' *i.e.* need not fear punishment, or else 'stands in no awe' (of the dead man).

B 57. **wunode**, 'was situated.'

58. **nearocræftum fæst**, 'fast closed (or strongly built) by cunning art.'

60. **hringa hyrde**: *i.e.* a chieftain.

64. **gode**, 'the noble warriors.'

66. **þara ðe** is not infrequently followed by a sing. verb.

67. **gesawon seledream**, 'they once saw the joys of the hall,' implying that they no longer do so.

70. After **seal** an infin. such as *beon* or *weorðan* must be understood; a frequent omission with *seal*, *mæg*, etc.

73. **gebad**, 'suffered,' 'received.'

77. **hæledum be healfe**, 'for the service of men'; *cf.* our phrase, 'on behalf of.'

78. **gomen**, 'entertainment,' or 'playing.'

80. **beateð**, 'beats' (with his hoofs).

81. **forð onsended**, 'sent on their way,' *i.e.* to their doom.

C 83. **to gebidanne . . . galgan**, 'to live to see his young son swinging on the gibbet.'

81. *wreceð*, 'utters'; the original meaning of *wrecan* is 'to drive out,' 'expel'; cf. 14 401.

86. *hulpe* is the obj. of *gefremman*.

88. *symble* is for *simle*, 'ever,' 'continually.'

89 ff. *oðres . . . gefondad*, 'he (the old father) cares not to await another heir in his kingdom (lit. towns), when one of them has through a violent death (lit. the compulsion of death) met with outrage.' The MS. reading is retained in the text: some editors, transposing *deaðes* and *dæda*, transl. 'has by the necessity (*i.e.* inevitable consequences) of his deeds met with death.' This certainly involves less strain in the sense of the words than the MS. reading, which requires *dæda* to be taken as equivalent to *fyrendæda*.

91. *yrfeweardas*, if the correct reading, is the Northumbrian form of the gen. s.; cf. 4 A 63 n.

93. *bure* may mean either the whole house or an apartment in a house.

94. *windgereste*, 'wind-swept couch,' or we may read *windge reste*, with the same meaning.

95. The meaning of *reote* is not certain; Holthausen takes it as = *ræte*, 'joy'; *rece*, 'smoke,' has also been suggested; 'without smoke' would mean 'un-inhabited.'

ridend . . . hoðman is a parenthesis, 'out in the darkness, swinging (on the gallows) the man sleeps.'

97. The father wishes to be alone with his grief.

12. A BAD CHARACTER

MS. in Exeter Book, fol. 83a.

Text in Grein-Wülcker, iii. p. 144 ff.

4. *bodan ærcwide*, 'the ancient saying of a messenger,' *i.e.* of a prophet or a preacher.

6. *gealdre*, lit. 'incantation,' 'magic formula,' here refers to the words of the wise man which enable one to distinguish the good man (*Godes agen bearn*) from the bad.

7. *þone wacran* is obj. of *witan*.

10. A negative is clearly needed here; transl. 'who in this fleeting life does not allow wanton pride to injure his understanding and drunkenness to rule him in his days.'

12. *druncen* is here a noun.

13. *mæpelhergendra*, 'singers of praise'; lit. 'praising in the assembly.' As this word occurs nowhere else it has been proposed to read *mæpelhīgendra*, 'attenders at a meeting.'

16. *wordum wrixlað*, 'exchange words,' perhaps referring to the poetic language in which the lays were chanted; cf. 14 G 472 and 9 10.

16-18. *witan . . . wunige*: the meaning is not clear, but we may perhaps transl. 'they are anxious to learn what battle-place lies inside the hall among the men,' *i.e.* they are looking out for a quarrel.

21, 22. *swa . . . gedæled*, 'thus are (men's) characters variously assigned.'

23-25. *sum . . . þæt*, 'some men are violently impelled to arrogance; inside them pride swells immoderate; there are too many of them.'

ungemedemad is p.p. of *medemian*, 'to moderate,' formed from *medeme*, 'midway,' 'moderate.' Unstressed *un-* is a sign of late composition.

27. *feondes*: the devil.

28. *breodað*, 'plays tricks,' 'uses stratagems,' a contraction of *breogdað*, the Kentish form of *bregdað*, from *bregd*, 'trick.' *boð* is from *bōgan*, *bōgian*, 'to boast,' a word elsewhere found only in late writings.

30. **wise**, 'manner,' 'behaviour.'

31, 32. **biþ** . . . **sceawað**, 'this man has another trick, when he perceives a pretext for a wicked act'; **finta** properly means 'tail.'

33. Note the rhyme; see Introduction to 24.

35, 36. **he** . . . **gefremede**, 'he is not conscious of the guilt incurred by the malicious attack.'

40 ff. 'He sits, flushed with the feast, deluded by wine; he designedly lets his words go forth in a quarrelsome crowd, in a violent turmoil, fired with envy, full of overweening pride, with spite and cunning.'

44. **cunnan**, 'recognize.'

48 ff. **hafað** . . . **wuldorcyninge**, 'a perverse life holds the creature hurrying to perdition (**grundfusne**), alien to God the king of glory'; **gæst**=W.S. *giest*, which properly means 'stranger,' 'new-comer,' here refers to the 'devil's child.'

13. THE FATES OF MEN

MS. in Exeter Book, fol. 87a.

Text in Grein-Wülcker, iii. p. 148.

3. **mid gebyrdum**, lit. 'with birth,' may be merely a pleonastic addition to **cennað**, or else it may mean 'in order of birth,' 'in succession.'

5. **gegæð gearrimum**, 'comes to pass in tale of years,' an expansion of **seo tid cymeð**.

9. **winter**, 'the years.'

bringað, 'will bring.'

11. The MS. reading *earfeðmægum* makes no sense, as *sumum* is sing. Transl. 'To one man it comes to pass in his youth that the end arrives, distressing to his family, pitiful.'

12. **sceal**, 'is destined.'

14. **ne bið** . . . **geweald**, 'such is not a man's ruling,' *i.e.* it is destiny.

15. **hreoþ**, 'the fierce (sea)'; *cf.* *eatotes* (MS. *coletes*), *Beo.* l. 224.

17. **leomena leas**, 'deprived of sight.'

18. **folmum ætfehtan**, 'fight his way with (*i.e.* trusting to) his hands.'

21. The man who is destined to be killed by falling from a tree the poet with grim humour compares, first to a bird, then to a dislodged fruit: 'though wingless, he flies, sails through the air, until in a moment he has ceased to be a fruit,' *i.e.* he is no longer on the branch.

23. The MS. reading *lengre* gives no sense.

26. **biþ on siþe**, 'departs.'

28. **nest**, 'provisions,' 'food'; not to be confused with *nest*, 'nest.'

30. **feormendra**, 'cherishers,' friends to attend to his needs.

33. For the theme of the gallows see 11 C. **ridan**, 'dangle,' 'swing'; *cf.* the modern phrase 'ride at anchor.'

34. **seomian** hardly differs in sense from *ridan*.

36. **him nimeð**, 'takes from him.' **heafodsyne**, 'the beauty of the head,' *i.e.* the likeness of a man.

38. **facne**: the 'outrage' offered by the raven (**lyftsceapan**).

42. **bið** . . . **noma**, 'his name is accursed,' *i.e.* he dies a felon's death.

43. The MS. reading *brondas þencan* makes no sense; for *aþecgan* *cf.* 10 2; *cf.* also l. 47 *infra*.

46. **read** may be the adj. 'red,' or else the past tense (used as a perfect) of *rēoðan*, 'redden.'

49. **yrre ealowosan**, 'furious with ale'; *wōsa* means 'juice,' 'liquid.'

50. **bið** . . . **hræd**, 'he has been too prompt of speech.'

52. þonne . . . sine, 'when he is unable with his mind to impose restraint (lit. measure) on his mouth.'

56. 'And men call him a suicide,' *i.e.* they say his intemperate speech led to his death. *Sylfwalu* means the act of suicide, not the self-slayer, so that we should have expected *sylfwalan*.

62. *mægburge*: an analogical form for the usual *-byrig*, perhaps pointing to a comparatively late date for the poem.

63. 'Whatsoever any man may be able to continue to hold.'

64 ff. The remainder of the poem is of inferior quality and seems to belong to some other poem of the type of 22 B.

69. *gewealdenne*, 'under control,' hence 'practised,' 'consummate.'

70. *tir* is a common poetical word, especially in religious verse. It seems to have meant originally 'splendour,' hence 'glory,' 'renown.' *tæfle*, Lat. *tabula*, a game of the nature of draughts or chess.

72, 73. The MS. reading is ungrammatical, so that a change is needed, either of *wundorgiefe* to *wundorgiefu*, or of *weorþeð* to *weorþað*.

73. The MS. reading *goldsmiþe* is difficult, unless we regard it as a fem. abstract noun, 'the smith's art.'

74 ff. 'Often he gives confidence to (*gehyrdeð*), and equips excellently, the soldiers of the great king; he (the king) gives him broad lands as a reward.' The skilled armourer, that is, makes good armour for the fighting man, who is thereby rendered more confident. *Hyrdan* is derived from *heard*, 'bold.'

The prefix *bryten-* or *breoton-*, meaning 'great,' 'vast,' occurs in several compounds, and is not to be confused with *Breten* (*Breoton*, *Bryten*) meaning 'Britain.'

79. *dream*: noise of revelry, singing in chorus, etc.; cf. *Beo.* l. 88, where Grendel *dream gehyrde hludne in healle*.

83, 84. *sceardfeþer* . . . *neomegende*: the MS. reading *gearo se þe hleapeð* is obviously wrong. The emendations suggested by some editors, viz. *scearo* or *sceard* for *gearo*, correct the alliteration but do not greatly improve the sense, *scearo* being a fem. noun meaning 'cutting' or 'share,' while *sceard* is an adj. meaning 'notched.' The emendation *sceardfeþer*, adopted in the text, would mean 'a notched or cut quill,' and this meaning is repeated in *nægl*, the plectrum used in playing the harp. A careless copyist might easily write *se þe* for *feþer*, *s* and *f* being much alike in O.E. MSS.; see note on l. 93.

84. *neomegende*, 'whining,' is Grein's emendation for the MS. reading *neome cende*. *Neomian* is not found elsewhere, but would correspond to the O.H. German *niumōn*, 'to chant.' *neod*, 'desire,' 'pleasure,' not to be confused with *nīed*, *nȳd*, 'necessity,' which in late MSS. is often written *neod*.

86. *heoroswealwe*, 'sword-swallow,' a picturesque variant for a hawk.

90. *se wælisca*, 'the Welsh (hawk).' *wædum*: the hood or jacket worn by the hawk.

93. The MS. reading *weorod anes* makes no sense. The copyist clearly had before him *weoroda nergēd*, 'the Saviour of hosts (*i.e.* of men)'; he mistook *r* for *s*, and *gēd* for *god*.

96. The prefix *eormen-* occurs in several compounds such as *eormengrund*, *eormencynn*, with the meaning 'great'; cf. the similar use of *sin-*; also *bryten*, l. 75.

III. NARRATIVE AND DESCRIPTIVE

14. BEOWULF

A 1. Hunferð: the initial vowel of the stressed prefixes *and-* and *un-* is in O.E. verse occasionally preceded by the aspirate in the MSS. Unferth was the king's *þyle*, O.N. *þulr*, *i.e.* an orator clever at repartee, whose function was to amuse the company in the hall. He may have been the earlier stage of the king's jester of later times.

2. On another occasion also, *Beo.* ll. 1165-1167, Unferth is mentioned as seated at the king's feet.

3. **onband beadurune**: lit. 'unloosed his hostile private thoughts,' a picturesque way of saying that he gave vent to his irritation.

5. **he ne uþe**, 'he would not admit.'

8. **Breca** is mentioned in l. 25 as ruler of the Brondings.

21. **Heaþo-Reamas**: the MS. reading is emended according to the form of the name in l. 63.

24. 'Where he possessed people, walled town and rings,' a way of saying he was the hereditary chief of the Heatho-Reamas.

26. **sunu B.**: Breca. **soðe**, 'in very deed,' 'as a matter of fact.'

27. **wyrsan geþinges**, 'a worse issue,' *i.e.* failure.

29. Beowulf has come to Heorot with the special purpose of ridding the Danes of Grendel, an ogre who nightly devours some of Hrothgar's men.

32. Both **worn** and **fela** are nouns meaning 'large number,' hence 'much,' 'many.'

33. **druncen**, 'having drunk,' 'prompted by drink.'

34. **from**, 'concerning'; cf. l. 83.

42. **heard**: *sc.* swords.

43. **wiht**, 'at all,' strengthens the negative; cf. our use of 'whit,' 'bit,' and *pas*, *point* in French.

48. **wado weallende** occurs also in l. 83.

56. **fah feondscaða**, 'a fierce, destructive enemy,' one of the sea-monsters, called **laðgeteonan** in l. 61 and **manfordædian** in l. 65.

62. **þenode**, 'served,' 'treated.'

63. **deoran**, 'precious.' The words *dȳor*, 'brave,' and *dīere*, 'dear,' 'precious,' are often confused by scribes in *Beo.* and other poetical texts.

64. 'The wicked destroyers did not have the festal joy of eating (**þegon**) me.' **næs**, like *nalles*, is commonly used as a negative particle rather stronger than *ne*, *na*, and *no*.

70. The MS. reading *ford* makes no sense; transl. 'so that never afterwards around the tall (ship) did they hinder mariners from their course.'

71. **lade**: gen. s.

77. By *nicor* is meant some fabulous sea-creature, probably originating in distorted accounts of seals or walruses. They lie about on rocky shelves by the sea; cf. l. 235.

78. **heardran feohtan**, 'a bitterer fight.'

79. **earmran**, 'in worse plight.'

82. **floð æfter faroðe**, 'the current (bore me) along the channel,' an expansion of *sæ oþbær*. **Finna land**: see l. 20, 79, notes.

83. **fram**: see l. 34 n.

wiht is obj. of **secan**.

84. **searoniða**: part. gen. depending on **wiht**.

85. **billa brogan**, 'terrible deeds of the sword'; **brogan** is acc. in apposition with **wiht**.
86. **ne gehwæper incer**, 'nor either of you,' neither you nor he.
88. **no . . . gylpe**: Beowulf means that it is nothing to be proud of that he is superior to Breca and Unferth.
89. Unferth's treacherous attack on his brothers is alluded to again in *Beo.* l. 1167. **to banan**: a common form of the predicate with *weorðan*.
91. **peah . . . duge** is ironical, 'though thy wit be so good.'
- B.** For an account of Grendel and his origin see l. 217 ff. and **18 B.**
97. **gearwost wisse**: lit. 'knew most readily,' *i.e.* made quite certain of, identified.
98. **fættum fahne**, 'decorated with plates of gold.' The gilded roof of Heorot is several times mentioned in the poem as a prominent feature of the wonderful hall; *cf.* *Beo.* l. 926, *geseah steapne hrof golde fahne*.
101. **heardran hæle**, 'with crueller fortune,' *i.e.* for himself.
102. **rinc**: lit. 'warrior'; it must be remembered that Grendel is a degenerate human being; *cf.* l. 214 and **17 21, 22.**
103. **dreamum bedæled**, 'bereft of joys,' *i.e.* cut off from human fellowship. **onarn**, 'gave way,' 'opened.'
104. **fyrbendum**, 'fire-bands,' *i.e.* clamps of forged iron. **hire**: the door.
106. The dropping of the aspirate from *hrape* at an early period is to be noted. **mupan**, 'opening.'
107. **fagne**, 'patterned,' *i.e.* paved with a rough mosaic of stones. The road leading from the sea-shore to Heorot is called *stanfah*, *Beo.* l. 320.
108. **stod**, 'flashed,' *cf.* **5 36.**
109. For the doubled *g* to indicate that the preceding *i* is long see **16 182 n.**
- 114 f. **anra . . . lice**, 'part the life of each one from his body'; **anra** is part. gen. depending on **gehwylices** and means lit. 'of the ones,' 'of the individuals.'
116. **ne . . . gen**, 'it was not fated.'
118. **ofer**, 'after.'
120. **under . . . wolde**, 'was going to make a sudden snatch,' lit. 'to proceed with sudden grips'; **under** occasionally indicates the circumstances under which a thing takes place.
125. For the prefix *sin-*, *syn-*, 'great,' 'spacious,' *cf.* *syndolh*, l. 199, and **4 C 94 n.**
129. **rinc**: Beowulf.
130. **he**: Beowulf.
131. **wið earm gesæt** seems to mean 'raised himself on his elbow.'
132. **fyrena hyrde**, 'lord (lit. shepherd) of sins,' sinful being.
- 133 f. **middangeardes** and **eorþan** depend on **men**.
136. **no . . . meahte**, 'none the more was he able to get away'; **ær** is a contracted form of the compar. *æror*. For **fram** used as an adv. *cf.* **14 A 45.**
141. **æfenspræce**: *i.e.* his promise to Hrothgar.
143. For the meaning of **eoten** see **4 B 73 n.**
144. **se mæra**, 'the infamous creature.' **þær**, 'if'; *cf.* l. 180.
147. **þæt . . . ateah**, 'that was a grievous journey that the destructive creature took to Heorot.'
151. The meaning of the MS. reading *ealuscerwen* is not known. The emendation **ealuscerpen** would mean 'ale-vomiting,' the result of terror. The Danes outside in the town are listening to the noise of the terrific struggle.

152. The prefix *regn-* or *rēn-*, like *sin-*, denotes great size or strength; cf. Gothic *ragin-*.

155. **he**: the hall; **þæs**, 'so.'

157. The shocks of the combatants bumping against the walls starts the tables from the platform running round the hall.

159. **golde geregnad**: a phrase used to show the splendour of the hall inside as well as outside; cf. l. 98 n.

160 ff. **þæs** anticipates the noun-clause beginning with *þæt* and need not be transl.: 'the wise men of the Scyldings (Danes) never expected in the past that any man with moderate force (**gemete**) could ever break up that hall (**hit**), so handsome and adorned with ivory, or by cunning unpin it, unless the fire's embrace should engulf it in smoky flame.'

165. **niwe**, 'afresh,' emphasizes **geneahhe**, 'without ceasing.' **stod**, 'fell upon'; cf. l. 108 n.

167. **of wealle**: from the wall of the town.

168. **Godes andsacan**: Grendel.

169. **sar**, 'his hurt.'

170. **hæfton** for *hæftum*, 'to the captives of hell,' i.e. his kinsfolk, who are supposed to hear Grendel's cries.

172. This line occurs again, l. 188; the addition of **þysses lifes** merely helps to fill out the line. Note the prominent stress on the demonstrative pronouns; see Appendix, § 11 (e).

173. **eorla hleo**: Beowulf. **ænige þinga**, 'for anything,' 'by any means.'

177. **eorl**: sing. used for plur. Beowulf's men, now fully awake, try to help their leader. **lafe**, 'sword,' lit. 'heirloom.'

179. **ðær**, 'if only,' a common meaning of *þær* with the subjunct.; cf. l. 144.

180. **þæt** is explained by the *þæt*-clause in l. 183.

183. **sawle**: Grendel's life. **þæt . . . nolde**, 'that no choicest blade on earth, no war-sword, would injure (lit. 'greet') that giant foe; he (Beowulf) therefore had renounced weapons of victory, every sword.'

187. **his**: Grendel's.

190. **feonda** here means 'fiends,' demons of hell.

191 ff. **se þe . . . gefremede**, 'he who had in joy of heart committed so many crimes against the race of men, perceived that,' etc. **þæt** prepares for the *þæt*-clause in l. 194.

195. **ac**, 'for.'

203. **þe** is the instrumental case with the comparative, the original of the modern 'the' in such phrases as 'the more the merrier,' etc.

C 211. **þæs þe**, 'so far as.'

213. **wræclastas træd**, 'lived an outcast'; see l. 102 n.

216 ff. **no . . . gasta**, 'they (men) do not know of any father (of Grendel), whether any of the mysterious spirits was once his father'; **acenned** is not needed, except to fill out the line.

219. The first half-line is an A-type, the last two sylls. **-hleopu** taking a 'resolved' secondary stress; see Appendix, § 8.

223. **milgemeances** defines **feor**, 'measured in miles.'

224. **hringde**: the MS. reading *hrinde* is kept by some editors and transl. 'covered with hoar-frost.' The word *hringed* is used in the poem (l. 1245) to describe a chain-shirt, so that we may here transl. 'twisted,' 'tangled.'

226. The subject of **mæg** is *man* understood.

227. **þæs**, 'so.'

231. *ær* need not be transl. ; it prepares us for the following *ær*-clause.
 232. *ofre*, 'bank,' 'shore'; cf. Germ. *Ufer*.
 233. *heoru*, 'of good omen'; the adj. *unheore*, 'ill-omened,' 'monstrous,' occurs several times in the poem ; cf. Germ. *Ungeheuer*, 'monster.'
 D 241. *lastas*, 'the tracks' of the mother of Grendel, an ogress who, planning to avenge her son's death, had carried off by night from Heorot one of Hrothgar's most valued thanes named *Æschere*, and escaped to her haunts in the mysterious mere.
 245. *þone selestan* : sc. *Æschere*.
 246. *þara þe* : see 12 44 n.
 247. *bearn* : Hrothgar.
 250. *nicorhusa*, 'caves,' 'hollows in the cliff-side' ; for *nicor* see l. 77 n.
 251. *feara sum*, 'one of a few,' i.e. accompanied by a few men.
 257. *weorce* : predicative use of dat., 'for a trouble,' 'grievous.'
 259. *oncyð* repeats the idea contained in *weorce*.
 261. *to* is an adv. and has a strong stress, 'the people looked on' ; cf. 19 178 n. *sægon* occurs several times in O.E. verse for the more usual *sawon* ; both are from the W. Germ. *sāγwon*.
 262. *hatan* = *hatum* ; *song* = *sang*.
 263. *fuslic*, 'rousing,' 'inspiring.'
 264. *æfter*, 'along,' 'across,' a fairly common meaning.
 265. *sund cunnian*, 'swimming,' lit. 'testing the sea.'
 269. *wyrmas*, 'serpents' or 'dragons,' perhaps the same creatures as the *sædracan* of l. 266.
 273. *him . . . stod*, 'stuck in his vitals.'
 275. *sundes þe sænra*, 'the more sluggish in swimming,' i.e. he ceased swimming. *ðe . . . fornam*, 'whom death destroyed' ; *ðe hyne* marks an early stage in the development of the rel. pronoun ; cf. 1 133 n.
 277 f. *hearde . . . genæged*, 'boldly seized and vigorously assailed.'
niða is gen. plur. used as an adv.
 280. *gist* : here 'strange creature' ; *giest* often means 'new arrival,' or even 'intruder.'
 E 282. *hiorosercean bær* : a periphrasis for 'advanced.'
 284. *anes mannes* : of himself.
 288. *stondan* is to be taken with *geseah supra*, 'saw a stone arch standing.'
 291. *unbyrnende*, 'without being burnt.'
 292. *deor*, 'the bold (Beowulf).'
 296. *hlynnan* is compl. to *becom*, 'his voice penetrated under the white cliff, resounding with defiant (*heaðo*) clearness.'
 299. *from* : adv., 'forth.'
 301-302. *hruse . . . beorge*, 'the ground resounded, on fire under the cliff.'
born is past indic. of *biernan* ; cf. l. 368. Some edd. keep the MS. reading *biorn*, and, putting no stop after *beorge*, transl. 'the warrior, the lord of the Geats, heaved up his shield against the terrible creature.'
 309. *rond* : Beowulf's shield had been specially made for the occasion, very large and entirely of iron.
 311. *he* : Beowulf.
 315 ff. *þonne . . . moste*, 'than his purpose had sought (i.e. than he had expected), if only he had been allowed to prevail on that occasion, on the first day (of its use).'
 320. No meaning can be given to the MS. reading *incge*. *Incg* or *Ing* may be the name of the last owner of the sword.

323. **bysigum gebæded**, 'oppressed by anxiety.'
329. **eðe sið**, 'an easy (*i.e.* willing) step'; only dire necessity forced Beowulf to give ground.
335. **ða aglæcean**, 'the formidable (adversaries).'
- 336-337. **hreðer . . . stefne**, 'his interior once more welled up with a fiery blast.'
- 342 ff. **hiora . . . þenceð**, 'in one of them (Wiglaf) his heart was hot with anxious fear; (the tie of) kindred can never change for him who thinks aright.'
- 346 ff. Wiglaf is a kinsman of Beowulf; in l. 350 he is called a 'Wægmunding.' The young man's mother may have been a Scyfling, *i.e.* of the Swedish royal family. His father had been in the service of the Swedish king Onela.
349. **he**: Beowulf. The loyal retainer was expected to repay his lord in the hour of need by unstinted support in battle; this duty is often alluded to in *Beo.* and 16; *cf.* also 5 38-41.
352. **forhabban**, 'restrain himself.'
355. For Ohthere see 4 G. A passage is here omitted in which we learn that the sword and other armour came to Weohstan, who gave them to his son Wiglaf. The latter then addresses his men, saying that in honour bound he must go to the help of his lord; *cf.* ll. 404, 405.
358. **læst eall tela**, 'perform all well,' *i.e.* do all that befits a noble warrior.
360. **be ðe lifigendum**, 'in thy lifetime'; *cf.* 9 69.
363. **fullæstu** is an early form of the 1st pers. sing. pres. indic.
366. **niosian**, which takes the genitive, is here compl. to **cwom**.
368. **wið ronde**, 'at the edge.'
373. **mægenstrengo** is dat. sing.; it is an indeclinable noun.
- 374 f. **þæt . . . genyded**, 'so that, driven with fury, it stuck fast in the (dragon's) head.'
380. **se ðe**, 'which,' is occasionally used for *seo ðe*; transl. 'which, as I have heard, overdid every stroke with a sword,' *i.e.* put too much strength into the blow.
382. **næs . . . sel**, 'he was none the better for it,' *i.e.* it handicapped him.
385. **þa . . . ageald**, 'when space allowed'; he retreated in order to make a more effective rush forward.
386. **heals**: (Beowulf's) neck.
387. **banum**, 'tusks.'
392. **heafolan**, properly 'head,' here means 'safety.'
394. **nioðor hwene**, 'a little lower,' *i.e.* in a spot unprotected by his bony plates or scales.
401. **ferh . . . wræc**, 'valour drove out life,' *i.e.* the brave man slew the dragon.
- F 415. **he**: the flame.
418. **geomeowle**: there is no other mention of Beowulf's queen in the poem.
422. **wigendes egesan**, 'terror of the foe (lit. fighter).'
425. The MS. reading *hlæw on liðe* is a metrically faulty half-line, unparalleled elsewhere in *Beo.*, except in l. 779 (14 161), as the *i* of *hliðe* is short, and could not take the stress (A-type); see Appendix, §§ 3 and 7. For *hlæw* see 4 r80 n.
428. **bronda lafe**, 'the leavings of the flames,' *i.e.* the ashes.
430. **findan**, 'devise,' a not uncommon meaning.
431. **on beorg dydon**, 'placed in the mound.'
435. **lifað**, 'remains.'
437. **riodan** is for *ridon*, by 'back-vowel umlaut.'

438. **ealra twelfe**, 'twelve (chosen) from all.'
440. **wrecan**, 'utter'; cf. 14 G 471.
442. **duguðum** may here mean 'as good custom requires,' i.e. 'duly'; **duguð** often means 'noble company,' 'noble custom,' 'etiquette.'
444. **þonne . . . scile**, 'when he must go hence.'
- G 461. **glædne**, 'prosperous,' 'flourishing,' and so good-tempered; cf. 4 E 225 n.
463. **on gefit faran**, 'race.'
- 468 f. **worn** merely repeats **ealfela**. word . . . **gebunden**, 'devised other words bound up with truth,' i.e. gave a fresh rendering of the familiar story; or else we may regard the sentence as a parenthesis and transl. 'one word found another bound with truth,' i.e. the apt words suggested and succeeded each other. If we adopt the second rendering, **secg** must be taken as a repetition of **guma** in l. 466.
471. 'To tell happily a well-wrought tale.'
472. **wordum wrixlan**, 'to make changes of words,' is an apt characterization of the peculiar style of A.-S. verse composition.
- H 475. **cynna** means 'genealogy,' 'family history.'
477. **ful**, 'cup.'
478. **epelwearde**: her husband, King Hrothgar.
479. **bliðne**: supply *beon*.
482. **ides Helminga**: Wealhtheow.
483. **duguþe ond geogoþe**: the older men and the younger ones sat at separate tables.
484. The queen comes last to the chief guest, Beowulf, as a special mark of honour.
- 488 ff. **þæs þe . . . frofre**, 'for that her desire had been fulfilled, namely, that she might put her trust in a warrior for the relief of their injuries.' The long-prayed-for rescuer had arrived.
492. **gyddode** means 'made a speech'; *giedl* is a speech or a song, contrasted with ordinary talk; cf. 22 220 n.
494. **Healfdenes sunu**: Hrothgar; cf. 4 A 61.
496. **maran weorode**, 'with a greater company.'
499. The rhyme here may be unintentional; internal rhyme becomes fairly common in later verse, see 24, *Intro.* Note.
- 503, 505. Hrothwulf, King Hrothgar's brother's son, appears to have been in later years at enmity with his cousins, Hrothgar's sons.
506. **segen**: Lat. *signum*, a banner on a staff, a standard; another name is *hiltcumbor*.
- 512 ff. 'I have not heard that many warriors have given to others by the ale-bench four gifts (lit. treasures) in more friendly fashion. Around the dome of the helmet the border (**walu**) wound in wire served as a protection outside, so that no hard and dangerous sword (lit. 'leaving of files') could injure it, when the warrior had to advance against fierce (foes).'
520. **eorla hleo**, 'protector of warriors,' i.e. Hrothgar.
522. **para anum stod**, 'on one of which appeared.'
- 526-527. **næfre . . . feollon**, 'never did that famous (prince's) prowess fail in the battle-van, when men were dropping dead.'
532. **hofe sinum**: Hrothgar's private apartments in another part of the royal house. His retainers sleep in the banqueting-hall (**reced**).
535. **bencþelu**: the raised flooring running round the walls of Heorot, on which the narrow ale-benches were placed.

537. **fæge** may mean that this attendant afterwards falls a victim to Grendel's mother; or it may be used merely because it alliterates with **fus**.
545. **efne swylce mæla**, 'as often as,' lit. 'just such (a number of) times.'
- I 547. **eorla hleo**: Hygelac.
548. Hrethel was Hygelac's father and Beowulf's grandfather. **lafe**, 'sword,' properly 'something left behind,' 'heirloom.'
550. **on sweordes had**, 'in the form of a sword.'
552. **seofan þusendo** means according to some editors seven thousand hides of land. In another passage Hygelac gives two warriors 'a hundred thousand of land and closed rings'; see 4 G 393, 394.
- 553 ff. Uncle and nephew are to share the royal domain and its privileges.
- 555, 556. **oðrum . . . wæs**, 'the royal authority (would fall) more particularly to that one (*i.e.* Hygelac) who was the better (*i.e.* senior).'
- J. In connexion with this section the student is recommended to read K. Stjerna's *Essays on Questions connected with the O.E. Poem of Beowulf*, translated and edited by J. R. Clark Hall, 1912.
562. **regnhearde**: see l. 152 n.
563. **hence**: outside the hall, at the main entrance.
566. **ufan græg** apparently refers to the steel heads of the spears.
571. **sund cunnian**: see l. 266 n.
574. **inwitfeng** is in apposition with **hildegrap**, and **aldre** with **hrebpe**.
580. **swinlicum**: a metal figure of a wild boar set on the top of the helmet worn by the Geats and other Germanic tribes.
585. **an foran** means 'in the front rank' (*i.e.* in a class by itself).
586. **atertanum fah**: decorated with a twig-like pattern produced by a corrosive (lit. poison).
594. **ealdsweord eotenisc** occurs in 4 G 378, also in *Beo.* l. 2616; see 4 B 73 n.
609. **hilt**: the hilt was all that remained of the sword; Beowulf presents it to King Hrothgar.
- 610 f. **or . . . fyrngewinnes**, 'the beginning of that ancient feud was engraved,' a reference to the Flood, which according to the Hebrew legend destroyed the 'giants.' Either a few words relating to the legend or more probably a picture illustrating it was engraved on the hilt. The giants are described as descended from Cain; see 18 A 23-26.
613. **frecne geferdon**, 'they behaved defiantly.'
618. **hwam**: either 'by whom' or 'for whom.'
620. **wyrmfah**: cf. *wyrmlicum fah*, 6 95.

15. THE BATTLE OF BRUNANBURH

MSS. The poem is preserved in five MSS. of the *A.-S. Chronicle*. The text here printed is that of the Parker MS.

Edition in the *Battle of Maldon and Short Poems from the A.-S. Chronicle*, by W. J. Sedgefield, 1904; also (with transl.) by Miss N. Kershaw; see 6.

6. **hamora lafum**: an expression for a sword, lit. 'what is left by the hammers'; cf. *Beo.* l. 2829.

7. **Eadweardes**: son and successor of Alfred the Great.

12. the MS. reading *dennade* occurs nowhere else; we should perhaps read *ðānade* 'grew wet,' from *ðān* 'wet.'

24. **Myrce**: the Mercians fought under Æthelstan.

26. **Anlafa**: the English form of the Scand. *Olafr*. Two leaders of this name appear to have taken part in the battle.
 31. **eorlas**: see 16 6 n. **eorlas** is the A.-S. form of the Sc. *jarlar*.
 33. **bregu**: *Anlaf*.
 41. **freonda gefylled**, 'with friends killed,' lit. 'killed as to friends,' a curious construction.
 43. **forgrunden** seems to be for *forgrundenne*, as it refers to **sunu**.
 54. **Dynges mere**: not identified.
 55. **Dyflen**: Dublin was the capital of a Norse kingdom at this period.
 60-65. With this passage we may compare *Beo.* ll. 3024-3027, *se wonna hresn, fus ofer fiegum (sceal) fela reordian, earne secgan hu he æt æte speow, þenden he wið wulfe wæl reafode*; cf. also 16 106 n.

16. THE BATTLE OF MALDON

MS. The only MS. known was destroyed by fire in 1731, so that we are dependent on the text printed by Thomas Hearne in his *History of Glastonbury*, published in 1726. The first few lines were missing from the MS. *Text.*

The text has been frequently reprinted, e.g. in Grein-Wülcker, i. p. 358 ff. Edition by W. J. Sedgefield, 1904.

2. The subject of **het** is Byrhtnoth the *ealdorman*, King Æthelred's deputy in Essex.
 6. **eorl**: Byrhtnoth. In older O.E. verse *eorl* means 'warrior'; in the tenth century it came to be used as equivalent to the Danish *jarl*, and in the later part of A.-S. *Chron.* is used instead of the older *ealdorman*.
 9. **cniht**: the *Offan mæg* of l. 5.
 11. **his** is *extra metrum*; cf. l. 49, second half; see Appendix, § 7.
 18. **rad**: Byrhtnoth alone remained on horseback.
 22. The first half line is metrically faulty, as it belongs to none of the usual types; cf. l. 263 n.
 23. **þær . . . was**, 'where those most dear to him were.'
 24. **heorðwerod**, 'family retainers'; cf. ll. 204, 261.
 27. **on beot**, 'threateningly.'
 30. **most**: here 'must'; the original sense was 'may.'
 31. **wið**, 'in return for'; cf. l. 39.
 33 f. 'Than that we should engage in so fierce a battle'; **forgyldon** and **dælon** are pres. subjunct.
 34. **spedaþ to þam**, 'have the means to do that,' i.e. if you can raise the money.
 38. **on . . . dom**, 'at their discretion.'
 40. **us**: dat. used reflexively with **gangan**.
 41. **eow fripes healdan**, 'keep the peace with you,'; **friþes** has an adverbial sense here.
 47. **ealde** is either wk. acc. n. sing. or acc. pl.
 48. **eow . . . deah**, 'are bad for you'; the use of the sing. verb when **þe** has a plur. antecedent is not unusual.
 49. **abeod**: see note on l. 11.
 51. The contracted form **stynt** (*stent*) could not occur in the older verse, where the uncontracted forms of the second and third pers. of the pres. indic. are alone used.
 53. **Æþelredes**: king of England.
 54. **feallan sceolon** is metrically faulty; see 14 425 n.

55. **to** is *extra metrum*, see n. on l. 11; such 'grace-notes' are very rare in the older verse in A-, D- and E-types of half-lines; cf. l. 189, and see Appendix, § 7.

56. **gangan**: pres. subjunctive.

57. Note the alliteration of the *f* instead of the *u* of *un-*, which in the older verse would have received strong stress and alliterated.

64. **mihte**: supply *feran*.

66. **lucon**, 'barred' (the passage).

68. **Pantan**: the Blackwater.

mid . . . bestodon: see n. on l. 11.

71. **fyl gename**, 'met his death'; **fyl**=E.W.S. *fiell*, connected with *feallan*.

72. **þa . . . gearowe** is metrically unusual, **gearowe** being superfluous.

74. **brige**: the bridge which spanned the narrow channel which remains full of water at low tide.

75. **se . . . Wulfstan**: half-lines of this metrical type, with only one strong stress, which falls on the last syll. but one, occur quite frequently in *Beowulf* and other verse, but only in the first half of the line. They are especially common in the present poem in that position; see Appendix, § 9.

84. See l. 11 n.

87. **upgang . . . moston**, 'might be allowed to come up,' over the 'ford' or shallows, and finally up the bank; cf. *A.-S. Chron.*, anno 1046, *forwerndon heom . . . upganges*.

92. **Byrhtelmes bearn**, i.e. Byrhtnoth. Byrhtelm or Brythelm is the first part of Brighton, *Brythelmestun*.

95. **wælstowe wealdan**, 'possess the slaughter-place,' a common phrase, used also in prose, for gaining the victory.

98. **wegon**: non-W.S. forms with *ē* for W.S. *æ* occur several times in the poem.

102. **wihagan** for *wighagan*: the defence formation with overlapping shields, perhaps borrowed originally from the Romans.

106. Birds of prey and wolves are the customary attendants on battle in A.-S. and O.Icel. poetry; cf. 15 60-65 n., and 19 162-167.

113. **wælræste geceas**, 'chose the bed of death,' a picturesque way of saying 'died.'

115. **his**: Byrhtnoth's.

118. **swenges ne wyrnde**: cf. *Beo.* l. 1520, *hond sweeng ne ofteah*.

120. **þaes**, 'for that.'

ðeoden: Byrhtnoth.

122. **stemnetton**, 'fought in their turn'; *stemn* means 'term of service'; cf. *A.-S. Chron.*, anno 894 (Parker MS.), *hie hæcfdon þa heora stemn gesetenne*.

125. **on** here means 'from.'

131. **beornes**: one of the Danes.

134. **suþerne**, 'thrown from the south,' so that Byrhtnoth, dazzled by the sun's rays, could not completely avoid the foeman's spear.

143. **he**: Byrhtnoth.

144. **he**: the Dane.

146. **se . . . bliþra**: for metre see n. on l. 11.

147. **man**: Byrhtnoth.

149. **drenga**: a Danish word for a man-at-arms; O.N. *drengr*.

150. **se**, 'it,' the spear.

to is an adv., 'towards him.'

151. **þegen**: Byrhtnoth.

155. **Wulfmær**: not the Wulfmær of l. 113.

156. **forheardne**: sc. spear.

157. **se**: the Dane.

158. **his**: Wulfmær's.

159. **secg**: another Dane.
 160. **beornes**: Byrhtnoth's.
 164. **to raþe**, 'just in time.'
 165. **þa amyrd**, 'by checking.'
 167. **he**: Byrhtnoth.
 170. **bæd** seems to have its later sense of 'ordered.'
 180. **hi**: *sc. sǣwle*; acc. s. **helsceaðan**: see l. 86 n.
 182. **big** for *bi*: *ig* is occas. used to denote a long *i*; cf. 14 109 n.
 183. As there is no alliteration in this line Grein and other editors read *bewegen*, 'killed,' to alliterate with **Wulmæ**r.
 185. The first half-line is metrically faulty, as in a B-type the first stressed syll. alliterates, not the second; see Appendix, § 3. For **hi** we should have expected *þa*.
 190. 'In the trappings to which he had no right,' *i.e.* Byrhtnoth's weapons, armour, etc.
 195. **þonne . . . wære**, 'than was fitting'; **mæð** properly means 'due proportion.'
 197. **him to duguþe**, 'for their advantage.'
 198. **on dæg**, 'on a day,' 'one day.'
 202. Second half-lines of the A-type preceded by one or more unstressed syllables *extra metrum* occur several times in this poem, but are extremely rare in the older verse; see ll. 55, 240.
 207. **oðer twega**, 'one of two things,' 'either.'
 215. The subject of **mæg** is *man* understood.
 226. **þæt**, 'until.'
 239. **wende . . . man: þæs** is gen. governed by **wende**, and prepares the way for the *þæt*-clause in l. 240.
 240. **þam**: the def. article is used in this poem much more frequently than in the older verse. The metre of this line is irregular; each half-line is an A-type preceded by weak-stress sylls. *extra metrum*. Further, in the second half-line **wære** takes the alliteration and priority of stress over **hlaforð**.
 242. **scyldburh** is the *wighaga* of l. 102.
 249. **embe**: Kentish for *ymbe*. There is a village in Essex called Sturmer, probably named after the river Stour.
 263. **þæt . . . gewreca**n is metrically faulty; see l. 22 n.
 265. **se gysel**, 'the hostage.' Young sons of kings or chiefs who were taken or exchanged as pledges of future good conduct were brought up at the foreign court and may even have spent the rest of their lives there; see *A.-S. Chron.*, anno 755, *alle lægon butan anum Bryttiscum gisle*.
 271. **æfre embe stunde**, 'ever and anon,' 'frequently.'
 283. The meaning of **cellod** is not known; cf. 5 30.
 284. **lærig** occurs also in 19 239; its meaning is not known, but it may be connected with the Latin *lorum*, 'strap.'
 288. The second half-line is metrically faulty, as the first strong stress alone should alliterate; see Appendix, § 3.
 300. The MS. reading *wigelines* is clearly for *wigelmes*, *i.e.* Wighelmes. Unless Wighelm is another name for Thurstan, 'Wighelm's son' must be another fighter, unnamed.
 313. **þe ure**, 'in proportion as our'; **þe** is instrum.
 318. **me** is reflex. dat., like *him* in l. 300. This reflex. dat. is common with verbs of motion.
 325. The end of the poem has been lost.

IV. BIBLICAL AND CHRISTIAN

17. A. CÆDMON'S HYMN

MSS. (1) The Northumbrian version is in the text of one of the earliest (early eighth century) Latin *MSS.* of Bede's *History*, now in the Cambridge University Library, Kk.V. 16, fol. 128b. (2) The W.S. version occurs in several of the Latin *MSS.* of the *History*. *Text* in Grein-Wülcker, ii. pp. 316, 317.

The Northumbrian text is, together with that of Bede's *Death-Song*, the oldest extant specimen of A.-S. speech; the spelling should be noted, e.g. *gidanc* for later *geðanc*, *heben* for *hefen* (*heofon*), and *u* for the later use of the rune for *w*.

3. *uuldurfadur* is gen. s.

6. *til* is a North. form, which survived in Middle English and afterwards came into the literary language.

8. *æfter*: here an adv.

tiadæ: North. for W.S. *teode*.

9. *folda*: the final *n* of weak noun inflexions was early lost in O.North.

B. BEDE'S DEATH-SONG

MS. In the text of a Latin *MS.* of the ninth century in the town-library of St. Gallen, Switzerland. *Text* printed in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, p. 149.

1-5. Transl. 'Before the inevitable journey no one will be more thoughtful than he need be to reflect, ere his going hence, what of good or of evil may be adjudged his spirit after his death-day.'

18. BIBLICAL AND RELIGIOUS PASSAGES IN BEOWULF

3. *feorran*, 'far back in time,' a common meaning.

5. *swa* is here used as a rel. pronoun; it is *extra metrum*, a rare metrical licence in *Beo.*; see note on 16 55, also on l. 19; see also Appendix, § 7.

6. *sunnan* and *monan* are either genitives depending on *leoman*, or else they are acc. s., with *leoman* acc. pl. in apposition with them; transl. 'exultant in victory, He placed the brightness of the sun and moon as a light for land-dwellers,' or else 'placed the sun and moon, the luminaries, as,' etc.

11. *drihtguman*: the Danish followers of Hrothgar.

13. *feond on helle*: the poet at one time speaks of the ogre Grendel as living in a swamp, at others as confined in hell.

14. *gæst*: prob. an Anglian form of the W.S. *giest*, 'stranger,' 'visitant'; but *giest* and *gäst*, 'spirit,' are frequently confused in the A.-S. poetical *MSS.*; cf. 4 183 n. and 23 45 n.

16. *fen ond fæsten*, 'his fastness' in the swamp. Fens and woods were used by fleeing troops or outlaws as places of refuge. *fielcynnes*

eard, i.e. 'swamp.' For *fiel* see 2 42 n.

17. *wer*: Grendel has the form of a gigantic man.

19 f. in . . . *cynne*: see l. 5 n. *þone cwealm . . . þaes . . . slog*, 'the death which he inflicted on Abel.'

21. The first *he* refers to Cain, the second to God.

22. In verse, prepositions often follow their case so as to allow of a B- or an E-type of half-line; see Appendix, § 12d.

23. *untýdras*, 'monstrous beings,' or as we should say, 'fabulous creatures.'

- 24-25. **eotenas** : see 4 B 73 n. **ylfe** : *ylf* or *ælf* meant a harmful spirit, able to possess a man, and requiring to be driven out by exorcism. **orcnæas** were probably sea-monsters of some kind, like *fifel*, *nicor*, and *pyrs*, cf. O.N. *örkn*, a kind of seal. **gigantas** was doubtless a word introduced by Christian missionaries to supplement the native English inventory of mythical creatures.
26. **ðæs**, 'for this.'
27. **hærgtrafum** : *hearg*, O.N. *hörgr*, is a heathen (Germanic) place of worship, situated in the depths of a sacred wood or grove.
28. **wigweorþunga** : lit. 'worship of idols'; *wīg*, 'idol,' is also called *dēofolgielð*. **wordum**, 'with prayers.'
29. **gastbona**, 'the spirit-slayers,' i.e. their god; the word is used also of the devil.
31. **helle** : a compendious term for heathen beliefs and practices.
33. **ne . . . God** is a mere repetition of the preceding sentence.
34. **ne huru**, 'nor even.'
- 35-40. **wa . . . wilnian**, 'woe to him who by cruel fate (lit. 'malice') must push down his soul into the embrace of fire, with no hope of relief or of any change; happy is he who after death may come to the Lord and claim (lit. 'desire') protection in the arms of the Father.'
- 50-52. This clause contains the curse, 'that the man who plundered the floor (of the cavern) should be guilty of crime, confined in dungeons (lit. 'heathen temples'), fastened in hell-bonds, punished by defilement.' The punishments in hell of the wicked are frequently described with gusto by A.-S. poets; **hergum geheaðerod** is clearly the equivalent of **hellbendum fæst** in the eyes of a Christian ecclesiastic at a time when heathen beliefs and even practices were still prevalent.
- 53-56. Hrothgar is speaking about the object of Beowulf's visit to Heorot.
58. **dæda getwæfan**, 'deprive of action,' i.e. kill.
- 64-66. Beowulf is speaking to Hrothgar about Grendel, whom he has killed.
- 70-71. This is said of Beowulf on his death after the fight with the dragon.

19. EXODUS

MS. in the Bodleian, Junius xi. Text printed in Grein-Wülcker, ii. p. 445 ff.

Edition, with introduction, bibliography, notes and glossary, by F. A. Blackburn, 1907. See also Brandl, p. 1028, and S. Moore, "Sources of the O.E. Exodus," *Mod. Phil.* vol. ix.

1. Compare the opening lines of *Beowulf* (4 A).
2. **Moyseas** and **seggan**, l. 7, are accus. with the infin., **domas**, **wordriht**, **bote** and **ræd** being accus. governed by **seggan**; transl. 'we have heard . . . that Moses . . . declared,' etc.
3. **wera cneorissum**, **eadigra**, **lifigendra**, **hæleðum** are equivalent terms meaning 'men,' 'mankind.'
5. **bealuside** refers specifically to the journey of the Israelites through the wilderness, and generally to man's journey through the dangers of life.
7. **gehyre se ðe wille** was doubtless a customary formula at the beginning of a lay; cf. the concluding words *hliste se þe wille* of the verse proem to King Alfred's translation of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boethius.
8. **þone**, 'him,' sc. Moses.
- 16 ff. **him**, **magoræswum** and **sunum** all refer to the Israelites.
19. The spelling **handlean** for *andlean* occurs twice in *Beo.*, alliterating in one case with *h*, in the other with a vowel.

22. **folcrist** has here much the same meaning as *jole* or *leodscipe*; cf. *cōfēlrichtes*, l. 211 and 14 I 555.
29. **frod fædera cyn**, 'the old (or wise) race of patriarchs,' in apposition with **yldo bearn**.
30. **he**: God.
31. **aldor**: Moses.
32. **on forðwegas**, '(ready) for the advance.'
33. **ungera** is in W.S. *ungeara*, 'not long before.' **witum** refers to the plagues of Egypt.
35. **hryre** is dat., 'through the fall.'
36. 'Their hall-joys ceased (lit. slept), robbed of treasure,' i.e. Pharaoh and his lords ceased to distribute treasure in their halls.
37. **hæfde**: the subject is God.
39. **bana**, 'the slayer,' may refer to Pharaoh, or perhaps to death personified.
40. The emendation of *dryrmyde* to **drysmode** is based on the word *drysmað*, which occurs in *Beo.* l. 1375, where it seems to mean 'drizzle'; see 14 C 236. In the present passage **drysmode** may be transl. 'was soaked.'
41. **dugoð**: the Egyptian army.
- 43 ff. 'The hands of the laughter-smiths were manacled; the people, the moving host, started on (lit. 'greeted') the vouchsafed but hated journey.' The 'laughter-smiths' are perhaps the entertainers, gleemen, etc., of the pleasure-loving Egyptians, now dispersed. If the MS. reading *gretan* be retained we transl. 'permission (was) given to the people to start on the hated journey, the host moved.'
45. **feond**: the devil.
46. **hergas**, 'the devil's army,' or we may take it as the plur. of *hærg*, *hearg*, 'temple.' **heofon** is apparently used to denote the forces of heaven, or God's law. Some editors emend to *heofung*, 'lamentation.'
- 49 ff. 'So for this the Egyptian people, accursed of old, suffered duress for many years, because they had intended, had the Lord allowed, to refuse for ever to the kinsmen of Moses their long-felt desire for the dear journey (i.e. to the promised land)'; **fæsten** properly means 'stronghold,' hence 'prison,' 'duress.'
53. **onlangne** has the same sense as *andlangne*, which would not alliterate.
54. **fyrð**: the Israelite army. **from** was prob. *freom* originally, as in l. 14.
55. **mægburh**, here 'army,' is properly 'the fortified place or city of the kinsmen,' cf. l. 352.
56. **fæstenna** is required by the metre, the half-line being of the E-type; see Appendix, § 8.
57. The MS. reading *leodweard* is clearly a mistake for **leodgeard**, as Grein suggested; the expression *land ond leodgeard* occurs in *Genesis*, ll. 229, 1773.
58. This line is identical with *Beo.* l. 1410.
59. **guðmyrce** seems to mean 'hostile dwellers on the march or border.'
60. **heora** refers to **guðmyrce**.
61. **mearchofu morheald**, 'their habitations on the sloping moorland of the marches.' The second half of this line is metrically faulty; we might insert *ond* before *Moyes*, which would make a B-type.
62. The MS. reading *meoringa* seems to be for an original *meorringa*, the Northumbrian form of *mearringa*, corresponding to the W.S. *micerring*, 'impediment,' 'obstacle.'
63. **haeleð** is plur. If the MS. reading *tirfæstne* is kept, it will refer to

Moses, and the subject of **heht** will be God. Reading **tirfæste**, accus. pl. m., we take Moses as the subj. of **heht**. The MS. reading *trwa niht* may be regarded as a compound word like *seofon niht* in 14 A 19, and *fif nihta*, ib. l. 47.

65. **bearhtme**, 'with a mighty sound,' a metathesis-form of *breahtme*, connected with *brecan*.

66. **Æthanes byrig**, 'the cities of Etham.'

67. **mægnes mæste**, 'with the greatest of their force,' i.e. with their very great force, a repetition of **ælfare**.

68. **genyddon**, 'pressed on'; understand *hie*, as *niedan* is transitive.

69. **Sigelwara**, 'people of the sun,' i.e. Ethiopians.

71. **hatum heofoncolum**, '(burnt) by hot coals of heaven,' i.e. by the fierce sun.

73. **bælce**: the pillar of cloud is vaguely conceived by the poet, who gives it various names.

78. **hate** may be a noun here, as in *Beo.* l. 2605; thus we may transl. 'it (the cloud) absorbed the fiery flames (of the sun), bright with the heat.'

wafedon, 'gazed,' as at a marvel or spectacle, i.e. were amazed; *wafung* is a spectacle or show.

79. **gedrymost** is from *dream*, 'noise of a multitude.' The MS. reading *dægscealdes* makes no sense.

81. **segle**: the poet constantly varies his images when speaking of the pillar of cloud. In l. 85 it is called a tent.

82. **swa** is here used like the relative pron. with the subjunctive in Latin; transl. 'such a sail that men knew not its ropes.'

84. **ealle cræfte**, 'with all their efforts.'

87. **þeoden**: God, in apposition with **hē**. **holde**, 'his faithful people.'

wic, 'encampment,' i.e. end of a day's journey.

95 ff. 'Each of which evenly shared the high service of the Holy Spirit, (dividing) the journey of the bold ones by day and night.' The pillar of fire at night and the pillar of cloud by day watched over the march of the Israelites.

103 f. **fyrdgetrum** repeats **werod** in l. 100. **forð . . . metan**, 'they saw the guide of life (i.e. the pillar) measuring its way onward through the air,' i.e. the cloud starting on its journey. The MS. reading *lifweg*, 'life-way,' hardly gives good sense.

106. **flodwege**, 'by the road which led to the sea.'

107 ff. 'Every evening the beacon in the heavens arose, another rare marvel, after the sun, which had gone to its setting, and it shone (lit. to shine) with flame over the men, a burning beam.'

109. **setlrade beheold** is a parenthesis referring to the sun.

110. **scinan** is complementary to **astah** in l. 107.

113-115. **sceado . . . ahydan**, 'the gloom grew less, the intense night-shadows, the darkness, could not nearly hide (any one).' **heolstor** is apparently nom. s. in apposition with **nihtscuwan**. The verbs *swiðrian* and *sweðrian* are frequently confused by copyists; see l. 242 n.

heofoncandel, here used of the beam of light, is usually applied to the sun.

117 ff. 'Lest the terrible wilderness of the grey heathland might in the sea-gales wrest away their lives with sudden clutch.'

118. **hares hæðes** is Sievers's emendation of the MS. reading, which is metrically defective.

121. **bælegesan hweop**, 'threatened with terrible flame.'

123. **forbærnde** is here subjunct., 'that it would burn.'

124. **hyrde** may mean either 'heard' or 'encouraged' (from *heard*).
- 126 ff. 'The shield-fighters saw the road straight before them; the banner (*i.e.* the pillar of fire), eager to advance, high above the hosts, helped the army right up to the sea-fortress (*i.e.* the shore) at the land's end.'
130. **wyrpton hie**, 'recovered.'
131. Either the Israelites are called **meteþegnas** merely because they are eating at the moment, or else **meteþegnas** refers to the commissariat officers.
133. **flotan**: another name, evidently complimentary, for the Israelites; *cf.* l. 223. Note the dat. (*i.e.* instrumental) **husum** used with **bræddon**, 'spread their tents.' **wic**: see l. 87 n.
- 135 ff. News comes of a threatened attack in the rear by the Egyptians.
136. **oht inlende**: pursuit by the Egyptians. **stodan**, 'fell upon them.'
137. **wræcmon**, 'exile,' here used of the Israelites.
138. **se ðe** refers to **lastweard**, **him** to **wræcmon**.
140. **wean** is acc. s. and repeats **ohtnied**. **witum fæst**, 'bound up in penalties,' *i.e.* criminal. **ware**, 'treaty,' 'covenant.'
- gymdon**: the Egyptians are the subject.
141. **yldra**, 'senior,' 'chief,' *i.e.* Pharaoh, who promised Joseph to settle his father and brethren in Egypt; see *Genesis* xlv. 18-20.
142. **yrfeweard**: Pharaoh, lit. 'heir.'
143. **æfter maðmum**, 'of their property.' Pharaoh had profited by the famine to acquire the land of the people for himself; see *Genesis* xlvii. 13 ff.
144. **ealles**: adv., 'entirely.' **siððan . . . forgefe** (153), 'after they, the Egyptian race, became angry on account of the opposition of one man (Moses), and then they planned massacre against his kinsmen, prepared a persecution and destroyed (lit. consumed) the treaty. At the hearts of the men (Egyptians) were surges of battle, thoughts of violence; they treacherously (lit. with false pledges) intended to repay the gift of life with an act of crime, so that the people of Moses would have paid with their blood for that day's deed, if mighty God had but granted them (the Egyptians) success in their errand of destruction.' The passage is not quite clear; we have taken the Egyptians to be the subject of **woldon** in l. 150.
145. Grein's emendation *anwig* for the meaningless *antwig* of the MS. does not give correct metre.
146. **heo**: a non-W.S. form of *hi*, *hie*.
148. **heaðowylmas**: violent emotions are frequently expressed by using *weallan*, 'to boil,' 'well up,' or *wielm*, 'boiling,' 'surging.'
150. **feorhlean** refers to the saving by Joseph of the lives of the Egyptians.
154. **eorla**: the Israelites.
157. **oferholt**, 'upper wood,' is not met with elsewhere; it probably means the forest of spears rising above the Egyptian army; but perhaps the original word was *eoferholt*, 'boar-spear.'
158. This line in the MS. comes after l. 160.
159. **guð hwearfode** may mean 'battle returned,' or else 'the army wheeled.'
161. After **on hwæl** some words have clearly been dropped out by the copyist; *hwæl* is perhaps an error for *wæl*.
- 162 ff. For these accompaniments of battle *cf.* *Beo.* ll. 3024-3027; and 16106 n.
164. **wonn** may be either the adj. meaning 'dark,' or else the past indic. of *winnan*, 'to contend,' 'quarrel'; if it is the former, we must supply *hrēop* with **wælceasega**.

166. **beodan** is a 'back-vowel umlaut' form of *bidon*, 'waited for.'

167. **fyl**: a variant of *wæl*, 'the dead.'

168. **mearcweardas**, 'keepers of the marches,' *i.e.* wild beasts or evil beings inhabiting the wilderness.

169. **fleah . . . gast**, 'doomed souls were flitting,' *i.e.* ghostly apparitions were seen at night. By these touches of the supernatural the poet emphasizes the horror of the situation for the Israelites.

170. **þegnas**: the Egyptian captains.

171. **mæton milpaðas**, 'measured the mile-paths,' *i.e.* marched; *cf.* 20 124 n. **bogum**, 'legs.'

172. **segncyning**: the Egyptian king. **wið foran**, 'in front of,' is a compound preposition with separable elements like *be foran*, *be twōnum*, etc. 176. **wæhlencan**: the prefix *wæl*- here has the meaning 'battle' rather than 'corpse'; but the first element of a compound noun has often no meaning, being prefixed merely in order to alliterate.

178. **freond**: the Israelites; this is a parenthesis inserted in the description of the Egyptian king's activities. **on** takes a strong stress here; *cf.* 14 261 n.

179. **landmanna**: the Egyptians.

180. **hine**: the Egyptian king. The MS. reading *wagon* must have an object, and is therefore emended to **wæron**.

181. **har**, 'whitish-grey,' is regularly used of a wolf; the 'sword-wolves' are the Egyptians. **gretton**, 'welcomed.'

183. The first half-line is metrically defective, as the first *e* of **alesen** is short and cannot by itself take a strong stress as required in this type of half-line; *cf.* ll. 189, 197, 200, etc., also 14 425 n.; see Appendix, § 9.

186. This line may be rendered 'with the hereditary courage of their noble line.'

190. **inge** has no sense unless we regard it as Kentish for *iunge* or *giunge*, 'young'; for the alliteration *cf.* l. 339. Sievers attributes this alliteration to Kentish influence.

192. **to hwæs**, 'to what quarter.'

193. **geatwe bæron**: *cf.* l. 59 and note.

194. The word **eorp** occurs in 22 57 with the meaning 'dark,' 'brown'; it here refers to the swarthy hue of the Egyptians. **ecan**, 'reinforcements,' is probably accus. in apposition to **werod**; it may however be dat. plur., which would give it the meaning of 'with reinforcements.'

197. After **mægenheapum** we must understand a word meaning 'come,' 'advance.'

199. **broðorgyld** is equivalent to *broðra gyld*, 'in compensation for their (slain) brethren.'

200. **wicum**, 'the camp' (of the Israelites).

201. **egesan stodon**: *cf.* l. 136.

203. **flugon . . . spel**, 'the terrible tidings flew along.'

204. **werud**: the Israelites. **wlance**: the Egyptians.

206, 207. **þæt . . . tosomne**, 'so that the foemen could not see among themselves any longer,' *i.e.* they were covered with a mist. **sið wæs**

gedæled, 'their course was interrupted.'

208 ff. 'Compelled to march, they (the Israelites) spent the period of night, though foes lurked on every side, either the (hostile) force or the sea.' It looks as if the poet had intended to provide an object for **hæfde**, but began the sentence afresh with **nahton**.

211. *eðelrihtes* hardly differs in meaning from *eðles*; cf. *folcricht*, l. 22 n.
216. *eorlas* and *folc* are the objects of *somnigean*.
217. *frecan* is for *frecum*, governed by *bebead*.
218. *hycgan on ellen*: cf. 5 12 n.
219. *beacnum*, 'signals,' i.e. trumpet-calls.
- 222, 223. We should expect *beorgum*, 'hills,' rather than *burgum*. *flotan*: the
- brudon feldhusum*, 'struck their tents'; cf. ll. 132, 133. Hebrews; cf. l. 133.
- 227-229, 'In each one (of the tribes) companies (*cista*) were gathered under their shields, fifty in number, of the flower (*duguðe*) of the people, of noble race.'
230. *cūðes*, 'familiar,' 'common.'
- 231, 232. The gen. plurals depend on *hund*.
- 233 ff. 'The less strong ones the leaders of the host did not admit (lit. 'welcome') into the number of warriors, those who on account of their youth,' etc.
237. *feond* is gen. s.
239. *lærig*: see 16 284 n. *swol*, 'burning heat.' Grein suggested
- spor*, 'trace,' for the unintelligible *swor* of the MS.
240. A wound is called *gylpplega gares*, 'glorious sport of the spear.'
241. The *eo* of *onðeon* must be read as a dissyl. on account of the metre (A-type); see Appendix, § 7.
242. The MS. reading *swiðrade*, 'grew strong,' makes translation difficult. Reading *sweðrade* we transl. 'if in the companies their strength had failed, so they chose the attacking force for stature, (considering) how among the people courage might render honourable service.' The poet means that the senior officers picked out strong, seasoned men to carry out the attack, not merely high-spirited youngsters who lacked training. For the confusion between *swiðrian* and *sweðrian* cf. l. 113 n.
248. *forðwegas* is the older North. genitive s.; cf. 4 A 63 n. *up*
- gerad*, 'swung' or 'waved on high.'
250. *siðboda*: the pillar of cloud.
251. *lyftedoras bræc*, 'broke its air-barriers,' i.e. should begin to move. We should have expected the subjunct. *bræce* after *hwonne* in a dependent question.
252. *hildecalla*, 'battle-shouter,' herald.
255. *modiges*: sc. Moses.
265. The MS. reading *ægnian* does not occur elsewhere; *ðgnian* also is not elsewhere found, but would be a normal derivative of *ðga*, 'terror.'
266. *ne willað*, 'do not,' perhaps an imitation of the Latin *nolite*.
- deade* is a stronger word than *fæge*; it is used proleptically and means 'as good as dead,' 'soon to die.'
269. *on* is for *an*, *ann*, 'grant,' 'give.'
271. Supply *ic* with *bidde*.
278. *to* hardly seems needed, either by the metre or by the sense.
279. The indef. article is in verse often rendered by *sum* with gen. plur.; cf. l. 357.
280. *sloh*, 'have struck.' Moses smites the water with a branch as he speaks, and the waters recede, leaving a dry road.
287. *fage feldas*, 'the variegated (sea) floor.' *forð heonon* usually
- means 'henceforth,' but must here be transl. 'heretofore.' The original sense is 'looking either forward or backward over a period of time.'
288. The MS. reading *in ece* is metrically inadequate.

289. *sælde sægrundas* is in apposition to *feldas*; transl. 'the sea bottom (hitherto) confined.' Cosijn's emendation *sund wind* for *suðwind* provides an obj. (*sund*) for *fornam*; transl. 'the wind, the blast of the sea-road, removed the sea.'

291. The MS. reading *sand sæcir span* is clearly wrong. One suggested emendation is to read *spāw* for *span*, on the analogy of l. 365, and to transl. 'the sea-current spewed up the sand.' But this would be faulty metre (D-type), as *-cir* (= *cierr*) is not a weak-stress syll. The reading in the text, *sandsæ aspranc*, would mean 'the sandy sea has sprung apart.' The letter *a* when carelessly written resembles *ci*, while the letters *s*, *p*, *w*, *r* and *f* are frequently confused by copyists. The *c=g* at the end of *aspranc* might easily be omitted owing to the *c* in *ic*.

293. *eorlas* is nom. of address.

ofest is selost occurs in *Beo.* l. 256.

294. *weorðen*, 'get away.'

296. *in randgebeorh*, 'into a shield of defence,' *i.e.* into a wall resembling the serried ranks of shields in the *wighaga* or 'shield-formation.'

299, 300. *werod . . . mægen*: these words occur also in ll. 100, 101. The use of *modigra* in an E-type of half-line, which requires a long *i*, is a metrical licence, not found in the oldest verse.

307. The MS. reading *hige gehyrdon* is metrically faulty; moreover, a subject is needed for the verb, so that we prefer to read *hi gehyrdon*. *gehyrdon* is for *gehyrwdon*, from *gehyrwan*, 'to, despise,' W.S. *gehierwan*.

308. *læste near*, 'drew nearer,' *i.e.* to the sea.

310. *feorðe*: Judah was the fourth son of Jacob.

313. The MS. reading *an onorette* is evidently an error; transl. 'hastened alone along the unfamiliar road.'

314. *for*, 'in front of.'

322. *drihtfolca mæst* is an expansion of *hie*, the subject of *hæfdon* in l. 319.

323 f. *be þam . . . polian*, 'thereby the leaders of the army (showed that they) would not, as long as life endured, suffer humiliation long.' Or *herewisan* may refer to the lion, and then we transl. 'with such a leader they would not,' etc.

327. *hægsteald*: sing. used for plur., to fit the metre.

328. *wælslihtes* is gen. limiting *modige*, 'gallant in the deadly clash (of weapons).'

333. The occurrence of the word *sæwicingas* makes us pause before admitting, with most scholars, an early date for the poem. The earliest recorded instance of *wicing*, 'pirate,' is in the *A.-S. Chron.*, anno 879, where Danish raids are mentioned.

335, 336. *he . . . aswefede*, 'he (Reuben) had by his sins lessened (lit. 'put to sleep,' 'lulled') his authority.' *siðor*, 'later,' *i.e.* not among the first.

337. *leofes*: Moses.

339. For the alliteration see l. 190 n.

342. *þridde þeodmægen* refers to the sons of Simeon and is the subject of *onþrang*.

344. The MS. reading *deawig sceaftum* makes poor sense; for the emendation cf. *deapsperu*, 22 68.

346. *meretorht* occurs also in *Boethius*, *Metra* xiii. l. 61.

349. *þy*, 'thereby.'

350. The MS. reading *wolcnum* does not make much sense.

352. *mægburga riht* means the traditional order of precedence of the tribes to which they had a 'right.'

353. *eorla æðelo*, 'the lineage (or rank) of the warriors,' is practically the same as *mægburga riht*.

354. *leodfruma*, *i.e.* Abraham, who is called *heahfædera sum* in l. 357.

358. The MS. reading *onriht* is not found elsewhere, nor is *anriht*, but the latter word might well exist, with the meaning 'possessing alone the right,' *i.e.* the privileged one of God.

359 ff. 'So the old ones relate in their wisdom, they who have learned most about the tribes, of the origin of (men's) lives, of the descent of each.'

After l. 361 comes, without transition of any sort, a passage of 84 lines, beginning with an account of Noah and the Flood, and continuing with the story of Abraham's attempted sacrifice of Isaac, cut short by Divine intervention. This passage, which we omit, is usually regarded as an interpolation to fill up a lost part of the text of the poem. The story of the passage of the Red Sea is resumed in line 362.

362. *folc*: the Egyptians, who on attempting to cross the Red Sea are overwhelmed by the collapse of the piled-up 'sea-walls.'

370. *gnornra* is comparative; 'their boastfulness became sadder.'

371. *atol yða gewealc*: *cf.* *atol yða geswinc*, *Beo.* l. 848.

375. *streamas stodon*, 'the seas reared up.'

378. *flod blod gewod*: an instance of 'internal rhyme,' which is occasionally found in O.E. verse; transl. 'blood spread through the waters.'

381. The MS. reading *cyre* makes no sense.

382. *wigbord scinon*: the numerous short parentheses are a feature of this poem.

385. The MS. reading *forðganges nep* makes no sense. *Esne*, 'retainer,' 'serving man,' is in later A.-S. verse used for *wer*, 'man'; *cf.* *Daniel* l. 243.

386 ff. Again the MS. reading needs emendation, as *barenodon* has no meaning. Transl. 'the sands prepared themselves for the appointed destiny, when the flood of waters, the cold sea with its salt waves, now accustomed to its changed course (*æflastum*), the stript messenger of fate (*nacud nydboda*), the hostile onward-moving spirit, which threatened the foe, should come back to its eternal foundations.' A messenger is stripped for rapid running.

399. *weallfæsten*: the wall of waters.

400. *meretorras* further varies the simile.

402. A word has fallen out immediately before or after *werbeamas*, as the metre shows. The sea is piled up like a wall on either side of the passage of the Hebrews, as if held back by barriers. These barriers give way when struck by the Almighty. *Wer* is the Mod. English 'weir.'

wlance . . . mod, 'the proud people (the Egyptians) could not restrain the fury of the flood, nor could the embrace of helpers (restrain it), but with a dreadful roar it injured many.'

403. The MS. reading *pað* needs emendation.

404. *he* refers to *merestream*.

406. To be metrically correct the first half-line requires *teah* instead of *ateah* (A-type).

407. *weollon wælbenna*, 'the wounds gushed,' *i.e.* they bled. The MS. reading *witrod* yields no meaning; *wigrod*, 'battle-pole,' is the pole or mast, the *seglrod* of l. 83, which, hitherto invisible behind the cloud or 'sail,' as the poet calls it, now descends from heaven with terrific force and breaks down the sea-wall (*flodwearde*, l. 409).

409. The epithet *famigbosma*, 'foam-fronted,' describes the foaming surge caused by the fall of the *wigrod*.

410. *alde mece*, '(as) with an old (*i.e.* good) sword.'

414. The MS. reading here is clearly wrong, as *modwæga mæst* requires a verb. The letters *h* and *b*, *r* and *p* could easily have been confused by the careless copyist; see l. 291 n. Transl. 'when the greatest of angry waves savagely seized them by the heels.'

416. The MS. reading *ða þe gedrecte* needs emendation, for the sake of both sense and metre.

420. *heorufæðmum*, 'by the embrace of the sword,' a picturesque way of saying 'by the sword'; cf. *hiorodryncum*, 4 F 274.

424. *ungrundes*, 'that which has no bottom,' an immeasurable amount or number.

425. *þætte*, 'so that (he),' 'who'; perhaps the original reading was *þæt he*.

429. *se . . . ahte*, 'in its successful course,' referring to *meredeað*.

430. *hie . . . wunnon*: this phrase occurs in *Beo.*; see 18 25.

434. After this line we omit a passage of 33 lines, which begins by stating that Moses gave the Commandments to the Israelites and that we find these written in books. Then come some irrelevant lines on the fate of the wicked and the good. The whole passage looks like an interpolation from some other poem to supply the place of a lost passage of our poem; cf. l. 359 n.

440. *mægenwisa*: God.

444. *þæt*, 'that which.'

448. *þæt*, '(namely) that.'

449. *be sām tweonum* is a phrase which occurs four times in *Beowulf*, where it means 'by the two seas,' *i.e.* where the North Sea and the Baltic meet. In the present poem it is possible that the words refer to the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, but they may be used in a general sense, 'in the world.'

452 ff. *segnas . . . sweg*, 'the standards reared up (or halted) at the beautiful sound.'

455. *hyld*, 'grace,' 'protection,' gives better sense than *kild*, 'battle.'

457. This and the next two lines are examples of the 'extended' type of metre which occasionally occurs; cf. 21 1-3 n., and see Appendix, § 10.

463. *sang* is a second obj. of *hofon*. *on oðrum*, 'on the other side,' 'opposite.'

466 ff. 'Then might easily be seen on the sea-shore African women adorned with gold, with necklaces, who raised their hands (in welcome); they were glad, they saw a change for the better (*bote*); they gave heed to the booty of war, their captivity was loosed; they began to deal out on the shore the spoil of the sea,' etc.

471. *segunum*, 'by standards,' among the companies.

473. *heom . . . sceode*, 'rightly to them fell'; this is Grein's emendation. We might however, retaining *heo* (n.pl. = *hie*) and reading *sceodon* (from *scadan*), transl. 'they rightly divided the gold and the fine tissues.'

475. *werigend*: either 'the defenders' or 'the wearers,' *i.e.* the Egyptians.

20. CYNEWULF

A. The MS. of *Crist* is contained in the Exeter Book, fols. 8a-32b. *Editions.* The latest are (1) by I. Gollancz (with translation), 1892; (2) by A. S. Cook, with introduction, notes and glossary, 1900. The *text* is printed in Grein-Wülcker, iii. p. 1. For Cynewulf and his poetry see Cook's edition; also Brandl, pp. 1040-1044.

3. *ær* is a prep. governing *eallum þrymmum*.

13. geworden refers to the indeclinable rel. pronoun *þe*, which here has a plural meaning.

17. a . . . feore, 'for ever and ever'; this phrase occurs also in *Beo.* l. 932.

43. wulf: *i.e.* the spirit of evil, the devil.

44. deorc deaðscua occurs in *Beo.* l. 160.

48. ofer . . . lust, 'against our desire'; nioda is superfluous, so far as the sense is concerned.

51. The emendation wittes gives much better sense than the MS. reading wites; cf. *gastbona*, *Beo.* l. 177.

63. ælda is Northumbrian for W.S. *ielda*.

66. þæt, 'when.'

67. Cosijn supplies *us* after *we* as obj. of *hlodun*.

70. goldhord is used twice in the *Blickling Homilies* in reference to Christ.

72. The personal note here should be noticed, immediately preceding as it does the acrostic containing the author's name.

75. þe, 'for that,' 'because,' is instrumental, and introduces a clause explaining *ðy reþran*. þæt, 'what.'

80. The name of the rune in this line is *cen*, which here may stand for *cene*, 'bold.'

83. The name of the first rune in this line is *yr*; its meaning here, if it has a meaning, has been variously assigned, e.g. *yrmbu*, 'misery,' or *yfel*, 'wickedness.' The second rune has no ambiguity. Perhaps both of these runes are to be left untranslated.

86. The subject of *wille* is *God* understood.

87. This rune has two values, either *wen* or *wynn*; of these the latter is here used.

88. The name of this rune is *ur*, which means 'aurochs,' a species of bison or wild ox now extinct. This meaning, however, does not apply here. The adj. *urig*, 'dewy,' 'wet,' occurring in the compounds *urigfeþra*, *uriglast*, seems to point to the existence in the oldest language of another *ur* meaning 'moisture.' We may thus, reading *ure* (d.s.), transl. 'for a long time life's joys, (men's) possessions, were cut off by the waters, the floods.' This sentence seems to have no connexion with those that precede and succeed it.

89. *lifwynna dæl*: this use of *dæl* with the g. s. or pl. of a noun is a common device for filling out an E-type of half-line.

90. There is no doubt here about *feoh* being both the name and the meaning of the rune.

96. *gæsta gifrast*: cf. 4 D 183.

B. The MS. of *Elene* is in the Vercelli Codex, fols. 121-130.

Editions.

The most recent are: (1) by C. Kent, 1889; (2) by J. Zupitza, 1899.

The text is printed in Grein-Wülcker, ii. p. 126.

98^{ff.} 'Thus I, now old and ready to depart through the sinful house, have been skilled in words and have culled (*i.e.* read) them in wonderful ways, have at times meditated and tensely strained my thoughts at night. I had no clear knowledge of right thinking until learning with its glorious power revealed to my mind wider thoughts.' This looks like an autobiographical note by Cynewulf.

It is not clear what *fæcne hus* refers to; perhaps the meaning is merely 'this habitation of sin,' *i.e.* the world.

99. The MS. reading *wordcraeft wæf* is metrically defective; we should also expect the last word of the half-line to rhyme with *læs*.

100. The MS. reading *reodode* makes no sense; the letters *r* and *n* are occasionally confused by copyists. *Neodode* is the Northumbrian form of *neadode* = W.S. *nīeda*.

102. In the first half-line there has clearly been an omission in the MS., the metre being defective and rhyme absent.

103. The earlier form of *milt* was *mæht* or *meaht*, rhyming with *beaht*.

104. *fah*, 'sin-stained.'

107. The subject of *onlag* and the following verbs is *Mægencynning*.

purh leohtne had is usually translated 'by my glorious profession,' *i.e.* that of a monk or priest. The phrase, however, may merely mean 'gloriously.'

108. If *gamelum* is dat. s. agreeing with *me* the inference is possible that Cynewulf became a monk in his old age. But *gamelum* may be dat. pl., 'for the comfort of the old ones,' *i.e.* of the older monks.

110. *tidum gerymde*, 'in due time (or, from time to time) expanded.'

111. *bancofan onband*, 'unbound my body,' *i.e.* freed it from ill-health or the infirmity of age; this idea is repeated in *leoðucræft onleac*.

113. *willum* is here, like *lustum*, used as an adv., 'gladly.' *treowes* and *beam* refer to the buried Cross, which according to the legend was found by St. Helena. Cynewulf says he had often meditated on this theme before putting his thoughts into words (*onwrigen, on gewritum cyðan*). The *Dream of the Cross* may have been written by him.

118 ff. This rune passage is generally regarded as a continuation of the poet's account of himself, and is taken to mean that he was a retainer of some king or nobleman before he became a monk. But there may be no special reference; the poet may merely have wished to write some lines, working in the runes of his name and letting his fancy stray in the vein of sad regret so common in A.-S. poetry.

119. *cen drusende*, '(like) a drooping pine-torch.'

121. *æpplede*, 'russet,' 'dull yellow.' The word occurs in *Phoenix*, l. 506, and *Juliana*, l. 688. In *Beo.* l. 2165 *æppelfealuwe*, 'russet-brown,' is used of a horse.

yr is here of doubtful meaning; it may stand for *yrming*, 'poor wretch.' But perhaps it has no meaning here, merely standing for the letter *y*.

123. *rune*, 'secret thoughts,' with a play on the rune-letter called *nȳd*.

124. *milpaðas mæt*: cf. *Beo.* l. 514 *mæton merestræta*; see 14 A 16, and 19 171 n.

125. *sweiðrian*, 'to grow stronger,' and *sweoðrian*, 'to grow weaker,' 'slacken,' are often confused by copyists; cf. 19 113 n. *wyn* suits the sense here better than *wen*.

126. *gecyrrred*, 'changed.'

127. The meaning of the rune here, the name of which is *ur*, is doubtful; see l. 88 n. It is just possible that in the present passage the runes *cen*, *yr*, and *ur* may have no meaning, having been inserted merely to preserve the alliteration.

131. *landes frætwe*, 'the beauties of the land,' *i.e.* the face of the land, with its mountains, rivers, etc., and men's works.

132-137. With this passage cf. the opening lines of the *Riddles*, Nos. 1 and 3; see 22 A and B.

133. *he*: the wind.

135. *gewyrðeð* is a late W.S. form of *geweorðað*.

V. MISCELLANEOUS

21. GNOMIC AND DIDACTIC

A. *MS.* in the British Museum, Cott. Tib. B I. *Text* in Grein-Wülcker, i. pp. 338-341. *Edition* by Blanche C. Williams, *Gnomic Poetry in Anglo-Saxon*, 1914.

1-3. *ceastra* . . . *geweorc*: cf. 6 86, 87. The first three lines and ll. 42 ff. are written in the 'extended' metre which is occasionally met with as a variation of the ordinary two-stress type of half-line; see 19 457 n. and Appendix, § 10. The word *sceal* in this poem denotes function or habit rather than necessity or compulsion. Thus it is used with God in l. 35.

10. Sweet's emendation *swutolost* is adopted in place of the *MS.* reading *swicolost*.

12. *feala* is a Northumbrian form of *fela*. seems to mean 'will have experienced.'

gebideð modified by *ær*

14, 15. For this sentiment cf. 4 A 20 ff.

19. for *earn anhaga*, Ettmüller's emendation, cf. *Beo.* l. 2368.

20. *til*, 'the good man.'

21. *domes* is partitive gen.

42. *þyrs*: a water-monster, like Grendel in *Beo.* l. 426.

43-45. *ides* . . . *gebicge*: this passage is not clear, as its meaning depends on the interpretation of *on folce geþeon*. We may transl. 'a woman, if she cares not for her reputation among the people (*i.e.* for public opinion), seeks out her friend(s) secretly, to sell herself for rings.'

46, 47. 'The atmosphere and ocean surround every land; mountain-streams flow.'

50. With *sceal* supply *winnan* or *sacan*.

56. *fægere*, 'fittingly' or 'in full.'

59. *for*, 'before.'

B. *MS.* in Exeter Book, fols. 78-80. iii. p. 140.

Text printed in Grein-Wülcker,

68. *geongra* is for *gengra*, g.pl. of *genge*, 'prevalent,' 'usual.'

73. The second syll. of *onfon* is to be pronounced as a dissyl., as the half-line is an A-type; cf. *onlihð*, l. 96, and *onfehð*, l. 100.

74. *þæs*, 'so'; cf. l. 83.

77. *Argifa*: God.

ealles, 'entirely.'

79. *wis* refers to God.

on wordcwidum is equivalent to *wordcwiða*.

84 ff. 'No man in this world through wisdom advances so strongly into power over the people that the Guardian of peoples in His holy favour sends him wise counsels and powers, and entrusts them to his sole keeping, lest he from vain-glory, endowed with splendid gifts, headstrong of temper, may leave moderation and despise the more lowly ones.'

96. *onlihð*: see l. 73 n.

100. *onfehð*: see l. 73 n.

123. *arum*, 'with oars.'

137. *þæt* . . . *sceal*, 'what he is obliged to suffer.'

138. *domas con*: like the Man of Law of the *Prologue* of the *Canterbury Tales*.

141. *beorhyrde god* means 'economical in pouring out beer,' and therefore a valuable servant. For this use of *hyrde* cf. *Father's Advice*, l. 221.

147. *to horse hwæt*, 'a keen horseman.'

148. 'Some are jugglers, have clever tricks, the gift of entertainment before men.'
 160. *beorhte*, 'clear.'
 161. *leopufæst*, 'firm of joint,' is a curious epithet for a scholar, unless it means that he is cramped with study.
 165. *ealle*, 'all gifts.'
 166. *þy . . . sceððe* occurs also in *Crist* l. 684.
 170. *he*: God.
 177. *þæs*, 'for that.'
 O. MS. in the Exeter Book, fols. 80a, 81b. *Text* printed in Grein-Wülcker, i. 353.
 183. 'Do ever what is good, and thy deserts will be good.' The MS. reading *gewyrhtu* must be an error.
 184. *bið*, 'will be.'
 185. *feond . . . gewyrhta*, 'the enemy (*i.e.* the devil) is the worker of harm to the other' (*i.e.* to the bad man).
 186. *wene* is imperat. of *wenian*, 'accustom,' 'train.'
 187. 'Do this strenuously'; *efn* is imperat.
 188. *freo*, 'love.'
 191. *læt*: supply *beon*.
 193. *to* here takes a strong stress, though it is used as a preposition with *gode*. This is sufficient to stamp the poem as of late date.
 197. *mæge . . . gepafa*, 'do not permit outrage upon a kinsman.'
 198. *gieldeð* is future.
 202, 203. 'Do not ever have dealings with an inferior in any deliberation.'
 205. *sy . . . mæge*, 'be the consequences to the kingdom what they may.'
 215. The metre requires the contracted form *æfste*; see Appendix, § 8.
 219. The *i* of *laðlicre* must be regarded here as long, if the metre is not to be defective; cf. 19 300 n. and 22 155 n.
 220. *geotende gielp*, 'reputation draining away.' *giedda*, 'in speeches'; for *gied* see 14 492 n.
 221. *hyrde*, 'sparing'; cf. l. 141.
 227. *a . . . gedæled*, 'thou shalt ever have thy share,' *i.e.* be well endowed.
 229. *wið*, 'against it.'
 230. *god* is the obj. of *feorma*.
 233 ff. 'Seldom is the wise man's joy without care, seldom does the fool in his revelry trouble about his future, unless his thoughts are occupied with a feud.'
 243. *to sig*e, 'for thy triumph.'
 249 ff. 'They care not at all whether they do wrong against the Lord's commandment.'
 251. *susles*, 'with torment.'
 261. Supply *he bið*.
 263. *heah*, 'deep.' *grund*, 'the abyss.'
 264 f. *Man* understood is the subject of *warnað*; with *sceal* supply *beon*.
 268. *ældu* is the Anglian form for W.S. *iieldu*.
 270. 'Nor let thyself in mind (incline) towards treachery to a man.'

22. RIDDLES¹

MS. in the Exeter Book, fols. 101a-115a, 122b-123a, 124b. *Text* printed in Grein-Wülcker, iii. (first part) pp. 183-238. *Editions.* The

¹ Our numbering of the *Riddles* is in each case one behind that usually employed, as we do not include the lyric poem *Wulf and Eadwacer*; see 10, introd. note.

latest are (1) by F. Tupper, 1910; and (2) by A. J. Wyatt, 1912. See also Brandl, pp. 969-973.

A. A thunderstorm.

1. This line is almost identical with *Crist*, l. 241; cf. also *ib.* ll. 219-221.

2. **hwa . . . wræce**, 'who drove me on my journey,' i.e. set me in motion. Or, taking **wræce** for *wrece*, pres. subjunct., we transl. 'drives.'

4. The MS. reading *wrace* makes no sense.

9. **fylle**, 'fell,' 'blow down.'

10. The MS. reading *holme* is obviously an error for **helme**, 'tree-top.'

11. The MS. reading *wrecan* makes no sense.

12-14. 'I have on my back that (i.e. the earth) which once concealed the forms of earth-dwellers, flesh and spirit together in the sand.'

B. A hurricane at sea. This poem is a more ambitious treatment of the theme of the preceding riddle. In reading it we are reminded of the vigorous descriptions in *Exodus*.

18. **bearm**, 'bosom of the earth,' i.e. underground.

18-20. **ond . . . enge**, 'and brings me to a standstill, represses my violence in darkness, my fury in confinement.' It used to be believed that storms were due to the release of air compressed in subterranean caverns, where it caused earthquakes; cf. l. 12.

22. **aglance**, 'horrible position.'

23. **hornsalu**: the roof-tree of a hall was finished off with a peak or horn at each end; cf. *hornreced*, *Beo.* l. 704, and *horngeaf*, 'high and horn-tipped,' *ib.* l. 82.

25. The meaning of **stiwitum** is uncertain; it seems to be the same word as *stigwritum*, *Genesis* l. 2079, where the meaning is also doubtful. It may mean 'stewards,' 'officials.'

28. **se**, 'he who,' i.e. God.

on governs **mec**.

The MS. reading *wrede* would mean 'band,' 'fillet' rather than 'bond'; **wræðe** means 'with wrath.'

30. **bende** and **clomme** seem to be dative, an unusual construction.

31. **þæs**, 'of him.'

34. **flintgrægne flod**, 'the surf on the grey flint-beach.'

36. **dun**, 'mountain,' i.e. billow.

39. **wada**, 'of the waters.' The MS. reading *wudu* is clearly wrong; in O.E. MSS. an unfinished *a* looks like a *u*.

42. **hopgehnastes**, 'the surge of waters in the clefts.' The word *hop*, 'narrow creek,' 'cove,' occurs in *fenhopu*, *Beo.* l. 764. It is found in modern place-names, e.g. Stanhope, Glossop, etc.

heah geþring, 'the towering mass.'

45. **gæsta** here, as in other instances, may represent either W.S. *giest*, 'stranger,' 'guest,' or *gäst*, 'soul,' 'spirit'; cf. 18 14 n.

46. **he**: sc. *ceol*.

rice birofen, 'robbed of control,' i.e. at the mercy of the elements.

47. **feore bifohten**, 'mortally (lit. vitally) assailed.'

49. For **ældum**, which does not alliterate, Ettmüller suggested *haleðum*.

48-50. **þær . . . stiðweg**, 'thereupon a horrible plight is revealed to men, whom (i.e. whose cries) I, strong in my unswerving course, shall hear.' There is no finer descriptive passage than this in A.-S. poetry. As in the case of the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*, we can hardly doubt that the writer is describing what he has himself seen.

51-54. The commotion of the elements now assumes the form of a submarine earthquake, due to the escaping air; see ll. 18-20 n.

51. **þæt rideð**,

i.e. the sea. The alliteration of the second strong stress (**rideð**) of the second half-line is irregular; see Appendix, § 3.

52. **wægfatu**, 'vessel of the waves,' *i.e.* the sea, an idea repeated by **full** in the next line.

54 ff. **se bið**, etc. : a thunderstorm on land is now described.

55. **ofer burgum** has here a general meaning, 'in the world'; cf. l. 66 *infra*.

56, 57. **þonne . . . ecge**, 'when one sharp cloud edge meets another.' **sceo** seems to be the same as the O.S. *skio*, O.N. *sky*, 'cloud.'

58. The MS. reading *swætað* makes no sense.

60. The MS. reading *dreontum* is unintelligible; **dreorgum** is for *dreorigum*, d.pl. of *dreorig*, 'sad.' The letters *r* and *n* are confused by copyists, cf. l. 226 n., and an unfinished *g* looks like a *z*.

62, 63. 'Emits a black moisture from their bosom, a liquid from their interior,' referring to the dark sheet of rain visible under the approaching thunder-clouds, a familiar sight, especially at sea. **sendað** merely repeats **feallan lætað**.

63. The storm is next likened to an advancing troop of cavalry armed with spears.

66, 67. **þonne . . . wæpnum**, 'when the moving phantom strikes men pale (with fear), with sharp weapons.' The singular **scotað** is required both by metre and grammar. 66. **brogan** is n.pl. in apposition with **egsa**.

70. The MS. reading of the first half-line is metrically weak; we might perhaps read *on geryhtum ryne*, 'with straight course.'

72. Strictly speaking, **farende flan** is metrically incorrect, as the first strong stress should be borne by a long syll. (E-type); the metre would be improved by reading *ferende*.

73. **rynegiestes wæpen**, 'the weapon of the hastening visitant,' *i.e.* the lightning flash.

78-81. **þonne . . . frean**: after its career of destruction the tempest returns to its confinement under the earth.

80. **þæt . . . sceal** refers to the earth.

82-87. These lines summarize the preceding descriptions.

84. **hean** is either nom.s., meaning 'humble,' or acc.pl. weak of *heah*, 'deep,' agreeing with **yþa**.

89. **beom** is the earlier form of *beo*; the *-u* corresponds to *-mi* of certain Greek verbs; cf. also the Latin *sum*.

91. The skin of an animal, used as rope, wine-bottle, rug or boot, etc.

91. **gæst bere**, 'am alive.'

93. **Wealas** here and **Wala** in l. 97 are serfs of Welsh race.

95, 96. **hwilum . . . fotum** may refer to fur slippers or else a rug.

97. Cf. Riddle, no. 21 l. 5 *wegedð mec ond þyð*. The Welshwoman seems to be dressing the skin to make it soft.

98. The phrase **dol druncmenn** and the epithet **hygegalan** in l. 101 seem to indicate a personal dislike of Welshwomen on the part of the writer, doubtless an ecclesiastic. It is not clear what the object is that the Welshwoman is busied with, perhaps fur gloves are meant, or a muff.

100-102. **me . . . swearn**, 'the hand of the wanton creature nestles in my bosom, often turns and passes through my dark interior' (lit. through me dark). The last words may, however, mean 'passes over my dark surface.'

103. **þe ic**, 'I who.'

D. A badger.

107. **beadowæpen** refers to the formidable teeth of the badger.

'stand erect.'

standað,

108. **swylce sue**, 'as well as'; **sue** is here the non-W.S. form of W.S. *swæ = swa*.

109. **ordum**, 'with my claws.'

114. **hwonne**, 'until.'

115. **him**, 'to them,' *i.e.* my young ones.

118. **ealles**, 'after all.'

119. **hi . . . breost**, 'they (the young ones) do not quit (lit. do not make bare) my breast.' The MS. reading *hine berað* is metrically defective, and moreover gives no sense.

120. **on geruman**, 'in my dwelling.' **ne ic . . . teale**, 'I do not consider that advisable,' *cf.* *þat ræd talað*, *Beo.* l. 2027; **teale** is prob. the Mercian form of W.S. *talie*.

122. The badger makes its burrow on the side of a hill-top, with various openings; *cf.* also l. 125.

123. **freora**, 'my dear ones.'

125. **dune** is *gen.s.*

126. **swæse ond gesibbe** qualify **mægburge**.

127. **wæhwelpes**: the pursuing dog, called **niðsceapa** in the next line. **wiht**, 'at all.'

129. **ne tosæleþ him**, 'he will not lack,' *i.e.* I shall offer him.

132. **þurh hæst**, 'violently.' **hrino** is the early form of the 1st pers. s. pres. indic.

hildepilum: as *pil* means a 'sharp stake' or 'spike,' some editors think the quills of the porcupine are here meant. But the word describes equally well the badger's sharp teeth.

133. **laðgewinnum**, 'foes,' is gov. by **hrino**.

E. The month of December, according to Dietrich. This is, he says, one of a number of riddles, current in many countries, relating to divisions of time. The sixty horsemen are the days and the nights; the eleven men are the church festivals, of which the four Sundays are the white horses (**sceamas**). Chariots and horses are usually referred to in this class of riddle.

146. **swa**, 'in such a manner that.'

147. **fæt** is a contraction of *fated*.

149. **drefde**, 'stirred up' with oars.

153. **oþerne**: *sc. stæð*.

F. A cart-wheel.

155. The second *i* of **missenlice** must here be regarded as long; see 19300 n.

160. **fet**: the axle of the wheel.

163. **muð**: the nave.

164. **folcscipe dreogeð**, 'performs a social service.'

165. **in** is an adv. and has a strong stress (D-type).

G. A mail-shirt made of steel links.

171. **mec beworhtne**: supply *beon*.

174. **þurh**, 'with.'

176. **am**: the *am* was the stick used by the weaver to knock the weft-threads together.

177. **wyrda cræftum**, 'with their inborn skill,' lit. 'with the skill of (*i.e.* due to) fate.' Sweet in his *A.-S. Reader* emends *wyrði*, the reading of the Leiden MS., to *wyndi*, and reads *wyndicræftum*, which he translates 'art of embroidery.'

169a ff. Note that *u* is used for *w*, and *ae* or *æ* for a short *e*. As the Leiden MS. of this riddle is in places hardly legible editors differ in their reading of it; see Tupper's edition.

H. The answer to this riddle is usually taken to be the Day; the indications given are purposely vague and negative. Tupper thinks it is the Moon.

184. **miclum tidum**, lit. 'at great times (or hours),' may mean at times when the important services, such as high mass, were held, *i.e.* near midday.

189. The word **niht** is well chosen with a view to misleading the guesser.

190. **wreccan laste**, 'with footsteps of an exile.' Daylight is regarded as travelling across the world.

195. **ac**, 'for.'

196. **earmost**, 'the most poorly endowed,' *i.e.* the most negatively constituted of all created things.

200. **bearnum** may be for the more usual *manna bearnum* or *gīda bearnum*, 'sons of men'; or we may read *beornum*, 'warriors,' *i.e.* men. **wearð**,

like **hran** in l. 192, is a perfect in meaning, 'has been.'

206. **wohwyrda gesceapu**, 'the course of its devious destiny.'

208. **wordum becneð**, 'gives indications.'

I. A case for a sword, made of various kinds of wood in the form of a cross and richly decorated.

215. **seolfres dæl**: a common periphrasis.

216. **þæs**, 'of Him who.'

223. **wulfheafodtreo** seems to have the same meaning here as *weargtreo*, 'felon tree,' *i.e.* 'gibbet' in the form of a cross. *wearg*, 'wolf,' is commonly used for an outlaw.

225. **gieddes pisses** makes better metre than *pisses gieddes*; see Appendix, § 3.

226. **se . . . ormede**, 'who does not despair.' The MS. reading *se hine on mede* makes no sense. The verb *ormedan* from the adj. *ormod*, 'despairing,' 'hopeless,' does not seem to occur elsewhere, but it would be a quite regular derivative. Copyists frequently confuse the letters *n* and *r*; see l. 60 n.

23. RHYME POEM

MS. In the Exeter Book, fols. 94-95. Text of the MS., together with an emended version, is printed in Grein-Wülcker, iii. (first part) 156 ff.

2. **getah**, the emendation required by the rhyme, seems here to have the meaning of the weak verb *teon*, 'to appoint,' 'order.'

5. **segon** and **alegon** are non-W.S. forms, like **gefegon** and **wegon** in the next line. **ne alegon**, 'did not flag.'

7. If the MS. reading **wennan** be retained, it must be regarded as the Kentish form of *wynnum*, 'joyfully.' The sense of ll. 7-8 seems to be '(richly) adorned steeds bore me over the plains, to my joy and delight, on long journeys under the branches (of the forest).'

9-10. 'Then was the earth alive (lit. awakened) with growth, stretched out, extended under the sky, mightily roofed over.'

11. The MS. reading *gerscype* is unintelligible; the word *geapscipe*, 'cunning,' 'shrewdness,' occurs in *A.-S. Chron.*, anno 1086 and anno 1090.

13. This looks like a nonsense-line, a veritable rhyme-orgy.

14. If any sense is to be made of this line, the MS. reading *leoðu* must be emended; transl. 'there was a voyage upon the sea in which my beloved did not desert me.'

18. Various emendations have been suggested for the meaningless *ic mægen* of the MS.

22. **stepegongum weold**, 'had control over my steps,' *i.e.* 'moved.'

24. **ofol**: the MS. reading *ofoll* has no meaning; *ofalan* does not occur elsewhere; it may mean 'fail to grow,' hence 'fail.'

26. **wuniendo**, 'abiding,' 'lasting.' **wilbec bescær** is unintelligible, and no satisfactory emendation has been proposed.

32. 'Lords grew in wisdom, enterprising men grew in wealth.'

35. **bleo glissade** is Ettmüller's suggestion for the missing portion; transl. 'colour glistened.'

The second half of the poem, which we omit, is a mere metrical *tour de force*, sense being mostly sacrificed to rhyme.

GLOSSARY

THE order of words is alphabetical, save that words with the prefix *ge-* are entered under the letter which follows the *ge-*. The head-words are in their Early West Saxon forms; forms occurring in the text of the selections will in most cases be found in the glossary with cross-references to the normalized E.W.S. forms.

The references are to selection (thick type) and line.

'Past-present' or 'Strong-weak' verbs are entered under their infinitives (actual or hypothetical); the other parts of these verbs are also entered, with cross-references.

The number after an ablaut or 'strong' verb denotes its class.

ABBREVIATIONS

a. accusative.
d. dative.
f. feminine, feminine noun.
g. genitive.
m. masculine, masculine noun.

n. neuter, neuter noun, note.
pl. plural.
p.p. past participle.
prs. present.
pst. past.
red. v. reduplicating verb.

s. singular.
sb. substantive, noun.
v. verb; *vide*.
w. with.
wk. weak.

ā *adv.* ever
ābēodan 2 announce **16** 27, 49, deliver (message) **9** 16, make proclamation, command **20** 16, proffer **22** 23
ābīdan 1 *w. g.* wait for, await
ābreca 4 break, break up; storm, take by assault **22** 218
ābregdan 3 wrest away **19** 269, throw up, raise **14** 318
ābrēotan 2 destroy, kill
ābrēoðan 2 fail
ābrōden *v.* **ābregdan**
ābūgan 2 be warped, start
ac *conj.* but; *after neg. sent. freq.* = nay, nay rather, on the contrary
ac *f.* oak
acennan beget
acol *adj.* quivering; *d.pl.* **19** 465
actrēow *n.* oak-tree
acweccan shake, brandish
acwellan kill
acweðan 5 speak, say
acȳðan make known, declare
ād *m.* funeral fire, funeral pile
ād *f.* sickness, disease
ādrenca submerge, drown
ādrifan 1 drive away

ādrincan 3 drink up, absorb
āder *f.* vein; *d.pl.* in streams **4** 365
14 124
āfen *m.* evening **14** 531 **19** 108
āfenlēoð *n.* evening song
āfenspræc *f.* speech made the evening before
æfest *f.* envy **12** 43 **21** 215
æflāst *f.* changed course
æfnan do, perform, accomplish, achieve
æfre *adv.* ever; **æfre . . . ne** never **3** 11 **8** 39 **14** 343
æftan *adv.* behind **15** 63
after (1) *adv.* (a) after, following **19** 105; (b) *time* afterwards **4** 12 **7** 77 **17** 8 **22** 205. (2) *prep.* (a) *place* alongside of, close to **11** 76? **14** 600; along, over, throughout **4** 127 **14** 82, 242, 264 **19** 132, 212, 426; following, after **1** 12 **2** 5 **19** 109, 195, 331; (b) *time* after *freq.* **after þon** after that **14** 106 **20** 22; (c) (sorrow) for **6** 50 **11** 99, 101 **14** 419; according to **20** 86
aftercweðend *m.* after-speaker(s), posterity
afterweard *prep. w. d.* after, in pursuit of

æfþonca, æfþunca grudge, vexation, displeasure

æghwā each, each one

æghwær *adv.* everywhere

æghwæðer, ægðer each (of two); either
22 193; **ægðer** . . . and both . . .
and 16 224

æghwelic, æghwile, æghwylc each, every

æht *f.* possession; wealth; **on** . . .
æht into the power 4 42 14 18

æhta *v.* eaht

ælan burn up

ælc each

æld- *v.* ield-

ældē *v.* ieldē

ælfare *v.* eallfaru

ælmesgeorn charitable

ælmigtig almighty; **allmectig** *North.*

æne *adv.* once, on one occasion

ænges, ængum *v.* ænig

ænig any; **ænig** . . . **ne** no

ænlic single, unique, matchless

æppled dull yellow? 20 121 *n.*

ær (1) *adv.* before, previously, formerly;
freq. gives pluperf. sense to a past indic.

(2) *conj.* (a) until 20 102; (b) *w. subjunct.* before. (3) *prep. w. d.* before
17 2 20 3; **ær þon** *conjunct. w. subjunct.* before

ær = æror *compar. adv.*; **no þy ær** none
the more 11 104 14 136

ærcwide *m.* ancient saying 12 4

ærdæg *m.* early morning 4 341 19 198;
pl. former days 9 33, 70

æren *adj.* brazen

ærende *n.* errand, message

ærendspræc *f.* errand, message

ærest (1) *superl. adj.* **æt ærestan** at
first 20 69. (2) *superl. adv.* first of
all, in the beginning

æror *compar. adv.* earlier, in earlier times

ærglæd *adj.* fortunate, happy

ærgōd *adj.* old and good, very good

ærist *v.* ærest

ærn *n.* house 4 21

ærnan ride, gallop 16 191

ærna *compar. adj.* former 11 52

ærgestrēon *n.* ancient or ancestral
treasure

ærgeweorc *n.* ancient handiwork

æs *n.* carrion

æsc *m.* (ash-tree) spear

æschere *m.* 'ash army,' Danish force
(**æsc** = Danish warship)

æscholt *n.* 'ash-wood,' spear

æscsteall *m.* 'spear-place,' battle-field
2 21

æscstede *m.* battle-ground 12 16 *n.*

æscwiga (spear) warrior

æt *prep. w. d.* at, in; during *freq.*; by,
near 4 170, 174 5 17 9 2; *w. persons*
from 2 49 14 491 16 39 20 60; with,
on 8 45

æt *m.* food 19 165

ætberan 4 carry away; carry 14 486

ætfeohtan 3 fight one's way 13 18

ætforan *prep. w. d.* in front of 16 16

ætgedere *adv.* together

ætgiefa feeder

æththa *v.* oððe 17 13

ætsamne *adv.* together

ætspingan 3 spurt out, **ætspranc** 4 181

ætstæppan 6 step, advance

ætstandan 6 stick fast 4 81

ættren *adj.* poisonous 16 146; **ættrynne**
16 47

ætwegan 5 carry off 4 442

ætwtitan 1 reproach, blame, taunt 4
210 16 220, 250

æðele *adj.* of noble race, noble, glorious

geæðele *adj.* natural 15 7

æðeling *m.* prince, noble, chief

æðelu, æðelo *f.* noble descent, lineage
1 5 16 216; traditional rank 19 353;

hereditary privileges 19 339; noble
qualities 4 109 19 186 22 219

æðm *m.* breath, blast 14 336

æwiscmōd *adj.* disgraced

āfæran terrify

āfæstnian fasten

āfeallan *red. v.* fall

āfierran remove; **āfeorde** 4 329

āflieman put to flight

āfrisc *adj.* African

āfyllan fill

āfysan drive away

āgælan neglect

āgan *pst. prs. v.* possess, have

āgān *athem. v.* pass away; *prs. subj.*
aga 7 69

āgangan *red. v.* come to pass 14 530

āge *v.* āgan

āgen *adj.* own; peculiar, special 21 72

āgendfræa lord

āgēotan 2 drain away 19 430

āgtēfan 5 give back 4 328 16 16

āgiēldan 3 ageald offered itself 14 385

āgtetan, āgētan destroy, slay 13 16 15 18

āglāc *n.* torment, horrible plight

āglāca formidable or terrible one, *used*
of monster or warrior

āgrafan 6 carve
 āhafen, āhæfen *v.* āhebban
 āhebban 6 raise; utter
 āhierdan harden, strengthen 14 587
 āhlēapan *red. v.* leap up
 āhliehhan 6 laugh 14 113
 āhsode *v.* āscian
 āhte *v.* āgan
 āhyccgan conceive, plan
 āhydan hide
 āhyðan destroy
 ālædan lead
 ālætan *red. v.* leave behind, abandon
 14 334; let, allow 14 360
 alan 6 grow, flourish
 ald *v.* eald
 aldor *v.* ealdor
 āleccgan lay, place
 ālēdon *v.* āleccgan
 ālēgon *v.* ālicgan
 ālesan 5 pick, choose
 ālicgan 5 slacken, fail
 ālifefan grant, permit
 ālimpan 3 come to pass
 alwalda *v.* eallwealda
 alwaldend *v.* eallwealdend
 alwihta *v.* eallwihta
 ām weaver's stick
 āmetan 5 measure out
 āmierran check, hinder
 ān one; only, alone 1 41 2 34 4 46,
 141 9 15 11 39, 52, 99 19 313 21
 203; single 4 363; *g.pl.* ānra *not*
transl. 14 166 *etc.*
 āna alone, only
 and and
 anda vexation, annoyance
 āndæge *adj.* lasting one day
 andēages, andæges *adv.* eye to eye, full
 in the face 4 95
 andgiet *n.* understanding
 andlang *adj.* continuous, whole (day or
 night); upright 14 390
 andlēan *n.* retribution 19 19
 andrysne *adj.* terrible, awful
 andsaca adversary, foe
 andsliet *m.* stroke, *coup de grâce* 4 328,
 371
 andswaru *f.* answer
 andwiggearo *adj.* ready for battle 14 543
 ānæde wild spot, wilderness 9 5
 ānfloga solitary flyer
 ānga *adj.* sole, only
 anginn *n.* enterprise, plot
 ānhaga solitary one, recluse; *a.s.* an-
 hogan 6 40

ānhygdig *adj.* resolute, determined;
 anhydig 3 2 14 362
 aniehest *adv.* last
 āniman 4 take away, destroy
 āninga *adv.* absolutely, entirely
 anlicnes *f.* likeness
 ānmōd *adj.* resolute, determined
 ānpæð *m.* single track, narrow path
 ānræd *adj.* resolute, steadfast
 ānriht *adj.* privileged 19 358 *n.*
 ansien *f.* face 7 91 20 79
 āngetrum *n.* unique army
 anwiggearwe *v.* andwiggearo
 ānyman *v.* āniman
 ār *m.* messenger 12 2 16 26
 ār *f.* honour, favour; *g.pl.* arna 20
 42; *d.pl.* aran 19 245
 ār *f.* oar 21 123
 ārædan determine; *p.p.* aræd 6 5 *n.*
 āræran raise
 ārēafian despoil, strip
 āreccan stretch out, extend; *p.p.* areaht
 23 10; explain 20 34; narrate 20 9
 ārfæst *adj.* dutiful, respectful 21 190;
 kind, merciful 20 32 21 133
 ārgiefa giver of honour, generous
 patron 21 77
 ārhwæt *adj.* eager for honour, gallant
 ārīsan 1 arise
 aron *prs. ind. pl.* are 7 82
 ārstafas *pl.* kindness, benevolence
 āsæde *v.* āsecgan
 āsælan tie, bind 20 105; hamper 19
 386
 āscacan 6 shake, brandish; *pst.* asceoc
 16 230
 āscian hear of 3 21; experience 4 430
 āsecgan say, declare
 āsettan set up, erect
 āsigan 1 sink (into oblivion)
 āspringan 3 start asunder; *pst.*
 aspranc 19 291
 āstandan 6 stand up
 āstigan 1 rise, ascend; mount, in-
 crease 20 133 21 167; enter 20 69
 āswebban 'put to sleep,' kill; annul
 19 336
 āswefede *v.* āswebban
 āswican 1 desert, betray
 ātemian tame
 ātēon 2 draw near 14 148; go 19 406
 atol *adj.* horrible, terrible, fierce
 atolic *adj.* horrible 14 166
 ātortān *m.* poison-twigg 14 586 *n.*
 āð *m.* oath
 āðecgan destroy, kill

ǣðringan 3 push 9 57; force one's way
22 7

ǣðswaru *f.* oath

ǣðsweord *n.* oath-sword? 4 264 *n.*

ǣwa *adv.* ever

ǣwæfan weave, spin

ǣweaxan *red. v.* grow up 9 19

ǣweccan awaken

ǣwierdan destroy

ǣwiergan curse; *p.p.* awyrghda ac-
cursed 20 43

ǣwiht *v.* ðwiht

ǣwritan 1 write

bā, bām *v.* bāgen

bæc *n.* back; under bæc backwards;
ofer bæc back

bædan force, urge, constrain

bæl *n.* funeral fire; conflagration 20 91

bælc curtain, screen 19 73

bælcian shout

bæleghesa terror of fire

bælfyr *n.* funeral fire

gebæran behave

bærnan burn, set on fire

gebæru *n.pl.* gestures, exclamations 8
21, 44

bætan furnish with bridle

bæteran *v.* betera

bæðweg *m.* 'bath-way,' sea

bān *n.* bone 22 200; bony scale or
plate 14 321; tusk 14 387

bana slayer; cause of death 4 288

bāncofa 'bone-chamber,' body

bānfæt *n.* 'bone-vessel,' body

bānfāg *adj.* decorated with bone or
ivory

hangār *m.* deadly spear

bānhelm *m.* 'bone-protection,' shield?
5 31

bānhūs *n.* 'bone-house,' body

bānloca 'bone-defence,' body

gebarn *v.* biernan

bāt *m.* boat

baðian bathe

be, bi *prep. w. d.* (a) place by, near; (ð)
extended use by, with, in; concerning
3 35 7 18 9 19; judging by 12 6, 46;
in proportion to 19 243; be þam
thereby 16 9

bēacen *n.* signal, beacon

bēacnian *v.* biēcnan

beado *f.* battle

beadocāf *adj.* bold in battle

beadocræftig *adj.* skilled in fighting

beadogrima battle-helmet

beadohrægl *n.* 'battle-dress,' corslet

beadolāc *n.* 'battle-play,' battle

beadomāgen *n.* 'battle-strength,' armed
host

beadomēce *m.* battle-sword

beadoræs *m.* battle-rush, onset

beadorinc *m.* warrior

beadorōf *adj.* gallant in fight

beadorūn *f.* hostile thought, malice

beadoscearp *adj.* sharp in battle

beadoscuro *n.* armour

beadowæpen *n.* weapon of offence

beadoweorc *n.* battle-work

beaduwe *v.* beado

bēag, bēah *m.* circular ornament, ring,
collar, bracelet, crown etc.; beg 14
431

bēaggiefa giver of rings

bēaghord *n.* ring-hoard, treasure

bēaghroden *adj. p.p.* adorned with
rings etc.

beald, bald *adj.* bold

bealdlice *adv.* confidently, boldly; *superl.*
baldlicost 16 78

bealdor *m.* chieftain

bealobenn *f.* grievous wound

bealocwealm *m.* violent death

bealofull *adj.* dangerous, mischievous

bealohycgend *m.* meditator of mischief,
determined foe

bealohygdig *adj.* meditating harm or
mischief

bealolēas *adj.* innocent, good

bealonfō *m.* dangerous malice

bealofō *m.* dangerous journey

bealospell *n.* evil tidings

bēam *m.* tree 13 21 22 9; gallows 13
41; Cross 20 116; wooden object 22
218; piece of wood 9 30; column,
pillar 19 94, 111, 454; pole (standard)
19 249; ray 19 121

bearhtm *m.* glance, flash 11 43; clamour,
noise 19 65; blast 14 270

bearm *m.* bosom; interior; possession
4 204

bearn *n.* child; young (of animal) 22
113

bearo *m.* grove, wood

bēatan *red. v.* beat, strike

bebeorgan 3 guard, protect

bebod *n.* commandment

bebūgan 2 surround, encompass

bēcneð *v.* biēcnan

becuman 4 come, arrive

bedælan deprive

bedd *n.* bed, bedding

bedrēosan 2 *p.p.* **bedroren** deprive
befæstan entrust, commit
befaran 6 surround, envelop
befeallan *red. v.* surround
befeallan *red. v.* deprive
befeohtan 3 deprive by fighting 22 47
beſiōwan *red. v.* flow round, surround
beſōn *red. v.* surround, envelop
beforan (1) *adv.* in front, before; (2) *prep.*
w. d. (a) before, in front of, (b) time
 before 15 67
begang *m.* expanse; course 20 22
begēat *v.* **begēotan**
bāgen *m.* both; *g.* **bega** 2 29 4 184, *f.*
ba 4 263, *d.* **bam** 14 553
begēotan 2 pour in 20 109
begiellan 3 scream round
begietan 5 acquire 15 73; come upon
 11 64; fall upon 7 6 8 32; attack 4
 128, 206 8 41
beglidan 1 slip away from, desert 23 14
begnornian lament, bewail
behealdan *red. v.* keep, continue 19 109;
 guard 19 205; behold, see 9 5 14
 118
behēngon *v.* **behōn**
behindan (1) *adv.* behind 19 372, (2)
prep. w. d. behind 15 60
behōn *red. v.* hang round 7 17 14 407
behrēosan 2 *p.p.* **behroren** covered 6 77
behriman cover with ice or hoar-frost
belācan *red. v.* play round 9 7
belāc *v.* **belūcan**
belēan 6 dissuade (from) 14 13
belecgan envelop, surround 10 11
belēolc *v.* **belācan**
belōosan 2 *p.p.* **beloren** deprived 4 133
belgan 3 make angry
belūcan 2 close, enclose, shut in
bēmum *v.* **bieme**
bemurnan 3 mourn; *pst.* **bemearn** 4
 137
bēna petitioner; **he bena wæs** he asked
 14 408
benc *f.* bench
bencsittend sitter on bench, guest
bencpel(u) *n.f.* bench-plank, floor
bend *m.f.* bond, fetter
benēah *v.* **benugan**
benemnan solemnly declare
benēotan 2 deprive
beniman 4 deprive
benn *f.* wound
benngeat *n.* wound-opening, gash
benugan *pst. prs. v.* enjoy, possess
beodan *pst. pl. of* **bīdan** 19 166

bēodan 2 offer 4 145, 356; proclaim 7
 54 *n.*; command 19 191, 352
beofiað *v.* **bifian**
bēohata *v.* **bīhata**
bēom 1st *pers. s. of* **bēon** 22 89
bēon *athem. v.* be
bēor *n.* beer, beer-drinking
beorg *m.* hill, mountain 19 132, 212 22
 122; grave-mound, barrow 11 56 14
 289, 302, 323, 411, 431 21 34
gebeorg *n.* defence, protection
beorgan 3 *w. d.* guard, protect
beorglið *n.* hill-side, cliff 10 364
bēorhierce *m.* custodian of beer, butler
 21 141
beorht *adj.* bright, shining; (of a voice)
 clear 21 160
beorhte *adv.* brightly 21 49
beorhtrodon *m.* bright heavens
beorn *m.* fighter, man
bēorscealc *m.* feaster, reveller
bēorsele *m.* beer-hall, hall
bēorþegu *f.* beer-drinking
(ge)bēot *n.* promise 6 70 9 65 16 15,
 213; boast 2 26 14 25; on **beot**
 boastfully 16 27
bēotan *v.* **bēatan**
(ge)bēotian promise, vow
ber *imperat. of* **beran**
bera bear 21 29
beran 4 bear, carry; often used *w. shield,*
armour, helmet etc. = march
berēafian deprive
beregian prepare 19 147
berēnedon *v.* **beregian**
berēofan 2 *p.p.* **berofen** deprive
berian make bare; clear 14 535 desert,
 quit 22 119
bēron *pst. pl. of* **beran**
berstan 3 burst, crack
bescær *v.* **bescieran**
bescieran 4 cut, trim? 23 26
bescierian deprive 12 8 13 55 21 77
bescyredne *v.* **bescierian**
bescūfan 2 push down, hurl down
besettan set round, adorn
besierwan ensnare, entrap
besittan 5 besiege, invest
beslēan 6 deprive (by slaying) 15 42
besmitan 1 defile, pollute
besmiðian forge
besnyððan deprive
bestandan 6 stand along, line
bestleman wet 19 364
beswican 1 deceive, betray
besyrwan *v.* **besierwan**

(ge)bētan amend, repair 19 131; settle 11 163
 betera *compar. adj.* better, superior
 betimbran build
 betlic *adj.* excellent, handsome
 betst *superl. adj.* best
 bēttan *v.* bētan
 beþeccan cover 19 60
 beþringan 3 oppress
 bewægnan offer, convey 4 417
 bewāwan *red. v.* blow on, sweep 6 76
 beweaxan *red. v.* overgrow
 bewegan 5 cover, envelop
 bewenian attend 4 235
 beweorpan 3 surround 10 5
 bewerian defend; *w. d.* guard (against)
 bewindan 3 wind round; surround 14 414, 516; bind 18 42; revolve, ponder 21 153; swing 14 588
 bewitian watch, observe 4 195; attend, accompany 14 267
 bewrēon 1 cover up 6 23
 bewyrcan surround 14 429 22 171
 bibod *v.* bebod
 bid *n.* stay, halt 4 361 22 18
 (ge)bidan 1 wait, remain; *w. g. or foll. clause* await
 gebidan 1 find, meet with; experience, live to see
 biddan 5 ask, request; pray, entreat, urge
 blecnan point out, signify
 bieldan encourage
 blieme *wk.f.* trumpet
 bierman ferment, be in a turmoil 12 42
 biernan 3 burn, be on fire
 biersteð *v.* berstan
 biewan polish, get ready
 bifian quiver, tremble
 big *prep. w. d.* = bi near
 bigeal *v.* begiellan
 biglād *v.* beglidan
 bihata challenger, champion 19 253
 bihongen *v.* behōn
 bihrorene *v.* behrēosan
 bill *n.* sword
 billgeslicht *n.* sword-clash, blow
 billswæð *n.* sword-track, swathe of corpses
 bilocen *v.* belūcan
 gebind *n.* union, surface (of sea)
 bindan 3 bind, bind fast
 binēat *v.* benēotan
 binōm *v.* beniman
 bīoð *v.* bēon
 bireð *v.* beran

birofen *v.* berēofan
 biscyred, biscyrge *v.* bescierian
 bisgian afflict, worry
 bisgo *f.* trouble, worry, anxiety, distress
 bisig *adj.* busy
 bitan 1 bite, cut, penetrate
 bite *m.* bite, slash 11 74
 biter *adj.* sharp, keen 11 23 14 387, 399; thorny, repellent 8 31; bitter 7 4, 55; fierce, hostile, cruel 14 270 16 85, 111 24 26; *d.pl.* bitterly? 20 106
 bið 3 *s. prs. ind. of* bēon is, will be, shall be
 biwāune *p.p. of* bewāwan
 biwergan *v.* bewerian
 biwrah *v.* bewrēon
 blāc *adj.* white, gleaming, bright; pale 13 41 22 66
 blācian grow pale; fade
 blād *m.* prosperity, success, glory, splendour; heyday, prime
 blād *v.* blēd
 blādāgend *adj.* prosperous, successful
 blāst *m.* blowing, blast
 blanca horse, steed
 bland *n.* mingling, harmony 19 309
 blandan *red. v.* mix, mingle
 blandenfeax *adj.* grey-haired
 blēd *f.* fruit, bloom 21 34
 blēdhwæt *adj.* rich in fruit or foliage 22 9
 blencan cheat
 blēo *n.* colour, hue; form
 blēobord *n.* 'coloured board,' board for draughts or chess
 blīcan 1 glitter, shine
 bliss *f.* joy, happiness
 (ge)blissian rejoice; *w. d.* cause pleasure 13 78
 bliðe *adj.* joyous, merry 8 21, 44 19 469; kindly, amiable 14 479 21 223 24 15
 blōd *n.* blood
 blōdegese terrible bloodshed
 blōdfāg *adj.* blood-stained
 blōdgian cover with blood
 blōdig *adj.* bloody
 blōstm *m.* blossom, flower
 blōwan *red. v.* bloom, flower
 bōc *f.* book
 bōcere *m.* writer, author
 boda messenger, preacher 12 4; herald 16 49
 bodian, bodigean announce
 bōg *m.* arm? bough? 10 11; leg 19 171
 boga bow (for shooting)

bōgan *v. g.* boast 12 28
bohte *v.* byegan
bold *n.* dwelling, house
gebolgen *p. p.* of **belgan** angry, fierce
bolster *n.* pillow
bonan *v.* bana
bond *v.* bindan
bord *n.* shield
bordhrēoða shield-formation, phalanx
bordrand *m.* shield
bordweall *m.* shield-wall
bordwudu *m.* shield
geboren *p. p.* of **beran** own brother 7 98
bōsm *m.* bosom; interior
bōt *f.* remedy, amendment, compensation
bōð *v.* bōgan
brād *adj.* broad
bræd *pst. ind.* of **bregdan** plucked 16 154 14 305, 398
brædan spread, spread out
brand *m.* firebrand, burning wood, fire
brant *adj.* tall, lofty (ship) 14 70
brēac *v.* brūcan
breahm *m.* loud noise, sound
gebrec *n.* crash
brecan 4 break, break through, break up; break forth, gush 14 289
gebregd *n.* rapid movement? skill? 13 71
bregdan 3 draw forth, pluck; wave 14 16; row 21 123; strike (tent) 19 222; play tricks 12 28 *n.*; *p. p.* **gebro(g)den** woven 14 54, 570, ornamented 14 581
bregho *m.* ruler, king
bregostōl *m.* throne, royal seat
brēme *adj.* celebrated, illustrious
brēodað *v.* bregdan 12 28 *n.*
brēost *n. gen. in plur.* breast, heart, mind
brēostcaru *f.* anxiety, care 7 4 8 44
brēostcofa mind, heart
brēosthord mind, heart
brēost(ge)hygd *n. f.* thought
brēostnett *n.* 'breast-net,' corslet
brēostgeþanc *m.* thought, counsel
breostgewæde, *n.* 'breast-dress,' corslet
brēostweorðung *f.* 'breast-ornament,' corslet
brēr *m.* briar
brieg *v.* brycg
brim *n.* sea, water
brimfugol *m.* sea-bird
brimgiest *m.* 'sea-comer,' billow
brimlād *f.* sea-voyage
brimliðend sea-farer, mariner

brimmann *m.* seaman
brimwisa leader of seamen
bringan bring
britnian *v.* brytnian
bro(g)den *v.* bregdan
brōga fear, terror
brōhte *v.* bringan
brosnian crumble, decay
brōðor *m.* brother
gebrōðor, **gebrōðru** brothers
brōðorgield *n.* payment or vengeance for brethren
brūcan 2 *v. g.* make use of, enjoy
brūdon *v.* bregdan 19 222
brugdon *v.* bregdan 14 16
brūn *adj.* burnished, glittering; dark, swarthy 19 70
brūneog *adj.* polished
brycg *f.* bridge
brycgweard *m.* bridge-guardian
brȳd *f.* bride, wife
brymmas late *pl.* of **brim** 24 12
brytencyning *m.* great king
brytnian distribute
brytta dispenser, distributor
bryttian tear in pieces 15 60; allot, distribute 1 102 11 3 21 171
būan dwell, inhabit 9 35 22 112
(ge)būgan 2 give ground, retire 4 299, 355, 373 14 341 16 185, 276; sink, lower oneself 4 231, 379 14 498, 563, 537; bend, coil 14 310, 312
būgan *v.* būan
bundenheord *adj.* with plaited hair? 14 419
būne *wh. f.* cup, goblet 6 94
būr *m.* apartment, house
burg *f.* fortified place or town; *in plur.* often *otiose v. preps.* on **burgum**, ofer **burgum**, etc.
burghlið *n.* fortified hill-side? 19 70; or = **beorghlið** *q. v.*
burgsele *m.* hall
burgstede *m.* town
burgtūn *m.* wall, hedge? 8 31
burgþelu *f.* planking, boards of the castle
burgware, -**an** *pl.* townsmen
burgweall *m.* town-wall
burgweard *m.* guardian, chief
burna stream, river
būrþegn *m.* house-thane, chamberlain 16 121
buruh *v.* burg
būtan (1) *prep.* without 2 34 20 58; (2) *conj.* save, except, but 4 69 7 18

14 596; *w. subjunct.* unless 16 71
 20 59
 (ge)bycgan buy, pay for
 byht *m.* curve, expanse 22 145
 bylda builder
 byldan *v.* bieldan
 bȳme *v.* blēme
 gebyrð *f.* birth, order of birth 4 134
 13 3
 byre *m.* son 4 253 11 83 24 10
 byre *m.* opportunity, occasion 16 121
 byrele *m.* cup-bearer
 byrēð *v.* beran
 byrht *v.* beorht
 byrig *v.* burg
 gebyrmed *v.* bierman
 byrnan *v.* biernan
 byrne *wk. f.* corslet, chain-shirt
 byrnhamas corslet
 byrnwiga warrior (wearing corslet)
 gebysgad *v.* bisgian
 bysig *v.* bisig
 byð *v.* bið
 bȳwan *v.* blēwan

cāf *adj.* prompt, bold
 cāflīce *adv.* promptly, boldly
 cald *v.* ceald
 (ge)camp *m.* battle, war
 campstede *m.* battle-field
 can *v.* cunnan
 candel *f.* candle, luminary
 carlēas *adj.* care-free, ruthless? 19 166
 carseld *n.* abode of care, wretched
 lodging? 7 5
 carslō *m.* anxious journey
 caru *f.* care, anxiety, grief
 carwielm *m.* surge of sorrow
 cāsere *m.* emperor
 ceald *adj.* cold
 ceallian shout
 cēap *m.* bargain, exchange
 cearo *v.* caru
 ceaster *f.* town, city
 ceasterbūend *m.* town-dweller, citizen
 cellod? 5 30 16 283
 cempa fighter, warrior
 cēn *m.* torch, name of runic letter = C 20
 80 *n.*, 119
 cēne *adj.* brave, bold
 cennan engender, beget, produce
 cēnðu *f.* bravery, boldness
 cēol *m.* boat, ship
 cēolþelu *f.* ship-deck, ship, boat
 ceorl *m.* man, fighting man

(ge)cēosan 2 choose; take to, go to 16
 113
 cīðan blame, chide
 cīegan call, summon
 cierm *m.* shout, cry, clamour
 cierman cry, shout
 cierran turn, return 22 150; change 20
 126; re-arrange 9 66
 cīgean *v.* cīegan
 cild *n.* child
 cinnbeorg *f.* 'chin-defence,' visor
 ciricnytt *f.* church-service
 cirm *v.* cierm
 cist *v.* cyst
 clæne *adj.* pure
 clamm *m.* bond, fetter
 clēofan 2 split, cleave
 cleofu *pl.* of clif
 clibbor *adj.* tenacious
 clif *n.* cliff, hill-side
 clipian call, shout
 clyppan embrace
 gecnāwan *red. v.* recognize
 cnēo *n.* knee
 cnēomæg *m.* kinsman; *pl.* lineage,
 ancestry 15 8
 cnēoris *f.* generation
 cnēosibb *f.* race, family
 cniht *m.* lad, young man
 cnihtwesende being a boy or young lad
 cnōsl *n.* kindred, family
 cnossian *intrans.* dash, strike
 cnyssan strike, batter, buffet
 cōl *adj.* cool
 cōlian grow cool
 collenferð *adj.* bold, confident
 cōlran *v.* cōl
 con(n) *v.* cunnan
 corn *n.* grain
 corðer *n.* troop, company, assembly
 cræft *m.* skill, aptitude, cunning;
 strength, power, faculty
 cræftig *adj.* skilled
 crēad *v.* crūdan
 cringan 3 collapse, perish
 crūdan 2 press, hasten
 cruncon *v.* cringan
 cumān 4 come
 cumbol *n.* standard, banner
 cumbolgehnāst *n.* clash of standards,
 battle
 cunnan *pst. prs. v.* know, know how,
 be able
 cunnian test, make trial of; experience,
 have experience
 cūð *adj.* known, well-known; familiar

cūðe *v.* **cunnan**
cwacian quake, quiver
cwædon *v.* **cweðan**
cwānian bewail, lament
cwealm *m.* violent death; **on cwealme** perishing 19 384
cwealmbealo *n.* violent death
cwealmcuma murderous visitant
cwēman *w. d.* please
cwēn *f.* queen; wife 19 427
cwēnlic *adj.* queenlike, worthy of a queen
 (ge)cweðan 5 say, speak, utter
 gecweðan 5 agree, agree upon 14 37, 455
cwic *adj.* alive, living
cwide *m.* word, utterance 12 20
cwidegiedd *n.* song
cwielðrōf *adj.* eager to kill, savage
cwið *v.* **cweðan**
cwiðan lament, mourn 6 9 14 439
cwōm *v.* **cuman**
cyme *m.* coming
cymeð *v.* **cuman**
cýmlicor *compar. adv.* more handsomely, more splendidly
 gecynd *f.n.* nature, course of nature 22 197
 gecynde *adj.* natural 14 391; hereditary 14 554
cyneġōd *adj.* royally generous
cyneric *n.* kingdom
cyneþrym *m.* royal power, majesty
cyning *m.* king
cynn *n.* kind, race; family, kin
cynren *n.* kind, progeny
cýrm *v.* **ciern**
 gecýrre *v.* **cierran**
cyssan kiss
cyst *f.* choice, pick, best; choice quality, excellence; **cýstum** nobly 1 56; chosen band 19 229, 230
cýðan make known, proclaim; show, display 14 390 19 292 21 179
cýðð *f.* native land 15 38, 58
dæd *f.* deed, action; violent deed 11 92
dædlēan *n.* recompense, retribution
dædweorc *n.* deed, work
dæg *m.* day
dægrīm *n.* number (of days) 14 205; lifetime 12 12
dægscield *m.* shield or defence by day
dægweorc *n.* day's work
dægwōma dawn
dæl *m.* part, portion; *freg. used w. g.*

as a periphrasis, and not transl.;
dælum partially, variously 12 22
 (ge)dælan distribute, allot; divide, part, separate; engage in 16 33
dagas *v.* **dæg**
dagian dawn
gedāl *n.* distribution
darōð *m.* javelin
dēad *adj.* dead
gedēaf *v.* **dūfan**
dēag, dēah *v.* **dugan**
deall *adj.* proud
dear *v.* **durran**
dēað *m.* death
dēaðdæg *m.* day of death
dēaðdrepe *m.* death-blow
dēaðscīla shadow of death, deadly shadow
dēaðspere *n.* deadly spear
dēaðstede *m.* field of battle
dēaðwīgscraft *m.* deadly war-spear
dēawigfeðer *adj.* dewy-feathered, wet-feathered
gedēfe *adj.* fitting
dēgolne *v.* **dīegle**
dēman judge; adjudge, award 17 14 18 61 20 86
dēmend *m.* judge
dennade ? *perh. error for* **ðānode** 'grew wet' 15 12 *n.*
denu *f.* valley, glen
dēofol *m.* devil, fiend
dēofolgielð *n.* idol
dēop *adj.* deep; great, mighty 19 315; grave, important 19 434; heavy, grievous 19 422
dēope *adv.* profoundly 6 89; solemnly 18 48
dēor *n.* animal, beast
dēor *adj.* brave, bold
dēorc *adj.* dark, gloomy
dēore *v.* **dīere**
dēorlice *adv.* boldly
dēormōd *adj.* brave, bold
derian *w. d.* injure
gediegan come safely through, survive
dīegle *adj.* secret, hidden, mysterious
dīepe *f.* deep sea
dīere *adj.* precious, valuable; dear, beloved
dierne *adj.* secret, hidden, mysterious
dīgol *v.* **dīegle**
dim *adj.* dim, dark
dīope *v.* **dēope**
dēmid *v.* **dēman**
dōgor *n.* day

dohte *v.* **dugan**
dohtor *f.* daughter
dol *adj.* foolish
dolgielp *n.* foolish pride, vainglory
dollic *adj.* foolish, crazy
dolscaða frenzied destroyer
dōm *m.* judgement, decision, decree;
 power **19** 457; choice, discretion **4**
 85, 363 **16** 38; reputation, glory
dōmgeorn *adj.* desirous of good repute,
 self-respecting
dōn *athem. v.* place, put **4** 176, 204 **13**
 87 **14** 431 **18** 49; appoint, commission
7 43; make **10** 14 **11** 9; regard, account
7 20; confer, award **16** 196; do **21**
 56, 183, 249; *often takes place of*
another vb., do, did
dorste *v.* **durran**
draca dragon
dræfend *m.* chaser, hunter
gedræg *v.* **gedræg**
gedræg *n.* troop, crowd
drēam *m.* sound of revelry; revelry;
 rejoicing, joy
dreccan afflict, crush
drēfan stir up, churn up; make turbid
14 256
drenca drown
dreng *m.* Danish warrior
drēogan 2 endure, suffer; incur; engage
 in, perform **4** 276 **14** 180 **22** 164, 199
drēor *m.* blood
drēorig *adj.* blood-stained **14** 256; sad,
 sorrowful
drēorighlēor *adj.* sad-faced
drēorsele *m.* dreary dwelling-place
 (ge)drēosan 2 fall; fall away, decay;
 perish
drepan 5 strike, hit
drieman revel, rejoice
gedrieme *adj.* noisy, clamorous
drifan 1 drive, urge along
 (ge)driht *v.* **gedryht**
gedrinc *n.* drinking, carousal
drincan 3 drink
drohtað *m.* way of life **23** 39; experi-
 ence, treatment **14** 138
dropen = **drepen** *p.p. of drepan*
druncen *p.p. of drincan* soaked, drunk
14 33
druncen *n.* drunkenness **12** 12 **21** 213
druncmenn *n.* drunken female serf
 or maidservant
drūsan become sluggish, droop
dryctin *v.* **dryhten**
dryge *adj.* dry

(ge)dryht *f.* band, troop, army
dryhtbearn *n.* princely child, princess
dryhtcwen *f.* noble queen
dryhten *m.* lord, king; *often used of God*
dryhtenbealo *n.* great ruin
dryhtfolc *n.* multitude, host
dryhtguma retainer, warrior; man
dryhtlic *adj.* noble, splendid
dryhtlice *adv.* splendidly, nobly
dryhtnā *m.* corpse of warrior
dryhtscipe *m.* heroism, valour
dryhtsele *m.* splendid hall
dryhtsibb *f.* peace, alliance
dryhtgesilð *m.* retainer, warrior
dryhtwuniend *m.* dweller in a com-
 munity, man
dryman *v.* **drieman**
gedrymost *v.* **gedrieme**
dryncfæt *n.* drinking vessel
drysmian grow wet? **14** 236 **19** 40 *n.*
dūfan 2 plunge in, penetrate
dugan *pst. prs. v.* be of use, be good
duguð *f.* what is good, choice; choice
 troop, flower of army; band of adult
 retainers, retinue, noble company;
 usage of good society; benefit, advan-
 tage **16** 197 **21** 177
dūn *f.* mountain, hill; mountainous
 wave **22** 36
durran *pst. prs. v.* dare
duru *f.* door
dwelian afflict, hinder
gedygan *v.* **gediegan**
dygel *v.* **diegle**
gedyne *m.* rattling, crashing
dynian resound, re-echo
dýpe *v.* **díepe**
dýre *v.* **díere**
dyrne *v.* **dierne**
dyrrre *v.* **durran**
ēa *f.* river
ēac (1) *adv.* also, (2) *prep.* added to
ēaca addition, reinforcement **19** 194
ēacen *adj.* pregnant
ēacencræftig *adj.* mighty
ēacnian increase
ēad *n.* prosperity, wealth
ēadig *adj.* prosperous **13** 60; blessed **19** 4
ēadlice *adv.* prosperously, happily
ēadmōð *v.* **ēaðmōð**
ēadwela wealth, prosperity
eafora son, child
eafoð *n.* strength
ēage *wk. n.* eye
ēagorstrēam *m.* sea, sea-current

eaht *f.* estimating, thinking **20** 102; counsel, deliberation **21** 203

eahta *num.* eight

eahtian watch over **14** 246; deliberate on **21** 139; appraise, estimate **14** 441

eahtoða *num.* eighth

ēalā *interj.* oh! ah!

eald *adj.* old, ancient

ealdian grow old

ealdor *m.* prince, chief **4** 56, 301 **16** 11, 53, 202, 222, 314 **19** 12, 31, 270 **20** 16

ealdor *n.* life **4** 261, 312, 323 **4** 415 **13** 49, 54 **14** 12, 40, 204, 232, 342, 569; vitals **14** 273; **awa to ealdre** for ever **14** 569

ealdordæg *m.* life-day, lifetime

ealdorgedāl *n.* parting from life, death

ealdordōm *m.* high position, leadership **19** 317; seniority, priority **19** 335

ealdorlang *adj.* lifelong, eternal

ealdorlēas *adj.* lordless, deprived of a chief

ealdormann *m.* nobleman

ealdorgesceaft *f.* course of life

ealdorstōl *m.* chief seat, throne

ealdgesgen *f.* old story, tradition

ealdgeslō *m.* older retainer, senior

ealdgestrēon *n.* old treasure

ealdsweord *n.* old, valuable sword

ealdwērig *adj.* accursed of old

ealgian protect, defend

eall *adj.* all

eall *adv.* entirely, wholly, quite; **ealle** **3** 16

ealles *adv.* entirely, utterly; after all **22** 118

eallfaru *f.* whole of the army **19** 66

eallfela *n.pl. indecl.* very many

eallgearo *adj.* quite ready

eallgylden *adj.* all of gold

eallwealda omnipotent one, God

eallwealdend omnipotent

eallwihta *f.pl.* all creatures

eallwundor *n.* marvellous thing

ealobenc *f.* ale-bench, feast

ealodrincend *m.* ale-drinker, man

ealoscerpen *f.* ? sickness? **14** 151 *n.*

ealowæge *n.* ale-cup

ealowōsa drunkard

ēam *m.* uncle **4** 71, 177

ēar *m.* ? sea, ocean **22** 37

ēargebland *n.* mingling of the sea, surge

eard *m.* native land, home; dwelling-place, habitation **9** 5 **18** 16; principality, estate **11** 4 **14** 555

eardian inhabit

eardstapa wanderer

ēare *wk. n.* ear **22** 109

earfoð (1) *n.* hardship; hard labour **14** 36; (2) *adj.* distressing **13** 11

earfoðhlwīl *f.* time of hardship

earfoðlic *adj.* in distress

earfoðlice *adv.* with difficulty

earfoðsælig *adj.* unhappy, wretched

earfoðslō *m.* difficult journey, hard life

earg *adj.* cowardly

earm *m.* arm **4** 277 **14** 15, 131 **16** 165 **22** 160

earm *adj.* wretched; poor; **earmost** *superl.* most lacking, least substantial **22** 196

earmcearig *adj.* sorrowful, wretched

earmhrēad *f.* arm-ornament **4** 418

earmlīc *adj.* wretched

earmlīce *adv.* wretchedly

earmsceapen *adj.* miserable, wretched

earn *m.* eagle.

(ge)**earnung** *f.* desert, merit; favour **16** 196

eart *2 s. prs. ind.* art

ēastan *adv.* from the east; on the east **1** 8

ēastæð *n.* shore, bank of river

ēaðe *adv.* easily

ēaðmōd *adj.* humble **20** 42, 69; obedient, tame **13** 91

eatol *v.* atol

geēawed *v.* **iewan**

eaxl *f.* shoulder, side

ebba ebb-tide

ēcan *v.* **ēaca**

ēce *adj.* eternal, everlasting

ecg *f.* edge; sword

ecghete *m.* hate, persecution

ēcnes *f.* eternity

eder *m.* barrier, gate, large door

ēðrum *v.* **æder**

edwitscipe *m.* ignominy, baseness

efengedālan share evenly

efeneald *adj.* of the same age

efeneardigende *adj.* dwelling in equality

efnan *v.* **æfnan**

efne *adv.* evenly, equally **19** 76; exactly, just **14** 545 **18** 47; *emphasizes vb.* **leofað efne seþeah** is actually alive for all that **22** 209; **efne swa** just as **4** 152 **22** 28

efstan hasten

eft *adv.* again; back again; afterwards

egesa horror, terror

egesfull *adj.* terrible, formidable

egesian terrify

ēgland *v.* legland

eldum *v.* ielde

ellen *n.* vigour, spirit; courage, brave deed; on ellen boldly 16 211; on elne bravely 4 288; mid elne effectually 6 114; *d.s.* elne vigorously, strenuously 4 298 21 187, 195, 209, 229; promptly 14 371; absolutely, quite 4 157, 189

ellendæd *f.* brave or bold deed

ellenrōf *adj.* brave, gallant

ellenweorc *n.* gallant deed

elles *adv.* else

ellor *adv.* elsewhither, to another place

ellorgāst *m.* alien spirit, demon

ellorsīð *m.* departure, death

elra *compar. adj.* another

elþeod *f.* foreign people, foreign land

elþeodig *adj.* foreign; *used absol.* foreigner 7 38 13 29

embe *v.* ymb

ende *m.* end

endelēan *n.* final payment, retribution

endelēas *adj.* endless

endestæf *m.* final stage, end

endlefen *num.* eleven

enge *adj.* narrow; cramped 20 123

engel *m.* angel

engu *f.* confinement 22 20, 27

ent *m.* giant

entise *adj.* belonging to or made by giants

ēoce *v.* gēoc

ēode *pst. ind. of gān*

eoderas *v.* eder

eofor *m.* wild boar

eoforsprēot *m.* boar-spear

eoh *m.* horse 16 189 22 144; *name of runic letter*=e 20 123

eolh *m.* elk; *runic letter*=EO 9 67

eom 1st pers. s. am

eorclanstān *m.* precious stone, gem

ēored *n.?* troop (of cavalry), army 19 157

ēoredcyst *f.* choice troop

ēoredmecg *m.* horseman, trooper

ēoredprēat *m.* troop of cavalry

eorl *m.* noble, chieftain; warrior; man

eorlscipe *m.* noble nature 14 441; noble rank 11 4; noble or brave deed 1 37 1 141

eorlgestrēon *n.* noble treasure or possession

eorlgewæde *n.* armour

eormencynn *n.* mankind

eormengrund *m.* the earth, the world

eormenlāf *f.* mighty legacy

eornoste *adv.* vigorously, fiercely

eorp *adj.* dark, dark brown

eorres *v.* ierre

eorðe *wk. f.* earth, world

eorðbflend *m.* inhabitant of earth, man

eorðcýning *m.* king of the land

eorðhūs *n.* earth-dwelling, cave

eorðscræf *n.* cave

eorðsele *m.* cave

eorðweall *m.* rampart

eorðwela riches of the earth, wealth

eoten *m.* giant, ogre

eotenisc *m.* made or owned by giants

ēow, ēower you, your

ēowd *f.* flock

ēoweð *v.* lewan

esne *m.* warrior 19 385; man 22 146

ēst *f.* favour, grace; estum graciously, liberally 4 418

ēstēadig *adj.* prosperous

etan 5 eat, devour

ēð- *v.* leð-

ēðel *m.* native land; home, homestead, estate

ēðellēas *adj.* homeless

ēðelriht *m.* right belonging to ownership of a homestead or estate 14 555

ēðelstōl *m.* throne, royal seat 1 122; habitation 22 22

ēðelweard *m.* guardian of land, king

exle *v.* eaxl

fācen *n.* treachery, malice; outrage 13 38

fācensearo *n.* treacherous wile

fācenstæf *m.* treacherous deed

fæc *n.?* space of time

fācne *adj.* treacherous, deceitful; wicked

fæder *m.* father; *pl.* forefathers, patriarchs 19 29

fæderæðelo *pl.* hereditary rank, lineage

fæderencynn *n.* paternal descent

fæderlār *f.* paternal teaching

fæge *adj.* doomed to die, near death

fæger *adj.* beautiful; suitable 14 464

fægere *adv.* beautifully, splendidly 19 297; handsomely, courteously 4 388 14 499 23 20; fittingly, well 16 22 21 56 22 100

fægerwyrde *adj.* fair of speech, polite

fægn *adj.* glad

fægrian be glad

gefægion *v.* gefēon

fægrian look beautiful

fægrost *superl. adv.* very fortunately

fæ(g)hþo *f.* hostility; feud, persecution, attack
fæla *v.* fela
fæle *adj.* kindly, good
fæmig *v.* fāmig
fæmne *wk. f.* lady, woman
fær *n.* vehicle; ship 4 33
fær *m.* sudden danger 19 368; sudden attack 4 128
færbryne *m.* sudden burning, sunstroke
færclamm *m.* sudden clutch, sudden attack
færdryre *m.* sudden collapse
færgripe *m.* sudden clutch
færinga *adv.* suddenly
færlīce *adv.* suddenly
færscaða sudden, dangerous foe
færspell *n.* sudden tidings
færwundor *n.* sudden miracle, prodigy
fæst *adj.* firmly fixed, fast, firm; secure
fæste *adv.* firmly, closely, tightly, fast
fæstenn *n.* stronghold, fastness, refuge
fæstangol *adj.* persevering, firm
fæstlīce *adv.* firmly, steadily
fæstnian conclude (peace)
fæstnung *f.* firm support, security
fæt *n.?* gold plate 11 71 14 98
fæt *v.* fæted
fæted *adj.* beaten thin 4 153 9 53 11 61; made of or plated with beaten gold 11 27, 68 14 396, 521 22 147
fætedhlēor *adj.* with gold-plated head or bridle
fætte *v.* fæted
fæðm *m.* embrace; bosom; grasp 19 294, 403; possession 4 434; inside, interior 22 100; womb 20 71
fāg, fāh *adj.* variegated, patterned; stained; decorated, adorned
fāg, fāh *adj.* hostile; hateful, repulsive; *g.pl.* fāra foes 14 80, 590
fāmgian foam
fāmig *adj.* foaming, covered with foam
famigbōsma foam-breasted, foam-raising
fana banner
fandian *w. g.* make trial of, experience 11 92
fāra *v.* fāg (2)
faran 6 go, pass, march, proceed
gefaran 6 behave, fare 14 120
faroð *m.* current, stream
faru *f.* journey, march 19 441
fēa few; *g.* feara *d.* feawum, fēaum
gefēa *wk. m.* joy
gefeah *v.* gefēon

feala *v.* fela
gefeald *n.* dwelling-place? 2 42
feallan *red. v.* fall; fall dead; fall away, decay
gefeallan *red. v.* fall upon 19 398
fealo *adj.* brown, brown-yellow
fealohilte *adj.* with brown or yellow hilt
fēasceaft *adj.* destitute, abandoned, friendless
fēasceaftig *adj.* destitute, friendless
feax *n.* hair 4 366
fēdan feed
gefēgan put together, construct
gefēgon *v.* gefēon
fēhð *v.* fōn
fela *orig. sb.* much, many *w. g.*
felageðmor *adj.* very sad
felahrōr *adj.* very active
felalēof *adj.* very dear, beloved
gefēlan feel
felawlanc *adj.* very proud, stately
feld *m.* plain, field
feldhūs *n.* tent
fēlelēas *adj.* without sensation
feng *m.* grasp, clutch
fēng *v.* fōn
fengel *m.* prince, lord
fenn *n.* fen, marsh
fennhlið *n.* marshy hillside
fennhop *n.* recess or hole in a fen
fenngelād *n.* fen-track
fēogean hate
feoh *n.* cattle 21 47; possessions, money, treasure
feohgīfre *adj.* covetous, avaricious
feohgift *f.* gift or giving of money or treasure
gefeoh *n.* fighting, battle
feohtan 3 fight
gefeohtan 3 win, gain 4 143 16 129
feohte *wk. f.* fight 2 18, 20 14 78
fēohð *v.* fēogean
fēol *f.* file
fēolan 3 make one's way, pass 22 138
fēolheard *adj.* sharpened with a file
gefēon 5 rejoice
fēond *m.* enemy; devil, fiend
fēondscada dangerous enemy
fēora, fēore *v.* feorh
feorh, feorg *m.n.* life; *d.pl.* feorum life-blood 4 212; dead body 4 434; vital spot 4 380; (tō) wīdan fēore for ever, ever
feorhbana slayer
feorhbealo *n.* destruction of life
feorhberend *m.* living being, mortal

feorhcynn *n.* living race, race of men
feorhgiefu *f.* gift of life, *or read* **feoh-**
giefu? 23 6
feorhhoð *m.* 'life-treasury,' body
feorhhūs *n.* 'life-house,' body
feorhlēan *n.* gift of life
feorhgenfōla deadly foe
feorhsēoc *adj.* 'life-sick,' mortally
wounded
feorhsweng *m.* death-blow
feorhð *v.* **fer(h)ð**
feorhwund *f.* mortal wound
feorm *f.* hospitality, harbouring
feormend *m.* supporter, patron 13 30;
caretaker 11 71
feormian cherish 21 230; attend to,
polish 11 68; consume, make a meal
of 14 126
feorr *adv.* far, afar; *w. d.* 1 21, 53; *time*
far back 6 90
feorr *adj.* distant 8 47
feorran *adv.* from afar; *time* from far
back 18 3
feorrweg *m.* distant way
fēorða *num.* fourth
fēower *num.* four
gefēra companion, comrade 6 30 16 170,
229, 280
fēran go, walk, journey, pass, depart
gefēran behave, fare
fergan *v.* **ferian**
ferh *v.* **feorh**
fer(h)ð *m. n.* mind, spirit, heart; life 13
26 19 119
ferhðfreca bold warrior
ferhðloca heart, secret thoughts 6 13,
33; body 19 267
ferian carry, bear; convey
fēring *f.* journeying
fēt *v.* **fōt**
feta *v.* **fetian**
feter *f.* fetter, bond
feterian fetter, bind fast
gefetgan *v.* (ge)**fetian**
(ge)**fetian** fetch, take away
fēða troop, band, army
fēðe *n.* walking, movement 13 18, 27 22
106
fēðegāst *m.* moving spirit
fēðemund *f.* paw, forefoot
fēðer *f.* feather
fēðespedig *adj.* quick-moving, fleet
fēðewig *n.* active fighting or fighting on
foot
fexe *v.* **feax**
fiell *m.* death, slaughter

fiellan fell, lay low; slay
fierd *f.* army
fierdhengest *m.* war-horse
fierdhwæt *adj.* bold or active in fight
fierdlēoð *n.* song of battle; blast of horn
fierdrinc *m.* warrior
fierdgetrum *n.* army 19 103; formation
of battle, martial array 19 178
fierdwic *n.* camp
fierdwisa army leader
fiergenbēam *m.* mountain-tree
fiergenstrēam *m.* mountain-stream
fierr *compar. adv.* farther back, earlier
20 35
fff *num.* five
fifel *n.?* monster
fifelcynn *n.* tribe of monsters 18 16 *n.*
fifta *num.* fifth
fiftig *num.* fifty
findan 3 find, meet with; devise, hit
upon 14 430, 468
finger *m.* finger
finta handle, pretext 12 32 *n.*
firas *m. pl.* men
firdhengest *v.* **fierdhengest**
firen *f.* crime, sin; outrage, deed of
violence; *d. pl.* wickedly 11 21
firenlice *adv.* desperately
firenþearf *f.* desperate need
firndæg *m. in pl.* former, ancient
days
firngēar *n.* ancient year
firngewinn *n.* ancient struggle
firngewrit *n.* ancient writing, scripture
first *m.* space of time, time, period;
occasion
fisc *m.* fish
fiðere *n.* wing
fiðerlēas *adj.* without wings
flāsc *n.* flesh
flāschama body
flān *m.* arrow, dart
flānboga bow
flēam, *m.* fleeing, flight
gefliemed *v.* **flieinan**
flēogan 2 fly
flēon 2 flee, flee from
flēotan 2 move through the water, swim
14 44
flēotend *m.* seaman, sailor
flett *n.* floor; hall
flettrest *f.* couch on the floor or in the
hall
flettsittend *m.* sitter in the hall, retainer
flieinan put to flight
flies *n.* fleece

flhte *v.* **flyht**
flintgræg *adj.* flint-grey
geflit *n.* contest, rivalry; **on geflit faran** race **14** 463
flitan *i* strive, contend
flōd *m.* water, current, stream, sea; flood tide **16** 65, **72**; the Flood **14** 611
flōdblāc *adj.* pale in the water
flōdegessa terrible flood
flōdgræg *adj.* grey in flood, foaming
flōdweard *f.* sea-defence, sea-wall
flōdweg *m.* sea-track **7** 52; road leading to the sea **19** 106
flōdyð *f.* sea-wave
flōr *m.* floor
flot *n.* sea
flota seaman, mariner
flōthere *m.* fleet, naval force **4** 296
flotweg *m.* sea-way, sea-journey
flōwan *red. v.* flow
flyge *m.* flight (of spear)
flygeþil *m.* flying arrow
flyht *m.* flight, flying
flyhð *v.* **flēon**
fōdorwela abundant food **22** 164
folc *n.* people; host, army
folccland *n.* land, country
folcmægen *n.* host, army
folcræðenn *f.* decree, law
folcricht *n.* popular right, tribal law **14** 351; people **19** 22 *n.*
folcsæl *n.* dwelling, house **22** 5
folcsceipe *m.* service to the people? **22** 164
folcstede *m.* meeting-place; battlefield
folcswēot *m.* host, army
folcgetæl *n.* number, total
folctoga leader, chief
folcwita councillor
foldbūend *m.* dweller on earth, man
folde *wk. f.* ground, earth, land
foldweg *m.* road
folgað *m.* body of retainers **9** 55; employment, service **3** 38 8 9
folgian follow up, pursue **4** 332; be in service or employment, take service **4** 162
folm *f.* hand
(ge)fōn *red. v.* grasp, seize; accept **4** 388; **fehð . . . tō** succeeds **11** 32
for, fore *prep.* (1) *w. d.* (a) in front of, before, (b) on account of, owing to; (2) *w. a.* in place of, for, as **7** 21 **21** 64 *etc.*
foran *adv.* in front

forbærnan burn up
forberstan 3 burst, be shattered
forblegan cause to bow, humble **1** 48 2 26
forbiernan 3 burn away, be consumed **14** 367
forborn *v.* **forbiernan**
forbūgan 2 evade, flee from
ford *m.* ford
fordrifa 1 drive out of one's course, wreck
foregenga guide
foresnottor *adj.* very wise
foreweall *m.* rampart
forgiefan 5 give; grant, vouchsafe, bestow
forgieldan 3 pay, repay; buy off **16** 32
forgleman neglect
forgietan 5 forget
forgrindan 3 destroy
forhabban restrain
forhealdan *red. v.* treat badly, defy
forheard *adj.* very sharp
forhēawan *red. v.* cut down, slay
forhogode *v.* **forhyrgan**
forht *adj.* afraid, frightened
forhtian be afraid
forhtmōd *adj.* afraid, alarmed
forhyrgan despise, disdain
forlēdan lead astray, lead to destruction
forlētan *red. v.* let, allow; let go, abandon
forlēosan 2 lose
forma *adj.* first; foremost **16** 77
formanig *adj.* very many **16** 239
forniman 4 remove, destroy
forsacan 6 *w. d.* renounce
forscrifa 1 proscribe, condemn
forseclfan 2 drive off, avert **19** 204
forsittan 5 fail, fade **11** 44
forspildan ruin
forst *m.* frost
forstandan 6 guard, defend; help
forswelgan 3 swallow, swallow up
forsweorcan 3 grow dark
forswerian 6 *w. d.* forswear, renounce
fortēon 2 lead astray
fortyldan seduce
forð *adv.* forward, onward, forth, along, away; continually, all the time **1** 43 **15** 20 **16** 209, 269 **19** 448 **21** 252; in succession **4** 59; *time* in the future **14** 70; **forð heonan** hitherto **19** 287 *n.*
forþæm *conj.* because

forðgang *m.* advance
 forðgeorn *adj.* eager to advance
 forðhere *m.* advancing army? van? 19 225
 forðian achieve, accomplish
 forþolian be without, forego
 forþon *adv.* therefore; forþon þe because
 forþringan 3 overwhelm
 forþryccan crush, repress
 forðgesceaft *f.* the future
 forðgesiene *adj.* visible, manifest
 forðslō *m.* departure
 forðspell *n.* declaration, utterance
 forðweg *m.* onward march, advance; departure 19 32; death 6 81
 forwegan 5 carry off, kill
 forwiernan reject, refuse 4 202
 forwrecan 5 drive away, banish
 forwritan 1 cut through
 fōt *m.* foot
 fōtmæl *n.* foot-mark, foot's length
 fracoð *n.* base conduct, treachery
 gefræge *n.* in phrase mine gefræge as I have heard
 gefræge *adj.* famous 4 55; well-known, notorious 4 311
 gefrægen *v.* fricgan
 fræt *adj.* defiant, perverse 12 48
 frætwa *f.pl.* adornments, beauties; trappings, armour, gear
 frætwan adorn; caparison 23 6
 fram (1) *adv.* away 14 136, 299 16 317; (2) *prep. w. d.* from, away from; concerning 4 65 14 34, 83, 308
 fram *adj.* vigorous, active, bold; valuable 4 21
 framcynn *n.* origin
 framlice *adv.* vigorously
 framslō *m.* departure
 framweard *adj.* about to depart
 franca spear, javelin
 frēa lord, chief, king; the Lord
 frēadryhten *m.* lord, chieftain
 frēawine *m.* dear lord
 frēawrāsen *f.* splendid chain
 freca bold warrior 19 217
 frēcne (1) *adj.* dangerous; fierce, cruel; terrible; defiant, desperate; (2) *adv.* defiantly, desperately 14 613; perilously 19 457; terribly, with deadly effect 19 38
 frēfran comfort
 frem(e)de *adj.* strange, foreign, alien
 (ge)fremman perform, effect, achieve, do, make, commit; further, aid 5 10;

plan 19 146; entertain, keep up 9 36; w. d. help 21 128
 frēo *adj. used as n.* noble or beloved child *g.pl.* 22 123
 frēobearn *n.* noble child or son
 frēobrōðor *m.* noble brother
 frēod *f.* peace, good-will, friendship
 frēogan love 14 444 21 188
 frēolic *adj.* noble; beautiful 21 100
 frēolice *adv.* nobly
 freom *adj.* vigorous, active
 frēomæg *m.* (noble) kinsman
 frēond *m.* friend
 frēondlaðu *f.* friendly invitation
 frēondlēas *adj.* friendless
 frēondliceor *compar. adv.* in more friendly fashion
 frēondscipe *m.* friendship
 frēorig *adj.* cold
 freoðo *v.* frið
 fretan 5 devour, destroy
 fricgan 5 hear of 1 17 4 420 19 1
 friclan seek, look for
 Frieswæl *n.* slaughter of or by Frisians
 friga *f.pl.* love 3 15
 gefrigen *v.* fricgan
 frignan 3 inquire
 gefrignan 3 hear, hear of; hear
 frið *n.* peace; protection
 friðian protect 23 40
 friðuburh *f.* fortified town or castle
 friðuwär *f.* treaty of peace; covenant
 friðuwang *m.* plain of peace or truce
 friðuwebbe *wk. f.* peace-weaver, lady
 frōd *adj.* old; wise
 frōdian be wise
 frōfor *f.* comfort, consolation
 from *v.* fram *adj.*
 fruma beginning 20 12; chief, lord 1 90
 frumbearn *n.* first-born child or son
 frumcynn *n.* origin
 frumsceaft *f.* origin, beginning; Creation 19 274
 frumstaðol *m.* original position
 gefrūnon, gefrūnen *v.* frignan
 frymdig *adj.* desirous 16 179
 frymð *f.* origin, beginning
 frýnd *v.* frēond
 fugol *m.* bird
 fugolbana fowler
 full *n.* cup; hollow, basin 4 432 22 53
 full (1) *adj.* full; (2) *adv.* fully, quite, very
 fullæst *f.* help, support
 fullæstan help
 fultum *m.* help

fundian be anxious or eager **12 16 22**
139; be eager or ready to depart
4 197 7 47

furðor *compar. adv.* further forward,
more in front; to a greater degree
21 100

furðum *adv.* first, for the first time

fús *adj.* eager, eager to go, hastening

fúslic *adj.* inspiring, stirring

fyl *v.* fiell

fylle, gefylled *v.* fiellan

fyllo *f.* abundance, good cheer, feast
14 64, 499

fylstan help

fýnd *v.* fēond

fýr *n.* fire

fýra *v.* fíras

fýrbend *m.* forged band or fastening

fýrd *v.* fíerd

fýrdraca fire-breathing dragon

fýren *adj.* fiery **19 120**; on fire **5 37**

fyrene *v.* firen

fyrgenstrēam *v.* fiergenstrēam

fyrmost *superl. adj.* foremost, first

fýrn- *v.* fírn-

fýrst *v.* first

fýrwielm *m.* jet or spurt of flame

fýsan hasten, hurry **19 221 20 130**;
hurl, dart **16 269**; arouse, make
ready **14 304 19 54**; inspire **14 492**

gād *n.* lack, want

gædeling *m.* attendant, companion

gælsa wantonness, pride

gærs *n.* grass

gæst *v.* gāst

gæst *v.* giest **22 114**

gæstlic *adj.* appalling, terrible

gafol *n.* tax, tribute

galan 6 sing

gambe *wk. f.* tribute

gamen *n.* amusement, entertainment,
sport, delight; power of entertaining
or amusing **21 148**

gamenwāð *f.* pleasant excursion

gamenwudu *m.* 'wood for entertaining,'
harp

gamol *adj.* old

gamolfeax *adj.* grey or white-headed

gān *athem. v.* go

gegān *athem. v.* come to pass **13 5**;
engage in **14 589**; advance upon,
attack **4 298**

gang *m.* passage, course **14 243 20 41**
23 7; *pl.* **20 117**

gang *pst. ind.* of gangan **14 494**

gangan *red. v.* go, proceed, march

gegangan *red. v.* come to pass **13 1**,
10 **14 204**; bring to pass **4 83**; come
by, win **16 59**

ganot *m.* gannet (sea-bird)

gār *m.* javelin

gārbēam *m.* shaft of javelin

gārberend *m.* warrior

gārcēne *adj.* warlike, bold

gārcwealm *m.* slaughter by the spear

gārfaru *f.* moving host of spears **19**
343; flight of javelins **20 64**

gārheap *m.* troop, battalion

gārmitting *f.* 'spear-meeting,' battle

gārræs *m.* 'spear-rush,' attack

gārsecg *m.* high sea, ocean

gārwiga warrior

gārwudu *m.* spear

gāst *m.* spirit, soul; life **22 91 22 45 n.**

gāstbana destroyer of souls, devil

gāstberend *m.* 'soul-bearer,' mortal

ge *conj.* and; **ge . . . ge** both . . . and
14 543; **ge swylce** yea, also **11 73**

gē *pron. pl.* you

gēac *m.* cuckoo **7 53 9 40**

geador *adv.* together

geaf, geāfon *v.* giefan

gealdor *n.* incantation, spell, charm
12 6 18 42; blast (of trumpet) **4 343**

gealdorword *n.* incantation, magic
formula

gealga gallows, gibbet

gealgtreow *n.* gallows-tree, gibbet

gēap *adj.* curving, arched **13 33**;
rounded, convex? **21 23**

gēapneb *adj.* with rounded front (of a
corslet)

gēapscipe *m.* crookedness, cunning
23 11

gēar *n.* year

gēara *adv.* long ago **6 22 14 359 20 127**

geard *m.* dwelling

gēardagas *m. pl.* days of old

gearo *adj.* ready, prepared

gearobrygd *f.* quick movement

gearolice *adv.* fully, clearly

gearowe *v.* gearo

gearowyrdig *adj.* ready of speech

gēarrīm *n.* number of years

gearu *v.* gearo

gear(w)e *adv.* fully, thoroughly, clearly,
well

gearwian make ready, prepare; be
ready **23 36**

gearwost *superl. adv.* quite clearly,
with full certainty

geat *n.* gate
 geatolic *adj.* splendidly made or arrayed
 geatwa *f. pl.* accoutrements, ornaments, equipment, armour
 gegnþað *m.* hostile path, way of attack
 gegnum *adv.* straight ahead, forward
 gellende *v.* giellan
 gelpan *v.* gielpan
 gēn *adv.* still, yet, as yet
 gengan *go*, proceed
 genge *adj.* prevalent, usual **21 68**
 geō *adv.* formerly, of old
 geōc *f.* help, consolation, comfort
 geōcor *adj.* wretched, pitiable
 geofon *n.* sea, ocean
 geofum, geofona *v.* giefu
 geogoð *f.* youth; younger warriors **14 483**
 geogoðcnōsl *n.* young family
 geogoðfeorh *n.* period of youth
 geogoðhād *m.* youth
 geōlēan *n.* reward for past service **2 39**
 geolo *adj.* yellow
 geōmann *m.* man of old **18 42**
 geōmēowle *wk. f.* old wife or widow **4 330 14 418 18 42**
 geōmor *adj.* sad, despondent, gloomy
 geōmorgiedd *n.* song of sorrow, dirge
 geōmorlic *adj.* sad, depressing
 geōmormōd *adj.* sad of heart, gloomy
 geōmrian *lament*, grieve
 geond *prep. w. a.* over, throughout
 geondbrædan *spread over*, cover
 geondferan *pass over*, travel through
 geondhweorfan *3 pass over*, travel through
 geondscēawian *scan*, survey
 geondþencan *reflect on*, ponder over
 geong *adj.* young
 geongra **21 68 v.** genge
 georn *adj.* desirous, eager
 georne *adv.* earnestly, eagerly; zealously, loyally **19 177; clearly 16 84**
 geornful *adj.* eager, zealous
 geornlice *adv.* eagerly, zealously
 geornost *superl. adv.* most zealously
 geōsceaft *f.* destiny
 geōtan *2 pour 14 612; drain away*, fail **21 220**
 geōwine *m.* friend or lord of earlier days **7 92**
 gēr *v.* gēar
 gest *v.* giest
 gētan *v.* giētan
 giedd *n.* song, lay; dirge **4 178; speech 21 221; poem 22 225**

gieddian *make a speech*, speak
 giefan *5 give*
 giefæst *adj.* abundant **23 25; talented, endowed 21 102**
 giefn *n.* morsel, bit of food
 giefstōl *m.* gift-throne; royal bounty **6 44**
 giefu *f. and wk. f.* gift; talent, faculty
 giēldan *3 pay; pay for*, recompense
 giellan *3 scream 5 7 7 62; whistle (spear) 1 128; creak 22 158; roar 19 405; twang, buzz 23 25*
 gielp *m.* boasting, pride, vainglory **19 370 21 166, 171; reputation, prestige, credit, fame, glory 6 69 11 26 19 430 21 220**
 gielpān *3 w. g.* boast
 gielphlāden *adj.* famous
 gielpplega 'glory-sport,' battle
 gielpword *n.* boastful word
 giēman *w. g.* pay heed, care or trouble about
 gierdwite *n.* punishment with rod, chastisement
 (ge)gierwan *prepare, fit out 4 38 14 405, 568; adorn 2 39 14 55, 513, 549; train, foster 13 8*
 giest *m.* stranger, visitor, guest; visitant, creature **14 280**
 giet *adv.* still, yet, as yet
 giēta *v.* giet
 giētan *slay, destroy 4 339 n.*
 gif *conj.* if
 gife **10 1 v.** giefan
 gife **21 49 v.** giefu
 gifen *v.* geofon **14 612**
 gifena *v.* giefu
 gifeðe *adj.* given, granted
 giffæst *v.* giefæst
 gifre *adj.* greedy, eager; *superl.* **4 183 20 96**
 gīgant *m.* giant
 gimm *m.* gem, jewel
 ginn *adj.* spacious, extensive
 gīoce *v.* geōc
 giofan *v.* giefan **4 371**
 giōmor- *v.* geōmor-
 giōng *v.* geong
 gegirwan, gegiredan *v.* gierwan
 gīsl *m.* hostage
 gist *v.* giest
 git *pron.* you two, both of you
 gītsian *be greedy, covet*
 gladian *glitter, glisten*
 glæd *adj.* prosperous, happy
 glæd *n.* joyousness **13 68**
 glædlic *adj.* shining, goodly **1 66**

glæm *m.* brightness, splendour
 glêaw *adj.* *often w. g.* wise, shrewd, clever, skilled
 glêd *f.* live coal, flame
 glengan *adorn*
 glêo- *v.* gliw-
 glidan *i* glide
 glisian *glisten* 23 35
 gliw *n.* music, melody 23 3
 gliwbêam *m.* 'music-wood,' harp 11 78 21 116
 gliwdæd *f.* amusing action, entertainment 21 149
 gliwmann *m.* gleeman, minstrel 1 136
 gliwstæf *m.* song? joy? 6 52
 glôf *f.* glove
 gnorn *adj.* sorrowful, sad *superl.* 19 370
 gnornian *grieve, be sorrowful*
 God *m.* God
 gôd *adj.* good, noble; generous, liberal 1 114 7 40 14 461
 gôd *n.* good, goodness; good thing, blessing, generosity, liberality 1 89 4 20, 112
 gôdian *be prosperous; gôdade wealth came* 23 32
 godwebb *n.* fine cloth or tissue
 gold *n.* gold
 goldgiefa 'gold-giver,' lord, chief
 goldhilted *adj.* with golden or gilded hilt
 goldhladen *adj.* adorned with gold
 goldhord *m.* treasury, store
 goldhroden *adj.* adorned with gold
 goldsele *m.* hall where gold is given
 goldsmiðu *f.* goldsmith's work or art
 goldwine *m.* 'gold-friend,' lord, king
 grædig *adj.* greedy
 græf *n.* grave
 græg *adj.* grey
 græghama *adj.* grey-coated
 grægmael *adj.* with (steel-)grey blade? 14 377
 græs *v.* gærs
 gram *adj.* fierce, hostile
 gramhygdig *adj.* bad-tempered, un-amiabie 11 26
 grâp *f.* grasp, clutch
 gremian *enrage, provoke*
 grêne *adj.* green
 grêot *n.* earth, ground
 grêtan *greet, welcome; touch, strike* 4 125 21 115; face, enter upon 19 44; address 21 194; pierce, penetrate 14 185
 grîmhelm *m.* helmet with front-plate or visor

grimm *adj.* fierce, savage; stern, pitiless
 gegrind *n.* grinding together, clash
 grindan 3 grind 22 158; sharpen 16 109
 gripe *m.* grip, grasp; attack
 grið *n.* peace, truce
 grund *m.* plain, land; bottom, depths
 grundfûs *adj.* hastening to perdition
 grundwang *m.* ground, position
 gryre *m.* horror, terror
 gryrefâg *adj.* with horrible markings
 gryregeatwa *f.pl.* formidable accoutrements or arms
 gryregiest *m.* horrible visitant
 gryrelêoð *n.* terrible cry or sound
 gryrelic *adj.* terrible, awe-inspiring
 gryresfô *m.* terrible adventure
 guldán *v.* gieldan
 guma *man, warrior*
 gumcyst *f.* virtue, excellence
 gumfêða *troop, company*
 gummann *m.* man, warrior
 gumstôl *m.* throne, royal seat
 gumþegn *m.* man
 gûð *f.* battle, fight; warlike spirit 14 492
 gûðbill *n.* sword
 gûðbyrne *wk. f.* corslet
 gûðcýning *m.* warlike king
 gûðcyst *f.* war-band, troop
 gûðdêað *m.* death in battle
 gûðfremmend *m.* warrior
 gûðhafoc *m.* war-hawk, eagle
 gûðhelm *m.* battle-helmet
 gûðhorn *n.* war-horn, trumpet
 gûðhrêo *adj.* fierce in battle
 gûðhrêoð *m.* glory in war
 gûðhring *m.* 'battle-ring,' spiral (of smoke)
 gûðmierce *m.pl.* hostile borderers? 19 59
 gûðgemôt *n.* conflict, battle
 gûðplega 'battle-play,' fighting
 gûðræs *m.* attack, fight
 gûðrêouw *v.* gûðhrêo
 gûðrinc *m.* warrior
 gûðsearo *n.* war-gear, armour
 gûðþrêat *m.* war-band, troop
 gûðweard *m.* 'war-defender,' king
 gûðwudu *m.* spear or shield
 gyd *v.* giedd
 gyddode *v.* gieddian
 gyf *v.* gif
 gyfan *v.* giefan
 gyfeðe *v.* gifeðe
 gyldan *v.* gieldan
 gylden *adj.* of gold, golden, gilded
 gylleð *v.* giellan

gylp *v.* gielp
 gýman *v.* gíeman
 gyrðan *gird* (with sword) 5 14
 gyrðwite *v.* gierdwite
 gegyreðe *v.* gierwan
 gyrr *n.* trouble, worry 22 10
 gyrrwacu *f.* revenge, vengeance
 gegyrwæd *v.* gierwan
 gýsl *v.* gísl
 gystas *v.* giest
 gýt *v.* giet
 gýtsað *v.* gítsian

 habban *have, hold*
 hād *m.* position, office 23 15; form, shape 14 550 22 12; fashion, manner? 20 107 *n.*
 hæf *n.* sea
 hæfeces *v.* hafoc
 hæft *m.* captivity 19 470 20 47; captive, prisoner 14 173
 hæftmēce *m.* long-handled sword
 hæfnlæd *f.* close captivity
 hægl *v.* hagol
 hægstæld *v.* hagosteald
 hæle *m.* man, warrior
 hæleand *m.* Saviour
 hæleð *m.* man, warrior
 hælo *f.* prosperity, good fortune 14 101
 hær *n.* hair
 hærfest *m.* autumn
 hærgtrafum *v.* heargtræf
 hærran *v.* hearra
 hæs *f.* command
 hæst *f.* violence, fury
 hæð *n.* waste ground, heath
 hæðen *adj.* heathen
 hæðstapa 'heath-ranger'; stag 14 229; wolf 13 13
 hæwen *adj.* blue
 hafa, hafu *v.* habban
 hafela *head*
 hafenian *swing, brandish*
 hafoc *m.* hawk
 haga *stockade, fort*
 hagol *m.* hail
 hagolfaru *f.* hailstorm
 hagosteald *m.* young retainer, warrior
 hāl *adj.* whole, uninjured
 hālga *v.* hālig
 hālig *adj.* holy
 hals *v.* heals
 hām *m.* homestead, home, house
 hāmlēas *adj.* homeless
 hamor *m.* hammer

hāmweorðung *f.* ornament or distinction for a home
 hand *f.* hand; side, direction 16 112 18 60
 handbana *slayer*
 handlēan *v.* andlēan
 handlocen *adj.* linked or fastened together by hand
 handgemōt *n.* 'hand-meeting,' fight
 handplega 'hand-play,' fighting
 handrōf *adj.* strong or brave in fight
 handgestealla *comrade, retainer*
 hand(ge)weorc *n.* handiwork
 handgewriðen *adj.* twisted by hand
 gehange *adj.* situated, conditioned? 23 42
 hangian *hang (intrans.)*
 hār *adj.* light-grey, whitish; grey-headed
 haso *adj.* light brownish grey, tawny
 hasopada *the grey-coated one, eagle*
 haswe *v.* haso
 hāt *adj.* hot, burning, fiery; *compar.*
 hātran *warmer, more invigorating* 7 64
 hāt *n.* heat 14 348 19 78
 hātan *red. v.* (a) command, order, (b) call, name *freq. in p.p.*
 gehātan *red. v.* promise; threaten 4 336
 hātheort *adj.* hot-tempered, irascible
 hatian *hate*
 hātte *pass. of hātan* be called or named
 hātweode *adj.* hot, sultry
 hē *pron.* he; it
 hēa *v.* hēah
 hēaburh *v.* hēahburg
 hēaf *m.* lamentation
 hēafde *v.* hēafod
 heafo *v.* hæf
 heafoc *v.* hafoc
 hēafod *n.* head
 hēafodbeorg *f.* protection of the head
 hēafodmæg *m.* near relation
 hēafodslen *f.* eyes or face 13 36
 heafola *v.* hafela
 hēah (1) *adj.* high; grand, noble 4 57 22 10 23 15; deep 6 82 7 34 21 263; (2) *adv.* high 4 48
 hēahburg *f.* chief town
 hēahcræft *m.* high or noble skill
 hēahcýning *m.* over-king, suzerain
 hēahfæder *m.* patriarch
 hēahfæst *adj.* supreme
 hēahfrēa *supreme lord*
 hēahhæf *n.* deep sea
 hēahlufe *wk. f.* perfect love
 hēahsetl *n.* high seat, throne

hēah*timber* *n.* high building
hēah*þegnung* *f.* high service
hēah*ðū* *v.* **hīeh***ðo*
hēah*pungen* *adj.* distinguished, noble
hēahum *v.* **hēah
 (ge)**healdan** *red. v.* hold, hold fast, hold to, keep, preserve, guard, maintain; possess, occupy; observe
healf *f.* side; **be healf*e* beside
healf *adj.* half **4** 147
hēal*ice* *adv.* in a high degree
**heall *f.* hall
heall*gamen* *n.* hall-mirth, entertainment
heall*þegn* *m.* hall-thane, official
**heals *m.* neck
heals*bēag* *m.* necklace, collar
heals*gebedda* *m. f.* bed-fellow, spouse
heals*weorðung* *f.* neck-ornament, neck-lace, collar
hēan **13** 21 *v.* **hēah**
hēan *adj.* lowly, humble **22** 84, 167, 191; depressed, despondent **6** 23; abased, humiliated **20** 52
hēan*lic* *adj.* humiliating, ignominious
hēanne **23** 15 *v.* **hēah**
hēans*pēdigra* *compar. adj.* more lowly, less successful **21** 92
hēap *m.* band, company
heard *adj.* hard, tough, firm; *of swords* sharp, keen; *of warriors* bold, strong, fierce; *of fighting etc.* stern, bitter, fierce; *used absol.* ? hard lot **8** 15 *n.*
hearde *adv.* strongly, vigorously **14** 277; deeply, sorely **14** 421
heard*hygend* *adj.* strong or bold of purpose
heard*lice* *adv.* strenuously, boldly **16** 261; cruelly, bitterly, **20** 47
heards*ælig* *adj.* unlucky, unhappy
heards*weord* *n.* sharp sword
hearg *m.* heathen temple **18** 51
hearg*træf* *n.* heathen temple **18** 27
hearm *m.* affliction, grief
hearm*dæg* *m.* day of grief
hearm*scaða* dangerous foe
hearpe *wk. f.* harp
hearra lord, chief **16** 204
heað*orian* confine
heað*byrne* *wk. f.* corslet
heað*ðeor* *adj.* brave in battle
heað*offyr* *n.* fire
heað*geong* *adj.* young in war
heað*grimm* *adj.* fierce in fight or attack
heað*lāc* *n.* 'battle-sport,' fighting
heað*olind* *f.* 'battle-linden' (wood), shield********

heað*olifend* *m.* warlike seamen, sea-borne warriors
heað*oræs* *m.* 'battle-rush,' onslaught, attack
heað*orinc* *m.* warrior
heað*orof* *adj.* bold or brave in war
heað*ostēap* *adj.* towering, lofty
heað*oswāt* *m.* blood shed in battle
heað*osweng* *m.* (sword)stroke
heað*otorht* *adj.* 'battle-clear,' ringing and defiant
heað*owæd* *f.* 'battle-dress,' armour
heað*owērig* *adj.* weary of fighting, exhausted
heað*owielm* *m.* 'battle-boiling,' hostile thought or impulse **19** 148
hēaum *v.* **hēah
hēawan *red. v.* cut, cut down
heben **17** 6 *v.* **heofon**
hebban 6 raise, lift
hēdan *w. g.* pay attention to, heed **14** 392 **19** 470
geh*ēdde* *v.* **geh***egan* **14** 7
**hefig *adj.* heavy; severe
geh*egan* venture on, risk
heht *v.* **hātan
**hell *f.* hell
hell*bend* *m. f.* hell-bond, captivity in hell
hells*caða* hellish-destroyer, fiend
hell*ware* *f. pl.* denizens of hell, fiends
helm *m.* covering, canopy **22** 79; tree-top **22** 10; helmet *freq.*; protector, lord, king **4** 400 **11** 100 **14** 400 **18** 34 **20** 61
**help *f.* help
helpan 3 *w. g. or d.* help
helpend *m.* helper
gehende *adj.* close by, near **16** 294
hengest *m.* horse, steed
hēo *pron.* she
hēo *pron.* = **hīe** they **19** 146
hēofan 2 lament, grieve **14** 410
heofon *m.* sky, heavens, heaven
heofon*bēacen* *n.* beacon or sign in the sky
heofon*candel* *f.* heavenly candle, light in the sky
heofon*col* *n.* 'heaven-coal,' heat of the sun *pl.* **19** 71
heofon*rice* *n.* kingdom of heaven
heofon*torht* *adj.* heavenly bright
heolfor *n.* blood
heolstor *m.* covering **6** 23; covering of night, darkness **14** 137 **19** 115
heonan *adv.* hence; **forð** **heonan** hither-to **19** 287 *n.*
heora *v.* **hira************

heorot *m.* hart, stag **14** 230; *in Beo.*
Heorot, name of Hrothgar's hall
heorra *v.* hearra
geheort *adj.* cheerful, hearty **21** 265
heorte *wk. f.* heart, temper
hēoru *v.* hīere
heorudrync *m.* 'sword-drink,' sword-blow **4** 274 *n.*
heorufæðm *m.* hostile grasp, fighting
heoruhōciht *adj.* hooked, barbed
heorusierce *wk. f.* corslet
heoruswealwe *wk. f.* 'sword-swallow,' hawk
heoruword *n.* cutting word, bitter speech
heoruwulf *m.* 'sword-wolf,' fierce warrior
heorðgenēat *m.* 'hearth-sharer,' retainer
heorðwerod *n.* 'hearth-troop,' body of retainers
hēowun *v.* hēawan
hēr *adv.* here
hērcyme *m.* coming hither, advent
here *m.* army, host
herebleme *wk. f.* trumpet
hereblēað *adj.* cowardly
herecyst *f.* picked troop, battalion
hereflīema fugitive from army, deserter
herefugol *m.* 'army-bird,' carrion-bird
herereatwa *f.pl.* war-trappings, weapons, armour *etc.*
heregrīma helmet
herelāf *f.* remnant of an army
herenīð *m.* hostility
herepād *f.* 'army-coat,' corslet
hererēaf *n.* 'army-spoils,' booty
heresceorp *n.* 'army-dress,' armour
herestræl *m.* arrow
herestræt *f.* high-road
heretoga army-leader, captain
hereþreat *m.* company, troop, army
herewīsa army-leader, captain
herewōp *m.* shouting or clamour of an army
hergan, herigean, herge *v.* herian
herge, herges, heriges *v.* here
hergum **18** 51 *v.* hearg
herian praise
hēt *v.* hātan
hebe *m.* hate, hatred
hettend *m.* enemy
hiegan *v.* hycgan
gehīded *v.* hīdan
hider *adv.* hither
hīe, hī *pron.* they, them; her, it
hīehō *f.* height **20** 72

hīenan bring down, lay low **16** 324;
 oppress **20** 47; humiliate **16** 180
hīenō *f.* humiliation, ignominy **14** 423
19 323
 (ge)hīeran hear; *w. d.* obey **4** 10 **20**
82 **24** 14, 32
hīerde *m.* shepherd, guardian, guard;
 lord; sparing, economical **21** 221
hīerdan make bold, encourage **13** 74
hīere *adj.* safe from evil spirits, 'healthy'
14 233
hīertan hearten, embolden **14** 336
hīerwan despise, neglect **19** 307
hīg *v.* hīe **4** 145 **5** 42
hīge *v.* hyge
hīld *f.* war, battle
hīld *v.* hīld(o) **19** 455
hīldebill *n.* sword
hīldeblāc *adj.* 'battle-pale,' deadly pale
hīldebord *n.* shield
hīldebyrne *wk. f.* corslet
hīldecealla 'battle-shouter,' herald
hīldecyst *f.* 'battle-excellence,' bravery
hīldeðeor *adj.* brave in battle
hīldefrōfor *f.* 'battle-comfort,' sword
hīldegeatwa *f.pl.* 'battle-trapping,' suit of armour
hīldegiecel *m.* 'battle-icicle'; *d.pl.*
 like icicles **14** 600
hīldegrāp *f.* 'battle-grip,' grasp **14** 573;
 hostile clutch **14** 573
hīldehlemm *m.* shock of battle
hīldeleōma 'battle-light,' flash of fire **14**
326; sword **4** 203
hīldemæg *m.* warrior
hīldeþīl *m.* 'battle-spike,' sharp tooth
hīlderand *m.* shield
hīlderinc *m.* warrior
hīldesetl *n.* war-seat, saddle
hīldespeþ *n.* tidings of battle
hīldeswāt *m.* 'battle-moisture,' offensive vapour
hīldewāpen *n.* weapon
hīldewīsa war-leader, captain
hīldfreca bold fighter, champion
hīldfruma war-chief, leader
hīlt *f.* hilt
hīltecumbor *n.* 'staff-banner,' standard
 hīldeð having a hilt, hilted
hīm *pron. d.s. and pl.* him, it; them
hīndan *adv.* from behind
hīndema *superl. adj.* last, latest
hīnderhōc *m.* 'hook from behind,' trap, ambush
hīne *a.s. of hē* him, it; *freg. reflex.*
hīnfūs *adj.* anxious to depart

hingang *m.* going hence, death 17 12
hiniongæ *v.* hingang
hinsfō *m.* journey hence, death
hlo *v.* hēo
hlofende *v.* hēofan
hiora *v.* hira
hioru- *v.* heoru-
hira *pron.* of them, their
hire *pron. g.d.s. of* hēo
hfredmann *m.* household retainer
his *g.s. of* hē or hit
hit *pron.* it
hlw *n.* hue, colour
(ge)hladan 6 load, pile up 4 85 22 80,
 143; amass 20 67
hlæder *f.* ladder
hlæst *n.* load, burden
hlæw *m.* burial-mound, barrow
hlāford *m.* master, lord, chief, king
hlāfordlēas *adj.* lordless
hlāw *v.* hlæw
hleahtr *m.* laughter
hleahtorsmið *m.* 'laughter-smith,' enter-
 tainer, minstrel, etc.
hlēapan *red. v.* leap, jump; gallop
gehlēapan *red. v.* leap upon 16 189
hlehhān *v.* hliehhan
hlence *wk. f.* link; *pl.* corslet
hlēo(w) *n.* covering, cover 19 79; pro-
 tection, protector *freq.*
hlēoburg *f.* chief town
hlōdryhten *m.* protecting lord
hlēomæg *m.* protecting kinsman
hleonian *v.* hlinian
hlēor *n.* cheek
hlēotan 2 obtain by lot, receive as share,
 get
hlēoðor *n.* sound, voice, song
hlēoðrian speak
hliehhan 6 laugh
hlifian tower 23 30; hang high 19 89;
 stick out, stick up 22 108
hlirman resound, roar, rattle
hlin *v.* hlynn 22 7
hlin *m.* maple? *cf. Russ. klen* 22 220
hline *m.* sand-hill, ridge
hlinian lean 14 254
hlisa fame, ambition, vainglory
hlið *n.* hill-side, cliff
hlōdun *v.* hladan
hlōh *v.* hliehhan
hlōðgecrod *n.* 'massed troop,' mass of
 clouds
hlūd *adj.* loud
hlūde *adv.* loudly
gehlun *n.* loud sound, din 5 29

hlynn *m.* loud noise, din
hlynnan, hlynian resound, re-echo,
 roar, rattle
hlynsian resound, echo
hlystan listen
hnāgan bring low, humble
hnlgan 1 sink, come down
hnltan 1 knock together, collide
hof *n.* dwelling, apartment
hōf *v.* hebban
hogode *v.* hyegan
hōh *m.* heel; **on hōgum** by the heels,
 from behind 19 414
geholā protector 6 31
hold *adj.* gracious, kind; loyal, faithful
holdlice *adv.* loyally
holen *m.* holly 22 221
hōlinga *adv.* in vain, for nothing
holm *m.* sea, ocean
holmclyf *n.* sea-cliff
holmhlið *n.* sea-cliff
holmig *adj.* of the sea 19 118
holmweall *m.* sea-wall, wall of piled-up
 water
holt *n.* wood, forest
holtwudu *m.* wood, forest
hopehlnāst *n.* surge of waves in a cove
 or cleft
hord *n.m.* treasure-hoard
hordcofa 'treasure-chamber,' secret
 thoughts
hordmāðm *m.* treasure
hordweard *m.* guardian of treasure
 (dragon) 14 297, 336; lord, chief 19
 35, 427
hordwierðe *adj.* worth hoarding up 11
 60
horn *m.* horn, antler 14 230; peak of
 gable 5 1, 4; war-horn, trumpet 4
 342 14 262 19 192
hornsæl *n.* gabled hall 22 23
hors *n.* horse
horsc *adj.* wise, shrewd, clever
hoðma darkness
hræd *adj.* quick, hasty
hrædlice *adv.* quickly, speedily
hrædtæfle *adj.* quick at draughts or
 chess
hrædwyrde *adj.* quick or hasty of speech
hræfn *m.* raven
hrægl *n.* (war)dress, corslet
hræðe 14 276 *v.* hraðe
hræw *n.* corpse
hranfisc *m.* whale
hranrād *f.* 'whale-road,' sea 4 10
hraðe *adv.* quickly, soon

hraðor *compar. adv.* more quickly
hrāw *v.* hrēw
hrēam *m.* shouting, clamour
hrēas *v.* hrēosan
hreddan rescue
hrēfan roof, cover
hrefn *v.* hræfn
hrēman exult, boast
hrēmig *adj.* exulting **4** 254, 279 **15** 59
hremmas *v.* hræfn
hrēo **6** 16 *v.* hrēow
hrēodan 2 load, adorn **14** 507
hrēo(h) *adj.* violent, stormy **6** 105 **13** 15
14 50; agitated, fierce **14** 324
hrēopon *v.* hrōpan
hrēosan 2 fall, drop; collapse
hrēow *adj.* sad
hrēran stir up, agitate, shake
hrēð *m.* victory, glory
hrēðan exult, triumph
hrēðeadiġ *adj.* glorious, successful **21** 8,
103
hrēðer *m.* vital part **11** 22 **14** 336, 573
18 70; bosom, heart, mind, spirit
freq.
hrēðerglēaw *adj.* prudent, wise
hrēðerlocā bosom, breast
hrēðsigor *m.* victory
hrīm *m.* hoar-frost, rime, ice
hrīmceald *adj.* ice-cold
hrīmgiecel *m.* icicle
hrīmig frosty, icy **21** 6
hrīnan 1 touch **14** 104 **18** 43 **22** 192,
202; hurt **4** 375; seize **19** 414 **22** 132
hring *m.* ring, ring-ornament, link, etc.
hringan ring, jingle
hringboga 'coil-bender,' dragon
hringed *adj.* made of links **14** 541;
 gnarled, twisted **14** 224
hringedstefna boat with curving prow
hringīren *n.* steel links or rings (of
 corslet)
hringloca 'ring-enclosure,' corslet
hringmæl *n.* sword with ringlike pattern
hringsele *m.* 'ring-hall,' hall where
 rings are distributed
hringþegu *f.* receiving of rings
hrīsil *m.* shuttle
hrīð *f.* driving snow **6** 102
hrīðig *adj.* clogged with snowdrifts
broden *v.* hrēodan
hrōf *m.* roof; top, dome **14** 515
hronfixas *v.* hrantisc
hrōpan *red. v.* scream, howl
hrōr *adj.* vigorous, active
hrōðor *m.* joy, pleasure

hrung *f.* beam, rail, pole **22** 143
hruron *v.* hrēosan
hrūse *wk. f.* earth, ground
hrūtan 2 whirr, rattle
hrycg *m.* back
hryre *m.* fall; death, destruction
hryðge *v.* hrīðig
hū *adv. conj.* how
hulpan *v.* hwilpe
hund *m.* hound, dog
hund *num.* hundred
hungor *m.* hunger, famine
huntoð *m.* hunting
hupseax *n.* dagger
hūru *adv.* at all events, at any rate, at
 least, surely, indeed
hūs *n.* house
hwā, hwæt (1) *interrog. pron.* who,
 what; (2) *indef. pron.* someone, some-
 thing; anyone, anything **4** 70 **16** 71
21 243; a certain one **16** 2
gehwā *pron.* each; *freq. w. g. of sb.*
hwæl *m.* whale
hwælweg *m.* 'whale-path,' sea
hwæne *v.* hwā
hwænne *v.* hwonne
hwær *adv. conj.* where
gehwær *adv.* everywhere
hwæs *g. of hwā, hwæt*; to hwæs to
 what side **19** 192
hwæt *adj.* enterprising, keen, bold
hwæt *interj.* lo! oh! ah! listen!
hwæðer (1) *pron.* which (of two); (2)
conj. whether
gehwæðer *pron.* each (of two), both;
 either **14** 86
hwæð(e)re *adv.* nevertheless, however
hwane *a. of hwā*
hwate *v.* hwæt *adj.*
hwealf *f.* vault, dome
hwearfan turn, wheel **19** 159; change
23 36
hwearflic *adj.* succeeding one another?
5 35 *n.*
hwelc (1) *interrog. pron.* which, what;
 (2) *indef. pron.* any **4** 164; **swa**
hwylcum whomsoever **18** 47
gehwelc *pron.* each
hwelp *m.* young (of animal), child **10** 16
hwēne *adv.* somewhat, a little
hwēop *v.* hwōpan
gehweorf *adj.* versatile, smart **21** 134
hwearfan 3 turn, return, go; *indefinite*
motion move, move about, roam,
 range
gehwearfan 3 pass, come **4** 434 **14** 606

hwergen *adv.* **elles hwergen** elsewhere
 14 333
hwettan *prompt, urge on* 7 63 12 18
hwider *adv. conj.* whither
hwierfan *turn, twist* 22 101; *move*
 about 18 10
hwil *f.* space of time, while; **pā hwile**
pe as long as; **hwilum** at times
gehwile *v.* **gehwile**
hwilpe *wh. f.* sea-bird
hwinan *i* whine, whirr
hwit *adj.* white
hwon *inst. of* **hwā**; **tō hwon** for what
 end 7 43
hwōn *adv.* a few, but few 7 28
gehwone *v.* **gehwā**
hwonne *conj.* when, whenever 16 62 19
 387; until 19 250 22 114
hwōpan *red. v.* threaten
hworfan *v.* **hweorfan**
hwyder *v.* **hwider**
hwylc *v.* **hwele**
hwyrfeð *v.* **hwierfan**
hwyrft *m.* (room to) turn, course 19 210
hwyrftweg *m.* way of escape
hȳ *v.* **hīe**
hycgan *reflect, ponder, think, consider*;
 turn one's thoughts to, attend to;
 think out, plan, plot
hȳdan *hide*
gehygd *f.n.* thought, mind
hyge *m.* mind, thought; mood; inclina-
 tion; purpose, aim, resolve
hygecræftig *adj.* clever, skilled
hygedryht *MS. reading* 23 21 *perhaps*
error for **hlwgedryht** band of retainers
hygegāl *adj.* wanton, abandoned
hygegār *m.* 'mind-dart,' malicious trick
 12 34
hygegeōmor *adj.* gloomy, despondent
hygeþanc *m.* thought
hygeþyhtig *adj.* strong of purpose
hyht *m.f.* joyful hope
hyhtgiefu *f.* joyful gift
hyhtlic *adj.* causing joy, glorious
hyld(o) *f.* favour, protection; loyalty
hyll *m.f.* hill
hȳnan *v.* **hīenan**
hyne *v.* **hīne**
hȳnðo *v.* **hīenðo**
hyra *v.* **hīra**
hȳran *v.* **hīeran**
hyrde *v.* **hīerde**
gehyrdeð *v.* **hīerdan** 13 74
gehyrdon *v.* **hīerwan** 19 307
hyre *v.* **hīre**

hȳrnednebba 'with horny beak,' raven
hȳrst *f.* ornament; trappings, armour
(ge)hȳrstan *adorn, equip*
hȳrte *v.* **hīertan**
hyse *m.* young fighting man, warrior
hyt *v.* **hit**
hȳð *f.* landing-place
ic *pron.* I
icge? 4 167 *n.*
idel *adj.* deserted, empty
ides *f.* lady; woman; female
idlian *be neglected, come to nothing*
iecan *add to, increase* 21 260
ieg *f.* island 10 4, 6
iegland *n.* island 10 5 15 66
iegstrēam *m.* sea-waters, sea 14 79
ieldan *delay* 14 121
ielde *m.pl.* men
ield(o) *f.* old age 5 22 7 70, 91 11 13,
 43 13 60 21 50 21 268 *n.*
ieldra *compar. of* **eald** senior, chief 19
 141; *pl.* **ieldran** elders, parents 21
 190
ielsetu *f.* swan 7 19
ierfe *n.* inheritance, heritage 18 41
ierfeweard *m.* heir 11 91 19 142
iergð(o) *f.* slackness, cowardice 16 6
iermð(o) *f.* misery, hardship 8 3 19 265
 20 58
ierre (1) *n.* anger, wrath; (2) angry,
 furious
ierremōd *adj.* angry
ierringa *adv.* angrily 4 363 19 414
ieðan *lay waste, devastate*
ieðe *adj.* easy 14 329
ieðest *superl. adv.* most easily
ieðfynde *adj.* easily found, noticeable 19
 466
ieðgeslene *adj.* easily seen, noticeable
 4 170 14 540
iewan *show, exhibit, manifest* 4 4, 18 11
 15 20 32 22 49, 226
Ige *v.* **Ieg**
Igland *v.* **Iegland**
ilca *adj.* same 11 54
in (1) *adv.* in, inside; (2) *prep. w. d. or*
a. in; into; for 21 156
inc *d. or a. of* **git**
incer *g. of* **git**
indryhten *adj.* noble
indryhto *f.* noble trait
infrōd *adj.* very wise or old
inge? 19 190 *n.*
ingefolc *n.* inhabitant
ingemynd *n.f.* remembrance

inlende *adj.* from inland, from the natives
innan, inne (1) *adv.* inside, within; (2)
prep. w. d. 21 43

inngesteald *n.* household furniture

innoð *m.* interior 22 170

innwerod *n.* palace-guard, body of retainers

ingeþanc *n.m.* secret thoughts

inwidda treacherous man, deceitful foe

inwutfeng *m.* treacherous grasp

inwitflān *m.* 'treacherous arrow,' slander

inwitgāst *m.* treacherous or malicious spirit

inwitnið *m.* treacherous attack

inwitscear *m.* treacherous attack

inwitsearo *n.* treachery, malice

inwitsorg *f.* secret care or sorrow

inwitþanc *m.* treacherous intent

iðmēowle *v.* geðmēowle

iren (1) *n.* steel blade, sword; (2) *adj.*
 iron, steel 14 586

irenbend *m.f.* iron band or clamp

irenbyrne *wk. f.* iron corslet

irenheard *adj.* of hard iron

irenhere *m.* iron-armed troop 19 348

irenbrēat *m.* iron-clad troop

is 3 *s. prs. ind.* is

is *n.* ice 14 602

isgebind *n.* ice-bond

isceald *adj.* ice-cold

isern- *v.* iren-

isig *adj.* icy, ice-covered

isigfeðera *adj.* with ice-caked feathers

iū *v.* geō

iudisc of Judah 19 312

iūlēan *v.* geōlēan

iūmonna *v.* geōmann

iw *m.* yew

lāc *f.* gift 4 43 10 1

gelāc *n.* regular movement, 'tossing' 7 35.
 8 7 14 5, 25

lācan *red. v.* fly

lād *f.* journey, voyage 9 42 14 71 23 14

gelād *n.* road, track, course 14 240 19
 58, 313

(ge)lādan lead, bring

læg, læge *v.* licgan

lāndagas *m.pl.* fleeting days

lāne *adj.* transitory, 'fleeting, perishable

lāran teach, train, instruct

lærgedēfe *adj.* fit to be studied, appropriate

lærig *m.* ? border? strap? 16 284 *n.*,
 19 239

læs *v.* lesan

læs *adv.* less, fewer; **þy læs** *conj.* lest

læsest *superl. adj.* least 4 270

læssa *compar. adj.* less, smaller

læstan follow 19 308

(ge)læstan *v. a.* carry out, perform; *w. d.*
 help 4 24 14 194 16 11 19 244

lætan *red. v.* let, allow; let go, hurl 12 34

læthygdig *adj.* slow-witted 21 76

lāf *f.* what is left, remnant, survivor 4
 335 14 428 15 54; **tō lāfe** surviving

19 424; result 14 517 15 6; heirloom,
esp. sword freq.

lāgon *v.* licgan

lagu *m.* sea, waters

gelagu *n.pl.* expanse 7 64

lagufæðm *m.* embrace of waters

lagufiðd *m.* sea, ocean

lagulād *f.* sea-track, sea

lagustrēam *m.* waters, sea

lāh *v.* lēon

land *n.* land, country; ground

landbænd *m.* inhabitant, man

landfruma lord, king

landmann *m.* native

landriht *n.* privilege connected with land
 19 354; title to land, grant 3 40

landstede *m.* region, place

lang *adj.* long, long-lasting; tall 16 273

gelang *adj.* dependent (on) 8 45

lange *adv.* for a long time

langian long, yearn 8 14

langoð *m.* longing, heart-sickness 3 3 8
 41, 53

langgestrēon *n.* long possessed treasure

langsum *adj.* lasting, enduring

langung *f.* longing, heart-sickness

lār *f.* teaching, instruction, counsel;
 learning, study 20 107 21 161, 240

lārcwide *m.* precept, advice

lārēow *m.* teacher

lāst *m.* footstep, track 7 15 14 241 22
 190; **on lāste** surviving 6 97; **on lāst**

following, in the footsteps, in pursuit

lāstweard *m.* pursuer

lāstword *n.* surviving speech, memorial

lāttēow *m.* guide, leader

lāð *adj.* hateful, repulsive, distasteful,
 unwelcome; hating, hostile; *freq. used*
absol. = foe; *compar.* **lāðre** less pleas-
 ing 16 50

gelāð *m.* foeman 19 206

lāðbite *m.* wound

lāðlic *adj.* hateful, abominable

lāðslið *m.* hated journey

lāðgetēona foe

lāðgewinna foe

lēaf *n.* leaf
 lēan *n.* payment, reward, requital
 lēan 6 blame **14** 460
 lēas *adj. w. g.* lacking, without, destitute
 leax *m.* salmon
 lecgan lay, place; on lāst legdon pursued **15** 22
 lēf *adj.* infirm, weak **13** 18
 lēg *v.* lieg
 leger *n.* lying-place, tomb
 lencten *m.* spring-time
 leng *compar. adv.* longer
 langan remain, last **1** 99; *trans.* prolong **23** 12
 lengest *superl. adv.* longest
 lēod *m.* chief, king **4** 24 **5** 25 **14** 271, 294, 346, 487 **19** 277
 lēodan 2 grow up **13** 6
 lēodbealo *n.* injury to the people **4** 106
 lēodcynning *m.* king
 lēode *f.pl.* people, men, countrymen *freq.*
 lēodfruma leader, king
 lēodgeard *m.* dwelling of men
 lēodhata persecutor of the people, tyrant
 lēodhryre *m.* fall of a prince or king
 lēodmægen *n.* host, army
 lēodscaru *f.* nation
 lēodscada enemy or destroyer of the people
 lēodscipe *m.* people, community **14** 554; host, multitude **19** 244
 lēodweras *m.pl.* men
 lēodwerod *n.* army
 lēof *adj.* dear, beloved
 lēofast *superl. of* lēof
 leofað *v.* libban
 lēofic *adj.* amiable, beloved
 lēofwende *adj.* amiable
 leoht *adj.* agile, nimble **21** 150; ready **1** 72; gentle, kindly? **21** 271
 lēoht (1) *n.* light, brightness; (2) bright, brilliant; glorious, illustrious **20** 107 *n.*
 lēohtbære *adj.* bright, splendid
 lēohtian give light
 lēoma light, ray, luminary; eye **13** 17
 leomu *v.* lim
 lēon 1 lend **14** 583
 leornian study
 lēoð *n.* song
 lēoðcræftig *adj.* skilled in song
 lēoðode *v.* liðian
 leoðu- *v.* liðu-
 leoðu *v.* lið
 lesan 5 pick, cull **20** 99
 lēt *v.* lāetan

(ge)lettan hinder
 libban live; be him lif(i)gendum in his lifetime
 lic *n.* body
 gelle *adj.* like, resembling **14** 109, 602 **20** 132
 gelice *adv.* alike **20** 66
 licgan 5 lie, be lying, lie dead; slacken, flag **14** 526; grow calm **14** 414
 lichama body
 licsār *n.* wound
 licsierce *wk. f.* 'body-shirt,' corslet **14** 52
 licwund *f.* wound
 lid *n.* ship
 geliden *v.* liðan
 lidmann *m.* seaman, Dane
 gellefan believe; trust in; entrust **19** 442
 lieg *m.n.* flame
 liegfyr *n.* flaming fire
 liegð *f.* wave of flame
 liesan set free, release
 liexan shine, glitter
 lif *n.* life
 gelifað *v.* gellēfan
 lifdagas *m.pl.* days of life, life
 lifgedāl *n.* parting from life, death
 liffast *adj.* living
 liffrēa lord of life, God
 lif(i)gende *pres. p. of* libban
 lifgesceaft *f.* course of life, destiny
 lifwynn *f.* joy of life
 lig *v.* lieg
 ligetorne *v.* lygetorn
 ligeð *v.* ligcan
 ligge *v.* lieg
 lihtan alight **16** 23
 lim *n.* limb **2** 209 **13** 5; branch **18** 9 **23** 8
 gelimpan 3 come to pass, be realized
 lind *f.* shield of lime-tree wood, shield
 lindhæbbend *m.* 'shield-holder,' warrior
 lindplega 'play of shields,' battle
 lindwiga warrior
 linnan 3 desist, part (from)
 liss *f.* kindness, favour **19** 271; happiness, comfort **23** 8, 12
 list *m.f.* cunning, trick, device **14** 163 **21** 116
 listhendig *adj.* with clever hands, skilled, apt
 lið *n.* joint
 lið *v.* licgan
 liðan 1 depart
 liðe *adj.* gentle, gracious; *superl.* **14** 450

liðian be kind or gracious 23 40
liðucræft *m.* bodily skill or agility 20
112 21 95

liðufæst *adj.* firm, strong 21 161 *n.*

liðuwāc *adj.* supple of limb 21 150

lišan *v.* liexan

locc *m.* lock, hair 19 120

locen *p.p.* of lūcan closed, linked 4 394

lōcian look, gaze

geloden *v.* lēodan

lof *n.* praise, fame, glory

lofdæd *f.* praiseworthy or glorious deed

lofgeorn *adj.* desirous of praise or good report

lofsang *m.* song of praise, hymn

gelōme *adv.* frequently

long- *v.* lang-

losian vanish, disappear; escape

lūcan 2 close, shut; *pst.* barred the way 16 66

lufu *f.* (*wk.*) love

lungre *adv.* quickly, soon

lunnon *v.* linnan

lust *m.* desire; *d.pl.* eagerly, joyfully
9 38 20 112; delightfully 23 12; on
lust gladly 13 76 14 480

gelyfde *v.* gellefan

lyft *f.m.* air, atmosphere; sky

lyftedor *m.* air-barrier, air-gate 19
251 *n.*

lyfthelm *m.* 'air-cover,' atmosphere 21
46; mist? 19 60

lyftscādā aerial foe (raven)

lyftswift *adj.* darting through the air

lyftweg *m.* course through the air

lyftwundor *m.* marvel in the air or sky

lyge *m.* falsehood, lie 21 214

lygetorn *m.* unreal, *i.e.* causeless,
anger 4 103

lýsan *v.* liexan

lyt *adv.* freq. *w. g.* but little, but few;
often = not at all

lytel *adj.* small, little, only a little

lytelhygdig *adj.* fainthearted

lytigian practise deceit 16 86

lyttlian grow less

mā *compar. adv. freq. w. g.* more

mādma *v.* mādōm

gemæc *adj.* suitable, congenial

mæcg man, warrior

mæcti *v.* miht

mæg *v.* magan

mæg *m.* kinsman, near relative; son;
brother 4 315, 381; nephew 14 119,
140, 195; grandson 4 121

mægburg *f.* family, household 22 124;
hall, castle 13 62; tribe 19 352, 360;
army 19 55 *n.*

mægen *n.* strength, power; force, army

mægencyning *m.* mighty king (God)

mægendæd *f.* act requiring power, great
action

mægenēacen *adj.* mighty

mægenfultum *m.* powerful help

mægenhēap *m.* troop, battalion

mægenian grow strong, gain strength
23 33

mægenrōf *adj.* very strong, mighty

mægenstrengo *f.* strength, great force

mægenprēat *m.* troop, company

mægenþrymm *m.* mighty power

mægenwisa army-leader

mægnade *v.* mægenian

mægð *f.* tribe, clan, nation

mægwine *m.* dear kinsman, kinsman

mæl *n. gen. in pl.* definite time, occa-
sion, season

(ge)mælan speak

mænan make public; proclaim 1 55
4 209 9 17 14 455; mourn publicly
14 417, 439; inaugurate 4 127;
reprobate, censure? 13 57

gemænan defile? conspire? 4 161 *n.*

gemæne *adj.* held in common, shared
4 304

mænig *v.* manig

mænigo *v.* menig(e)o

gemæran declare? determine? 1 42

mære *adj.* famed, famous, glorious; ill-
famed, notorious 6 100 14 144 18 15

mæroð(o) *f.* fame, glory, prestige; famous
deed, prowess

mæst *m.* mast 4 36 21 24

mæst (1) *superl. adj.* greatest; (2) *adv.*
most

mæstrāp *m.* rope; *pl.* rigging

mæte *adj.* small; *superl.* 14 582

mæð *f.* due proportion; mæð wære
was fitting 16 195

mæðel *n.* meeting, assembly 21 107;
speech, address 19 255

mæðelheriend *m.* praiser in the as-
sembly, partisan 12 13 *n.*

mæðelstede *m.* place of assembly 16
199; battlefield 4 142

mæðlan *v.* mæðelian

mæw *m.* sea-mew

maga son, young man, man; creature
18 65

magan *pst. pres. v.* can, be able; may

māgas *v.* mæg

mago *v.* **maga**
magucyst *f.* excellence, excellent quality
maguræswa leader, chief
magurinc *m.* man, warrior
maguþegn *m.* thane
man *indef.* a man, one
geman *v.* **gemunan**
mān (1) *adj.* false, treacherous 19 149;
 (2) *n.* crime, outrage, sin
gemāna intercourse, joining 15 40
gemang *n.* mingling; in **gemonge** among
manian urge, prompt; exhort, encourage,
 admonish
manig *adj.* many
mann *m.* man
manna man
manncynn *n.* mankind
manddryhten *m.* liege lord, master
mannþwære *adj.* kindly, friendly;
superl. 14 449
mānscaða treacherous or wicked foe
māra *compar. adj.* greater, larger
māðelian speak
māðm, **māððum** *m.* valuable object,
 treasure, jewel; sword
māðmgiefa treasure-giver, lord
māðmsweord *n.* valuable sword
mē *d. of ic* me, to me
meaht *v.* **miht**
meahte *v.* **magan**
meahtig *v.* **mihtig**
mēar, **mēare** *v.* **mearh**
mearc *f.* limit 2 19; **tō mearce** limit or
 end of life 4 403; boundary 1 42;
 marches, desert land 19 158
mearchof *n.* dwelling in the marches or
 wilderness
mearcian mark; engrave 14 617; mark
 out, impose 13 53
mearccland *n.* march-land, edge of
 desert 19 67; sea-coast 22 38
mearcstapa roamer of the waste
mearcþræt *m.* band of march-dwellers,
i.e. Egyptians 19 173
mearcweard *m.* guardian of the marches
 or desert
mearh, **mearg** *m.* horse
mearn *v.* **murnan**
mec *a. of ic* me
mēce *m.* sword
mēdrencynn *n.* maternal descent
medspēdig *adj.* of medium wealth,
 poor
medu *m.* mead
medubenc *f.* mead-bench
meduburg *f.* mead-town, castle

medudrēam *m.* mead-joy, revelry
medudrynce *m.* mead-drinking
medufull *n.* mead-cup
medugāl *m.* uncontrolled through mead-
 drinking, besotted
meduheall *f.* mead-hall
medusetl *n.* mead-seat, dwelling
mehte *v.* **magan**
melan 3 melt away, dissolve, be con-
 sumed
men *v.* **mann**
mene *m.* necklace, collar 4 423
mengan mix, mingle, stir up
mengo *v.* **menig(e)o**
menig(e)o *f.* multitude, host, company
menio *v.* **menig(e)o**
meodo- *v.* **medu-**
meorringa *v.* **mierring**
meotud *v.* **metod**
mēowle *wk. f.* woman, maiden
merce *v.* **mearc**
mere *m.* lake, mere; sea
meredēað *m.* 'sea-death,' death-bringing
 sea 19 380, 428
meredēor *n.* sea-beast
merefara seafarer
merefaroð *m.* sea-surge, breaker
merefisc *m.* sea-fish 14 51
mereflōd *m.* sea-waters, sea
meregrund *m.* bottom of the pool or
 lake
merewearf *m.* sea-shore
merelād *f.* sea-path, voyage
merestrāt *f.* sea-road
merestrēam *m.* sea-current, sea
merestrenge *f.* power of swimming
meretorht *adj.* gleaming over the sea
meretorr *m.* 'sea-tower,' towering sea
merewērig *adj.* weary of, exhausted by
 the sea 7 12
mergenne *v.* **morgen**
mersc *m.* marsh, wet ground
gemet (1) *n.* moderation, restraint 13 52
 21 91; moderate force 14 161; (2)
adj. fitting, proper 18 47, 61
metan 5 measure; measure out, mark
 out 19 92
(ge)mētan meet, meet with; attack
metellist *f.* lack of food 10 15
gemetlic *adj.* moderate, temperate
meteþegn *m.* commissariat officer? 19
 131 *n.*
metod *m.* what is measured out, fate,
 destiny 2 19; *freq. used of God*, Lord
metod(ge)sceaft *f.* fate, destiny
mētte *v.* **mētan**

mæðel- *v.* **mæðel-**

mid *prep. w. d. or a.* with *in various senses*: in company with, together with; among; by means of

micel *adj.* great, large; **miceles** *adv.* greatly 19 143

micle *adv. w. compar.* much, far

middangeard *m.* earth, world

midde *adj.* middle, mid- 19 37, 168

midde *wk. f.* middle 14 400 22 163

mierce *adj.* dark, gloomy 14 244

mierring *f.* obstacle 19 62 *n.*

miht *f.* power, might

mihte *v.* **magan**

mihtig *adj.* mighty

mihtmōd *n.* thoughts of violence, anger

milde *adj.* gentle, kind, merciful

milgearn *n.* distance measured in miles

milpæð *m.* mile-path, course measured in miles

milts *f.* kindness, favour, mercy

min *pron.* of me, me; my

mine 23 33 *v.* **myne**

minsian grow less, diminish

missenlic, mislic *adj.* various

missenlice *adv.* variously

misthlið *n.* mist-clad slope

gemittan meet, meet with

mīðan 1 conceal, dissemble

mōd *n.* mind, thoughts; heart, frame of mind, mood, temper; spirit, bravery, courage; anger, fury; pride, arrogance

modcaru *f.* anxiety, care, sorrow 8 40, 51 14 417

mōdcarig *adj.* sorrowful

mōdcraeftig *adj.* skilled, clever

mōdgast *superl. of mōdig*

mōdgian show spirit 19 31; rage, grow fierce 19 374

mōdgidanc *v.* **mōdgeþanc**

mōdhēap *m.* gallant band

mōdhwæt *adj.* eager, strenuous 19 124

mōdig *adj.* high-spirited, gallant, brave; fierce, angry

mōdiglice *adv.* bravely, proudly 16 200

mōdlēof *adj.* dear, beloved

mōdlufu *f. (wk.)* love

mōdor *f.* mother

mōdsefa mind, thoughts; heart, spirit

mōdsnottor *adj.* wise, clever; *compar.* 21 107

mōdgeþanc *m.* mind, thoughts 11 6; purpose 17 2 a

mōðþrēa *f.* oppression of spirits, anxiety

mōðþrýð *f.* violent spirit, fierce temper

mōðwæg *m.* fierce wave

mōðwlanc *adj.* self-confident, proud

molde *wk. f.* earth, world

mon(n) *v.* **man(n)**

gemon *v.* **gemunan**

mōna moon

monað *v.* **manian**

monig, monge *v.* **manig**

mōr *m.* moor; marshy ground, fen

morgen *m.* morning

morgentid *f.* morning

mōrheald *adj.* on the sloping moors

morna *v.* **morgen**

morðor *n.* violent death, murder; crime, outrage 19 146

morðorbealo *n.* violent death, murder

morðorhete *m.* deadly hate, feud

gemōt *n.* meeting, assembly 16 199 20 78; meeting in battle 15 50 16 301

mōtan *pst. prs. v.*; **mōt** am, is permitted, may; 2 s. **mōst** must? 16 30; *pst.* **mōste** was permitted, was enabled, might

multon *v.* **meltan**

gemunan *pst. prs. v.* remember

mund *f.* hand

gemunde *v.* **gemunan**

mundgripe *m.* grasp (of the hand)

murnan 3 trouble, care, reck 2 24? 14 569 16 96, 259; mourn, grieve 4 50 10 15 13 20

mūð *m.* mouth; opening 21 37

mūða opening, door 14 106

mūðhæl *f.* greeting? salutary words? 19 439

mūðlēas *adj.* mouthless 9 9

mycele *v.* **micel**

mylenscearp *adj.* ground sharp

gemynd *f.n.* memory; *pl.* mind 9 48 12 11

myndgian bring to mind, remember; remind

gemyndig *adj.* mindful, remembering

myne *m.* purpose 14 315; desire 23 33

gemyne *v.* **gemunan**

mynelic *adj.* memorable 1 4

myntan intend, plan, plot

myrcan *v.* **mierce**

myr(g)ð *f.* joy

nā *adv.* not

naca boat

nacod *adj.* naked, bare; stripped, active 19 390

næbbe = **ne hæbbe**

- næfde** = **ne hæfde**
næfre *adv.* never
(ge)nāgan *accost, address* 19 23 21 244;
attack 4 297; *tackle* 14 278; *partake*
of 19 130
nægel *nail, plectrum (for harp)*
nægled *adj.* with knobs or bosses, em-
 bossed
nægledcnearr *m.* boat with nailed planks
nægledsinc *n.* embossed ornament
nānig *adj., pron.* no, no one
nære = **ne wære**
næs = **ne wæs**
næs 14 64 = **nealles**
næss *m.* headland, promontory
næsshlið *n.* slope of headland or cliff-
 side 14 266
nāh = **ne āh**
nāhwæðer *neither, nor*
nales, nalæs, nallas *v.* **nealles**
nam *v.* **niman**
nama *name*
nān *adj., pron.* no, no one
nāthwelc *pron.* some one or other 4 253
 11 48
ne *not; nor*
nēah *adv.* near; **neah ne** *not nearly* 19
 114; *freq. used as prep. w. d.*
geneahhe *adv.* repeatedly, again and
 again; *superl.* over and over again 14
 176
nealles, nalles *not*
nēan *adv.* from near, at close quarters
 14 30
nēar *compar. of nēah*
nearo (1) *adj.* narrow; anxious, trying
 7 7; (2) *n.* distress 14 337; *pl.*
desperate straits, captivity 2 40
nearocraft *m.* cunning art
nearosorg *f.* distress, misery
nearowrenc *m.* cunning trick
nearwe *adv.* closely, tightly, tensely 20
 101, 136; with difficulty, strenuously
 19 68
nearwian *confine* 22 16; *press, attack*
 14 277; *grow closer* 23 37
genēat *m.* retainer, vassal 16 310
nēd- *v.* **nīed-**
nefa *nephew*
nefne *v.* **nemne**
nēh *v.* **nēah**
genehe, genehost *v.* **geneahhe**
nēidfæræ *v.* **nīedfaru**
nelle = **ne wille**
nemnan *name; mention* 1 126
nemne (1) *conj.* save, except; save that
 14 214; unless 21 235; (2) *prep. w. d.*
save, except 4 141
nēod *f.* desire 20 32, 48; pleasure, delight
 13 84
nēodian 21 100 *n.*; *v.* **nīedan**
nēomian *twang, vibrate* 13 84 *n.*
nēos(i)an *w. g.* visit, seek out; return to
nēotan 2 *w. g.* use 16 308; spend, pass
 13 17
neowul *adj.* precipitous, sheer 14 250;
abysmal, deep 19 114
nergan *v.* **nerian**
nergend *m.* Saviour
(ge)nerian *save, rescue*
nesan 5 recover from, survive 5 48
nest *n.* food, provisions 13 28
nett *n.* network, curtain 19 74
(ge)nēðan *risk, venture (on)*
nicor *m.* water-creature, seal? walrus?
 14 77 *n.*, 266
nicorhūs *n.* haunt of nicor, cave
nīed *f.* necessity, compelling force
nīedan *force, compel* 14 375; *intrans.*
press on 19 68
nīedboda *emissary of fate* 19 390
nīedcleofa *chamber of confinement* 20
 136
nīedfara *forced marcher* 19 208
nīedfaru *f.* compulsory journey 17 10
nīedgefēra *companion in distress or dis-*
tressed comrade 20 122
nīedgestealla *comrade in danger* 4 72
nīehsta *superl. of nēah* last, latest 4 427
nigene *v.* **nigon**
nigon *num.* nine 14 77
nigoða *num.* ninth 21 244
nīht *f.* night; **nīhtes** *by night*
nīhthelm *m.* covering of night
nīhtlang *adj.* lasting the night
nīhtscū(w)a *night-shadow, gloom of*
night
nīhtwacu *f.* night-watch
nīhtweard *m.* guardian by night
(ge)niman 4 seize, take; take on, add
 to 7 48; take away, take off, kill;
 receive, accept
nīoda *v.* **nēod**
nīosian *v.* **nēos(i)an**
nīoðor *v.* **nīðer**
genip *n.* darkness, dark place; *pl.* 14
 221
genipan 1 grow dark, gloom; fade into
 darkness 6 96
nis = **ne is**
nīð *m.* enmity, spite, malice; fight,
 battle; *d.s. and g.pl. used as adv.*

desperately, vigorously **14** 278, 375 ;
d.pl. spitefully **12** 44
niðer *adv.* downwards, down **14** 221, 394
niðgiest *m.* spiteful or malignant creature
14 394
niðhygdig *adj.* enterprising, bold; *Kent.* ?
pl.n. **niðhēdige** **14** 433
niðscaða *n.* fierce or desperate foe
niðwundor *n.* sinister marvel or portent
niwe (1) *adj.* new, fresh ; (2) *adv.* afresh
14 165
niwian *v.* renew
nō *not*
genōg (1) *adj.* in plenty, many **4** 320 ;
 (2) *adv.* enough, plenty **9** 52
molde = **ne wolde**
genōm *v.* (ge)niman
noma *v.* nama
norð *adv.* north, northwards
norðan *adv.* from the north
norðerne *adj.* from the north, Norse
15 18
norðweg *m.* way leading north
nōðer *v.* nāhwæðer
nū (1) *adv.* now ; (2) *conj.* now that,
 since
nȳd *v.* nled
genȳddon *v.* nledan
nȳhstan *v.* nlehta
nȳmðe *conj.* unless
nyse = **ne wisse** **20** 101
nytt (1) *f.* use, service **21** 127 ; (2)
adj. useful, serviceable **14** 176 **22** 163,
222
of *prep. w. d.* from, away from, out of
ofer *prep. (a) w. d.* over, above ; (b) *w. a.*
 over, above ; across, throughout ;
 during **11** 74 ; in preference to **21**
 154 ; beyond, exceeding, in a greater
 degree than **1** 37 **2** 19 **9** 65 ; after
14 118 ; against, in spite of **14** 333
20 48 **21** 250
ōfer *m.* bank (of river) **16** 28 **22** 140 ;
 edge (of a wood) **14** 232
oferbrædan *v.* overspread
ofercuman *v.* overcome
oferfaran *v.* 6 pass over, traverse
oferfēran *v.* pass over, cross
oferfilitan *v.* 1 overcome, defeat
ofergān *athem. v.* pass over, cross ; pass
 away **3** 7, 13, 17, 20, 27
ofergangan *red. v.* overcome
oferhelmian *v.* cover over, shut in
oferholt *n.* 'upper wood,' forest of
 spears ? **19** 157 *n.*

oferhygd *f.* overwhelming pride, arro-
 gance, presumption ; *g.pl.* **oferhȳda**
11 37
ofermāgen *n.* superior force
ofermāðm *m.* great treasure or gift
ofermōd *n.* over-confidence
ofersēcan *v.* overtax, overstrain **14** 381
oferswiðan *v.* overcome
oferteldan *v.* 3 cover over
oferþeccan *v.* cover, roof over
oferwinnan *v.* 3 overcome
ofgiefan *v.* 5 give up, yield
oflangian *v.* fill with longing **8** 29
of(o)st *f.* haste, speed
of(o)stlice *adv.* in haste, quickly **16** 43 ;
compar. **20** 59
ofscēotan *v.* 2 shoot down, slay
ofslēan *v.* 6 slay, destroy **14** 76, 611
oft *adv.* often
oftēon *v.* 2 take away **4** 5 ; withhold **4** 320
ofþyncan *v.* be displeasing or distasteful
ōgnian *v.* terrify **19** 265
ōht **20** 25 anything, aught
ōht *f.* pursuit **19** 136
ōhtnief *f.* urgent pursuit
ōhwær *adv.* anywhere
ōhwonan *v.* from any quarter
ōl *v.* alan
on *v.* unnan **19** 269
on (1) *adv.* on ; (2) *prep. w. d. or a. ;*
freg. foll. case in, on, at ; into, on to,
 on, to ; from **4** 385 ; among **14** 593 ;
purpose for **6** 105 **19** 32, 199 ; according
 to, after **19** 186 ; *time* in, during **4** 22
315, **338** **14** 20, 17
onælan *v.* inflame, fire
onarn *v.* oniernan
onbindan *v.* 3 unloose **20** 111 ; disclose,
 reveal **14** 3
onbregdan *v.* 3 pull open ; *pst.* **onbræd**
14 105
onbūgan *v.* 2 escape
oncierran *v.* turn back **4** 350, 369 **19** 367
oncnāwan *red. v.* recognize **14** 297 **16** 9
oncunnan *pst. prs. v.* reproach, accuse
oncweðan *v.* 5 reply (to), answer **5** 8 **7** 23
16 245
oncyrde *v.* oncierran
oncyðð *f.* distress, misery
ondgit *v.* andgiet
ondrædan *red. v.* dread, fear
ondrysne *v.* andrysne
ondslyht *v.* andsliht
ondswaru *v.* andswaru
onemn *prep. w. d.* close by
ōnettān *v.* hasten

onfēng, onfēhð v. onfōn
onfindan 3 find, discover, perceive
onfōn red. v. receive; perceive? **14** 30
onfond, onfunde v. onfindan
ongan, ongon v. onginnan
onganigan red. v. march
ongēan (1) adv. again, back again **1** 85?
16 49, 137; (2) *prep. w. d.* opposite,
 facing **19** 370; against **4** 280 **14** 519
16 100
ongend 1 85 *v. ongēan*
ongieldan 3 pay, pay the penalty for
ongietan 5 understand, perceive; dis-
 tinguish, hear **4** 343 **14** 270
onginnan 3 undertake, engage in; make
 a beginning, begin
onhæle adj. hidden **22** 111
onhoscian scorn; *pst.* **onhohsnode** **4**
104
onhrēran stir up; rouse, arouse; fill
 with confusion **19** 398
onhwēorfan 3 change
oniernan 3 fly in, fly open **14** 103
onlātan red. v. loosen, relax
onlāg, onlāh v. onlēon
onlang adj. long cherished **19** 53 *n.*
onlēac v. onlēcan
onlēon 1 lend, grant, bestow
onlicnes v. anlicnes **14** 212
onliðð v. onlēon
onlēcan 2 unlock, disclose **1** 1 **20** 112
onmēdla presumption, arrogance; *pl.*
 poms **7** 81
onsacan 6 fight, contend
onsāge adj. impending, imminent
onsēlan unfasten, loose
onsēcan require, exact
onsendan send
onsittan 5 take a seat in **9** 44; dread,
 fear **22** 127
onspringan 3 snap, break
onstellan establish **17** 4 *a*; cause **22** 74
onstreccan spread out *p.p.* **23** 9
onsundran adv. apart, privately
onswifan 1 heave up **14** 302
onsyn v. ansien
ontynan open **20** 40; disclose, reveal
20 110
onþēon 1 (3) prosper **4** 90 **19** 241
onþringan 3 press on **19** 343
onwacnian awake **5** 11
onwæcnan 6 awake **6** 45; arise, spring
 (from) **1** 5 **4** 56 **18** 23
onwendan change, alter
onwindan 5 unwind, relax **18** 68; reveal
20 111

onwist f. dwelling, habitation
onwrēon 1 uncover, reveal, declare **12** 3
20 104, 115 **23** 1
openian open, open up
ōr n. beginning, origin; front of army,
 van **14** 526 **19** 326
ōra edge, shore **9** 39
orcneās m.pl. evil spirits, monsters **18**
24 n.
ord m. point (of spear or sword); nail,
 claw **22** 109; front of army, van
ordfruma originator, creator
ordwiga fighter in the van, champion
2 6
ōretmæg warrior
ōrett f. (?) fight, combat **1** 41
ōretta challenger, champion **14** 281
orfeorme adj. without share in, estranged
 from
orlege n. strife, hostility
orleghwil f. time of strife
ormēdan despair **22** 226 *n.*
ormōd adj. discouraged, despairing
oroð n. breath **14** 300
ortriewe adj. despairing, despondent
19 154
orþane (1) m. wisdom **19** 359; (2) *adj.*
 cunningly contrived **21** 2
oruð v. oroð
orwēna adj. without hope (of)
oð (1) prep. w. a. until, up to; (2) *conj.*
 until
oð þæt conj. until
oðberan 4 carry away
ōðer adj. second, another; other, the
 other
ōðer . . . ōðer one . . . the other;
ōðer twega . . . oððe either . . . or
oðfaran 6 elude, escape from
oðgān athem. v. escape, get away **4** 333
oðlēdan bring away
oððe conj. or; or else
oðþigan 5 take away; *pst.* **oðþāh** **19**
338
oðþringan 3 wrest away
oðwitan 1 scorn
ōwiht, āwiht pron. anything, aught
oxa, ox

plegian play; fight **15** 52
prass m. (?) arrayed troops

rād f. riding, road; name of rune-le ter
 = **R** 9 66
gerād adj. skilfully constructed
rācan stretch, reach out **14** 129

gerēcan reach, get at **16** 142 **22** 131; strike, stab, wound **4** 364 **14** 58 **16** 158, 226 **22** 73
rād *m.* counsel, advice; good counsel **4** 227 **22** 120; ordained state of things, decree **4** 425 **11** 37 **19** 431
rādan advise **17** 18; decide **16** 36; *w. d.* rule **1** 12; possess **4** 256
gerāde *n.* trappings (of a horse) **16** 190
rādfæst *adj.* prudent, wise
rādhycgende *adj.* prudent, wise
rādmægen *n.* might, power
ræfnan carry out, perform
ræran raise
ræs *m.* rush, onset, charge
ræsan rush
ræsele *f.* answer to riddle
ræst *v.* rest
ræswa chief, leader
rand *m.* rim, border **14** 368 **21** 37, 131; shield *freq.*
randgebeorg *n.* shield-defence, rampart
randburg *f.* citadel of shields, massed troops **19** 379
randhæbbend 'shield-holder,' warrior
randwiga warrior
rāsettan rage
raðe *v.* hraðe
rēad *adj.* red
rēad **13** 46 *n.*; *v.* **rēodan**
rēaf *n.* dress, armour, equipment; spoils **16** 161
rēafian strip, despoil **4** 384 **22** 6
reccan narrate, relate, expound **18** 3 **19** 359 **22** 167
reccan *w. g.* care about, reckon **2** 23 **16** 260
rēce *m.* smoke
reced *n.* dwelling, building; hall, room
recen *adj.* quick, prompt, rapid
recene *adv.* quickly, promptly
regn *m.* rain
regnheard *adj.* very hard
regnian prepare, make ready **19** 386 **21** 126; adorn **14** 159 **16** 161
regnig *adj.* rainy
regnweard *m.* mighty guardian **14** 52
rēnian *v.* **regnian**
rēodan 2 grow red **13** 46 *n.*; make red **4** 211
rēofan 2 tear asunder, pull down **19** 379
rēon *v.* **rōwan**
reord *f.* voice; speech
reordian speak **19** 256, 435
rēotan 2 grieve **13** 46; weep **14** 237
rēote *v.* **rōt**

rēotig *adj.* sad **10** 10
rest *f.* rest, repose **14** 533 **19** 134; bed, couch **14** 129
restan rest
gerestan *w. g.* rest (from) **8** 40
rēðe *adj.* fierce, stern, cruel
ribb *n.* rib, spoke (of wheel)
rice *n.* (1) power, authority; control; kingdom; (2) *adj.* powerful, mighty; *superl.* **1** 15 **16** 36
ricene, ricone *v.* **recene**
ridan 1 swing, dangle, hang **11** 83, 95 **13** 33; wave **19** 248; ride (on waves) **22** 47; ride on horseback *freq.*
riht (1) *n.* justice; right, due; **mid rihte, on riht**, duly, correctly; special character **21** 112; (2) *adj.* straight **19** 126; right, fair **16** 190 **21** 254; correct **20** 102
geriht *n.* straight direction **22** 70
rihte *adv.* duly, correctly
rihtend *m.* director, ruler **20** 81
rihtgeryne *n.* mystery **20** 34
rihtscytte *m.* straight shooter, good marksman **21** 117
gerīm *n.* reckoning, number
rīman reckon, count **4** 59
rinc *m.* man, warrior; warlike creature **14** 102
ringetæl *n.* numbers of warriors, band
riodon *v.* **rīdan**
gerisne *adj.* fitting, due
rōd *f.* cross, crucifix **22** 216
roden *v.* **rēodan**
rodor *m.* firmament, sky, heavens
rōf *adj.* gallant, brave
rofene *v.* **rēofan**
rond *v.* **rand**
rōt *n.*? cheerfulness? **11** 95
rōwan *red. v.* swim **14** 14, 41
rūm (1) *adj.* spacious, wide; (2) *n.* space, opportunity **14** 385
gerūma chamber, dwelling
rūn *f.* secret thoughts; meditation, counsel
rūnstæf *m.* rune-letter **14** 617
rycene *v.* **recene**
ryht, ryht- v. riht, riht-
(ge)rīman widen, extend **20** 110; make space for **4** 146; clear away **19** 284, 395; **him gerīmed wearð** they were at liberty, had opportunity **4** 382; *cf.* also **16** 93
rynegiest *m.* swift visitor
ryñig *adj.* good in the council, skilled in debate? **21** 117

gesaca adversary
sacan 6 fight
sacu *f.* strife, fight, quarrel
sadol *m.* saddle
sæ *f.m.* sea
sæbāt *m.* boat
sæcce *v.* **sacu**
sæcyning *m.* sea-king
sæd *adj.* sated, weary 15 20
sædan *v.* **secgan**
sæde *v.* **secgan**
sædraca sea-serpent, sea-dragon
sæfæstenn *n.* sea-fastness, coast
sæfōr *f.* sea-voyage
sægan bring down, lay low, slay 4 74
sæge, **sægon** *v.* **sæon**
sægrund *m.* sea-bottom, depths of the sea
sæl *n.* hall 11 79
sæl *m.f.* season, time, occasion; *pl.* joy, happiness; **on sælum** rejoicing 19 106, 451
sælād *f.* sea-voyage
sælāf *f.* spoil of the sea
sælan bind, confine
gesælan come to pass, happen
sælida seafarer
sælð *f.* prosperity, good fortune 4 229
sælwang *m.* fertile plain
sæmann *m.* seaman, voyager
sæmest *superl. adj.* least important, most insignificant 1 125
sæmēðe *adj.* sea-weary
sænaca boat
sænæss *m.* headland, promontory
sæne *adj.* slow, sluggish; *compar.* 14 275; unresponsive 1 67
særinc *m.* sea-warrior
særōf *adj.* daring on the sea
sæslð *m.* sea-voyage
sæstræam *m.* sea-current, sea
sæweall *m.* sea-wall 19 302; sea-coast 9 1
sæwicing *m.* sea-rover
saga *v.* **secgan**
sāh *v.* **sīgan**
salobrūn *adj.* dark-lustrous 5 36
salowigpād *adj.* dark-coated
sælum *v.* **sæl**
same *adv.*; **swā** same likewise, at the same time
samnian assemble 19 217; join together 10 18
samod (1) *adv.* together; likewise, also 1 142 4 386, 435 9 13 22 142; (2) *prep. w. d.* at the moment of 4 341

sand *n.* sand; sea-shore
sandsæ *f.m.* sandy sea
sang *m.* song, singing
sār (1) *n.* pain, hurt, wound 7 95 13 19 14 169; (2) *adj.* painful, grievous, bitter 3 9 4 258 6 50
sārig *adj.* woeful, bitter
sārigmōd *adj.* anxious, worried
sāwol *f.* soul
sāwoldrēor *n.* life-blood
sāwolhord *n.* soul-treasury, body
sāwollēas *adj.* lifeless
sāwon *v.* **sæon**
scacan 6 hurry away, depart; *trans.* shake 19 176
gescād *n.* separation, distinction; **on gescād** distinctly 12 8; **þurh gescād** discreetly, wisely 23 13
gescādan *red. v.* decide, settle
scādenmæl *adj.* (sword) with divided pattern, figured
scamian be ashamed (of) 14 511
scamu *f.* shame 21 219
scaða destroyer, warrior 4 4
sceadu *f.* shadow
scēaf *v.* **scūfan**
sceaft *m.* shaft, spear
gesceaft *f.n.* creation; creature, thing; ordained course, decree 6 107
sceal *v.* **sculan**
scealc *m.* servant, man
scēam *m.* white horse
sceān *v.* **scinan**
gesceaphwīl *f.* destined hour
gesceapu *n.pl.* fated course, course of things or life, destiny
sceard *adj. w. g.* mutilated, deprived
sceardfeðer *f.* notched or trimmed quill, plectrum
scearp *adj.* sharp; keen, discerning
scēat *m.* region, quarter
sceatt *m.* treasure; coin
scēað *f.* sheath 16 162
sceaðena *v.* **scaða**
scēawian gaze at, examine, view
gescēawian show
scefte *v.* **sceaft**
scenn *m.?* plate? guard (of sword)? 4 616
scōo cloud 22 56
scōoc *v.* **scacan**
gescōod *v.* **sceððan**
sceolan, **sceolan**, **sceolde** *v.* **sculan**
scōon happen 19 422; fall to (the lot of) 19 473
scēop *v.* **scieppan**

scēotan 2 shoot, dart
sceote *v.* **scot**
scēotend *m.* shooter, warrior
scepen *v.* **scieppan**
scepen *v.* **scieppend**
gescer *v.* **gescieran**
sceððan 6 *w. d.* injure
scield *m.* shield
scioldan shield
scieldburg *f.* shield-defence, phalanx of shields 16 242
scieldfreca bold warrior 14 518
scieldhrēoða shield-plate? 19 113
scieall *adj.* resounding 23 27
(ge)scieppan 6 plan 4 294; create
scieppend *m.* Creator
gescieran 4 cut through 4 372
scierian assign, allot 1 92 13 96
gescife *v.* **gescyfe**
scild *v.* **scield**
scildig *v.* **scyldig**
scile *v.* **sculan**
scillingrīm *m.* value in shillings
scīnan 1 shine
scinn *m.* phantom, demon 22 67
scip *n.* boat, ship
scipflota man from over the sea, seaman
scīr *adj.* shining, bright, radiant; clear 1 103
scīran make clear, decide 4 99 13 66
scome *v.* **scamu**
scop *m.* minstrel, bard 3 36 4 126 18 2
scot *n.* darting, leaping 21 40
scoten *v.* **scēotan**
scotian shoot, strike 22 66
scrallettan twang, resound
(ge)scrifan 1 prescribe, ordain
scriðan 1 glide, stalk; advance, move, pass
scūfan 2 push 16 136
sculan *pst. prs. v.* be obliged, must, shall, be destined; ought; to be one's turn or nature
scūr *m.* shower
scūrheard *adj.* hardened by showers of blows? very hard? 14 518
gescyfe *m.* precipitation; **on gescife** headlong 14 313
scyl *v.* **scieall**
scyld *v.* **scield**
scyld *f.* guilt 12 8, 35
gescylde *v.* **scioldan**
scyldig *adj.* guilty 18 50; having forfeited 4 261
scyle *v.* **sculan**

scyndan hurry, hasten
scýneð *v.* **scīnan**
scype *v.* **scip**
scyppend *v.* **scieppend**
scýran *v.* **scīran**
gescyred *v.* **scierian** 1 92
scyte *m.* shooting, marksmanship 13 69
Scyttisc *adj.* Scottish (*orig.* Irish)
se *pron. adj.* that, the
sē (1) *dem. pron.* that man, he; (2) *rel. pron.* who, which; *freq. foll. by* þe; **sē þe** his whose 1 131; **sē þe** him to whom 1 133; *cf.* 6 31
seah *v.* **sēon**
sealde *v.* **sellan**
sealman *v.* **selma**
sealt (1) *n.* salt; (2) *adj.* salt
sealtýð *f.* salt wave
sēarian grow withered
searo *n.* device, contrivance 22 157; *d. pl.* **searwum** by design, cunningly 12 40; armour, arms, equipment *freq. in pl.*
searobunden *adj.* cunningly fastened
searocēap *n.* curious article
searocræftig *adj.* skilled
searofah *adj.* of cunning pattern
searogimm *m.* cunningly wrought gem or ornament
searolic *adj.* clever, ingenious
searonið *m.* crafty attack
searopanc *m.* clever thought, artifice
searopancol *adj.* thoughtful, wise
searwian be cunningly wrought
sēaw *n.* liquid, moisture
seax *n.* knife
sēcan seek, seek out; aim at, desire; go towards, visit, return to
secg *m.* man, man-at-arms, warrior
seegan say, tell, utter, narrate
sefa mind; spirit, heart; feelings, emotions
sege, segeð *v.* **seegan**
segl *n.m.* sail, awning
seglierd *f.* sail-pole, yard
seglrād *f.* sail-path, sea
seglrōd *f.* sail-pole, yard
seg(e)n *m.n.* standard, banner
seg(e)ncyning *m.* king with a standard, great king
sēgon *v.* **sēon**
(ge)sehtan settle
sēl *compar. adv.* better
geselda companion, retainer 6 53
seldan *adv.* seldom 21 233, 234

seldcyme *m.* rare visit
sele *m.* hall
sēle *v.* sāl 4 195
seledrēam *m.* hall-joy, festivity
selefull *n.* hall-cup
selerædend *m.* hall-ruler, man
selesecg *m.* retainer
sēlest, sēlast *superl. adj.* best
seleð *v.* sellan
self, selfa *adj. pron.* self; *w. g.* (his, her, its, their) own
selfcwalu *f.* self-killing, suicide 13 56
(ge)sellan give; give up; hand, offer; grant, permit
sellic *adj.* rare, strange, marvellous
selma couch, bed
sēlra, sēlla *compar. adj.* better
sēlð *v.* sālð 4 229
gesēman settle between, arbitrate between
semninga *adv.* suddenly
sendan send, send out; drive; hurl
seō *f. v. se, sē*
sēoc *adj.* sick, ill
seofian sigh
seofon *num.* seven
seofōða *num.* seventh
seolfor *n.* silver
seomian hang, be suspended, dangle; hang about, lurk 19 209
(ge)sēon 5 see, spy, descry; look 14 261 19 178
seono *f.* sinew 14 199
seonobend *m. f.* 3 6 *n.*
seonobenn *f.* wound in sinew 13 19
seoððan *v.* siððan
(ge)settan place, set up; establish, fix, decree; **mec . . . settan on** set about, set off on 9 21
geset *n.* place, site 6 93; dwelling 21 66
setl *n.* setting (of sun) 15 17
setlrad *f.* journey to its setting
gesēðan declare, prove
seþeah *v.* swāþeah
sibb *f.* kinship, bond of kindred 14 343 23 37; peace 1 46 4 321 23 24
gesibb *adj.* related, near
sibbæðeling *m.* noble kinsman
sibb(e)gedryht *f.* band of kinsmen
sibbsum *adj.* peaceable
sid *adj.* broad, wide, roomy, capacious, spacious, extensive; generous, magnanimous 11 3
side *adv.* widely
side *wk. f.* side
sie *prs. subj.* be, is

sien *f.* power of seeing, sight, vision 22 159
geslene *adj.* visible, evident
sierce *wk. f.* shirt (of mail), corslet 4 171
sierwan equip, arm 16 159
siexhund *num.* six hundred
siexta *num.* sixth
siextig *num.* sixty
sgan sink, fall, drop
sige *m.* victory, triumphant
sigebeacn *n.* sign or symbol of victory
sigebeorn *m.* victorious warrior
sigebleme *wk. f.* trumpet of victory 19 452
sigedryhten *m.* triumphant lord
sigeðadig *adj.* victorious
sigefolc *n.* victorious people
sigehræðig *adj.* triumphant
sigel *n.* circular jewel, brooch; sun name of rune-letter = S 9 66
sigelēas *adj.* without victory, of defeat
sigerice (1) *n.* triumphant rule; (2) *adj.* triumphantly powerful
sigerōf *adj.* victoriously strong or brave
sigeþeod *f.* triumphant people
sigewæpen *n.* victorious weapon
sigor *m.* victory, triumph
sigorweorc *n.* deed of triumph
gesihð *v.* (ge)sēon
simle *adv.* continually, ever, always
sīn *adj. pron.* his, her, its (own)
sinc *n.* treasure, jewel
sinceald *adj.* very cold 19 388
sincfæt *n.* valuable vessel or cup
singciefra treasure-giver
sinchroden *adj.* laden or adorned with gold
sincmāðm *m.* treasure, valuable object
singgestreōn *n.* treasure
sincþegu *f.* receiving of treasure
singgewæge *n.* weighing out or weight of treasure, mass of treasure?
sind, sindon *prs. ind. pl.* are
sindolg *n.* huge wound, laceration 14 199
sinfrēa overlord
singāles *adv.* continually 4 195
singan 3 sing; cry, howl 19 164; ring ring out
sinhere *m.* great army 4 335
sinscaða huge destroyer or foe 14 183
sinsnæd *f.* huge lump
sinsorg *f.* great trouble or sorrow
sittan 5 sit; be placed
gesittan 5 sit down 6 111 14 263; sit up 14 131; *trans.* settle in, win 19 449

sīð *m.* journey, voyage; expedition, adventure, undertaking; time, occasion
sīð *adv.* late; **ær oððe sīð** ever 9 8
gesīð *m.* companion, retainer
sīðboda guide
sīðfæt *n.* journey, course
sīðian journey, go
sīðor *compar. adv.* later, after
sīððan (1) *adv.* afterwards, since; (2) *conj.* since, after; as soon as ever 9 39
slægen *v.* slæan
slæp *m.* sleep
slæpan *red. v.* sleep
slæan 6 strike, slay
geslæan 6 gain by fighting, win
slæp *v.* slūpan
slitan 1 tear, tear up; wound
slīðen *adj.* severe, cruel
slōg *v.* slæan
slūpan 2 slip, fall 22 54; glide, rush 19 406
smæte *adj.* refined, pure
smið *m.* smith, artificer
snāw *m.* snow
snell *adj.* quick, active, prompt, smart, vigorous
snellce *adv.* quickly, rapidly
snēr *f.* string (of harp)
snīwan snow
snot(t)or *adj.* wise, prudent, shrewd
snūde *adv.* quickly
snyt(t)ro *f.* wisdom, prudence, sagacity
sōfte *adv.* easily
somnigean *v.* samnian
somod *v.* samod
sōna *adv.* immediately, quickly
sonde *v.* sand
song *v.* sang, singan
sorg *f.* anxiety, grief, sorrow
sorgcearig *adj.* grieving, sorrowing
sorgfull *adj.* full of anxiety, dangerous 14 14, 268; troubling 21 234
sorglēas *adj.* carefree
sorglēoð *n.* song of sorrow, dirge
sorglufu *f.* (*wk.*) anxious love
sōð (1) *adj.* true, actual, real; (2) *n.* truth, fact, reality
sōðcwide *m.* true saying
sōðcyning *m.* true king, king of truth
sōðfæst *adj.* true, just, righteous
sōðgiedd *n.* true story, narrative, lay
sōðlice *adv.* accurately, exactly
sōðwundor *n.* marvellous fact
gespannan *red. v.* fæsten on
spāw *v.* spīwan
spēd *f.* success; power, means 21 72

spēdan have sufficient means
spēdig *adj.* wealthy, rich
spell *n.* narrative, story; message, tidings
spellboda messenger
spere *n.* spear
spildsīð *m.* journey of destruction, hostile pursuit
spillan destroy, injure
spīwan 1 vomit, spew
spræc *f.* speech 4 164 19 433
gespreca interlocutor, adviser 21 204
(ge)sprecan 5 speak, utter, say
sprengan burst, be shattered
spriced *v.* sprecan
springan 3 spring, spring forth 14 325 16 137; spurt 4 365; spread, extend 4 18, 74
stælan commit 21 54; avenge 4 316
stæpegang *m.* power of walking 23 22
stæppan 6 step, walk, go, advance
stæð *n.m.* shore, bank
stæððan keep steady, support 22 89
stæg, **stāh** *v.* stīgan
stān *m.* stone, rock, cliff
stānboga stone arch
stāncrif *n.* rock-cliff 7 23 14 283
(ge)standan 6 stand; stand fast, remain 7 67; be fixed, hang 2 50; lie 14 223, 255, 522, 564; stick fast 14 273; 374 16 145; stand up 16 171 19 303, 375, 452 21 23 22 108; take one's place 14 340; appear suddenly, flash forth 5 36 14 108 19 111; *w. d.* fall upon, attack 14 165 19 136, 201, 406
stānfæt *n.* 'stone-vessel,' caye? 2 35
stang *v.* stīgan
stānhlið *n.* rocky hillside or cliff-face
starian gaze, stare
staðol *m.* foundation, bottom
staðolæht *f.* estate? 23 22
stealc *adj.* steep, high 22 41
stealdan *red. v. w. d.* possess 23 22
gesteall *n.* fabric, framework
stēap *adj.* towering, lofty, steep; prominent, bulging, convex 14 309 21 23
stearcheort *adj.* stout-hearted
stearn *m.* sea-bird
stede *m.* place
stedefæst *adj.* steadfast
stefn *v.* stemn
stefna *v.* stemna
stefne 15 34 *v.* stemna
stemn *f.* voice
stemn *m.* time; **niwan stefne** afresh 14 337

stemna stem, prow of boat
 stemnettan take turns, succeed each other
 stēoreð *v.* stieran
 stician stick fast, remain fixed
 stiepan raise, support 4 412; heap up, pile up 19 297
 stieran steer 21 120; *w. g.* check, restrain 5 19? 21 171
 stig *f.* path 14 248 22 128
 stigan 1 go, advance 4 278 19 319 21 86; rise, mount 22 6, 85, 141; increase 12 19
 gestigan 1 come to, reach 19 418
 stihtan arrange, marshal
 gestillan *trans.* make calm, hush, allay
 stille *adj.* quiet, calm, still
 stille *adv.* quietly, privately 2 35
 stingan 3 stab, transfix 16 138
 stið *adj.* stiff, stubborn, stenuous
 stiðhygende *adj.* stout-hearted, resolute
 stiðlice *adv.* vigorously, loudly
 stiðmōd *adj.* stiff of purpose, resolute
 stiðweg *m.* stubborn course
 stiwita official, officer? 22 25 *n.*
 stōp, stōpan *v.* stæppan
 storm *m.* storm, tempest
 stōw *f.* place
 stræl *m.f.* arrow
 stræt *f.* paved road, road
 strang *adj.* strong
 strēam *m.* flow, current; water, sea; river
 strēamrād *f.* sea-course
 strēamgewinn *n.* strife or turmoil of waters
 strēgan strew, spread
 strengest *superl. of* strang
 strengo *f.* strength
 gestrēon *n.* possession, treasure
 strūdan 2 plunder
 gestun *n.* whirlwind 22 71
 stund *f.* time; stundum from time to time, at intervals; æfre embe stunde ever and anon
 stunian boom, resound, clash
 stynt *v.* standan
 stýreð *v.* stieran
 styrge *v.* styrian
 styrian set in motion, stir up, rouse; relate, recount 14 470
 styrman rage, roar
 suð *v.* swā 17 3 22 108
 suhtorfæderan *pl.* uncle and nephew
 sum *adj., pron.* some, some one, a certain one, one, a

sumor *m.* summer
 sumorlang *adj.* summer-long, long in summer
 sund *n.* swimming; sea
 gesund *adj.* uninjured 22 154
 sundgebland *n.* mingling of waters, surge
 sundblēnde *pl.* dwellers by the sea, men
 sundnytt *f.* swimming-function; sundnytte drēah swam 4 276
 sundor *adv.* separately, apart
 sundorcraeft *m.* special skill or power
 sundorgiefu *f.* special gift or faculty
 sundorwine *m.* special or bosom friend
 sundorwundor *n.* special marvel
 sunne *wk. f.* sun
 sunu *m.* son
 sunwlitig beautifully sunny
 sūsl *n.f.* torment
 sūð *n.* south
 sūðan *adv.*; him be sūðan to the south of them 19 69
 sūðerne *adj.* from the south 16 134 *n.*
 sūðweg *m.* south road, south
 swā (1) *adv.* so, thus, accordingly; (2) *conj.* as, since; *w. subjunct.* as if 6 96; swā . . . ne and yet . . . not, without 5 42 22 146; (3) *rel. pron.* which 14 35 18 5; whatever 24 12
 swælan burn
 swæs *adj.* familiar, beloved, dear
 swæð *n.* track, trail 22 129
 swāhwæðer, swæðer *adj. pron.* which-ever (of two) 5 28 18 60
 swancor *adj.* pliant, supple 3 6 *n.*
 swāpan *red. v.* sweep away 19 396
 swāt *n.* blood
 swātfæg *adj.* blood-stained
 swātswæð *n.* bloody trail 4 345
 swāþeah *adv.* however, nevertheless, notwithstanding
 swaðul *m.* smoky flame
 swealg, geswealh *v.* swelgan
 swealt *v.* sweltan
 swearc *v.* sweorcan
 sweart *adj.* dark, black
 swefan 5 sleep; fall asleep, die
 swæg *m.* sound, noise; cry, clamour 7 21; sweet sound, music
 swegl *n.* sky, heaven; sun
 sweglrād *f.*? 23 29 *n.*
 swelc *adj. pron.* such, of such a kind; used as *rel.* such as
 swelce (1) *adv.* likewise, also; (2) *conj. w. subj.* as if

swelgan 3 swallow
sweltan 3 die, perish
swencan press hard
sweng *m.* stroke, blow
sweoloðe *v.* swoloð
swēop *v.* swāpan
(ge)sweorcan 3 be dark, grow dark or gloomy
sweorcendferhð *adj.* dark or gloomy of spirit, hopeless 13 25
sweord *n.* sword
sweordbealo *n.* wound or death by sword
sweordlēoma gleam of swords 5 36
sweordplega sword-play, battle
sweordwigend *m.* warrior
sweordwund *adj.* wounded with a sword
sweostorsunu *m.* sister's son 16 115
swēot *n.* company, troop
sweetol *adj.* clear, distinct, manifest; *superl.* 21 10
sweetole *adv.* clearly
swēte *adj.* sweet
sweðrian grow calm, slacken, weaken, diminish, fail
(ge)swican 1 fail; *w. d.* disappoint
swice *f.* trick 12 31
swifan 1 move along, hurry
swift *adj.* swift, fleet
swige *adj.* silent, hushed
swilc *v.* swele
swimman 3 swim; sail, row? 6 53
swin *n.* swine, boar 4 171
swincan 3 labour
geswincdæg *m.* day of toil
swingan 3 swing, fly
swinlic *n.* boar-image, figure of boar
swinsian resound, re-echo; make melody
swioðole *v.* swaðul 14 403
swipian scourge, lash? 19 379
swið *adj.* strong, violent, forcible;
swiðre hand right hand
swiðan strengthen
swiðe *adv.* forcibly 16 118; exceedingly, excessively, very; *efne swā swiðe* just as much 4 152
swiðfram *adj.* very energetic, vigorous
swiðhycgende *adj.* strong of purpose
**swiðor compar. adv. more strongly 12 29; more especially 14 555; more 4 199 21 254
swiðrian grow stronger
swiðsnell *adj.* very quick or active
swōgian roar
swol *n.* (?) burning, fever**

swoloð *m. n.* flame
swom *v.* swimman
sword *v.* sweord
swulge *v.* swelgan
swulton *v.* sweltan
swurd *v.* sweord
swustersunu *v.* sweostorsunu
swutol *v.* sweetol
swylc *v.* swelc
swylt *m.* death
swylteð *v.* sweltan
swȳn *v.* swin
swynsode *v.* swinsian
swyrd *v.* sweord
sȳ *v.* sle
gesyhð *v.* (ge)sēon
syleð *v.* sellan
sylf *v.* self
syll *f.* (?) planking, platform, ledge 14 157
syllan *v.* sellan
sȳllan 3 6 *v.* sēla
syllic *v.* sellic
symbol *n.* feast, feasting
symbolwlcanc *adj.* flushed with feasting
symble, symle *v.* simle
syncfatum *v.* sincfæt
syndig *adj.* good at swimming
sȳne *v.* slen
gesȳne *v.* geslene
syngāles *v.* sin-
synn *f.* crime; sin
synnfull *adj.* sinful
synnlust *m.* sinful desire
synnwracu *f.* punishment 20 77
synscaðan *v.* sin-
synt, syndon *v.* sind, sindon
gesynto *f.* welfare, prosperity
syrce *v.* sierce
gesyrwed *v.* sierwan
syððan *v.* siððan

tācn *n.* token, symbol
tācan show, instruct, teach
tācnan point out, indicate
tælf *f.* game of draughts or backgammon
tæhte *v.* tæcan
tælcende *adj.* fault-finding, critical
tāsan lacerate, wound
getāh *v.* getēon
tal(i)ge *v.* talian
talian account, reckon
tān *m.* branch, bough
getang *adj.* touching, close to 23 8, 42
tēah *v.* tēon
tēala *v.* tela

tealde *v.* tellan
 teale *v.* talian 22 120
 tela *adv.* well, properly 14 358 20 75
 23 42
 geteled *v.* tellan 19 232
 telge *v.* talian
 telgian shoot up, flourish 23 34
 tellan count, reckon
 temian tame; pamper
 getenge *adj.* close to, occupying
 geteon 1 order, appoint 23 2
 teon 2 draw, drag, pull; lead 14 521
 teon adorn, equip 4 43 14 579 17 8 a
 teonhete *m.* hostile attack
 teoða *num.* tenth
 tha *v.* þā 17 7
 tharf *v.* þurfian
 there *v.* þære
 thonsnotturra *v.* þancsnot(t)or
 tīadæ *v.* teon adorn 17 8
 tīd *f.* time, season, hour
 tīeman breed, increase
 tīen *num.* ten
 tīl *adj.* good; honest
 tīl *prep.* *w. d.* for, as 17 6
 tīllīce *adv.* well
 tīr *m.* splendour, glory, success
 tīrēadig *adj.* glorious, distinguished,
 famous
 tīrfæst *adj.* splendid, glorious, famous
 tō (1) *adv.* too; on 14 261; (2) *prep.*
 w. d. to in various senses; result,
 intention for, as; *w. certain verbs*
 from 2 59 4 321, 431 5 28 6 115 14
 27 16 179; of 4 198, 199; in 10 12;
 by, at 22 100; time at, on 4 26 19
 198, 263; *w. pred., not transl.* 4 403
 13 56; tō hwæs to what quarter 19
 192; tō þæs to such a degree, so 7
 40 20 7 etc.; tō þæs þe until 14 96
 tōberstan 3 crack, split, be shivered
 tōbreca 4 break up, break to pieces
 tōdælan separate, part
 tōdrīfan 1 drive apart 14 47
 tōgædere *adv.* together
 tōgēanes *prep.* *w. d.* towards 14 129;
 against 7 76
 togen *v.* teon 2
 tōglīdan 1 slip away, slip off 4 318 20
 129
 getoht *n.* fight, battle 16 104
 tōlūcan 2 unpin, unfasten
 tōmiddes *adv.* in the midst
 torht *adj.* bright, brilliant
 torhtlic *adj.* brilliant, illustrious
 torn *m.* anger, vexation

torngemōt *n.* 'angry meeting,' fight
 tornsorg *f.* anxiety, care
 tōsælan be lacking
 tōsamne *adv.* together
 tōsāwan *red. v.* scatter, distribute 21
 176
 tōscādan *red. v.* separate, distribute 21
 225
 tōslītan 1 sever, part
 tōstencan smell out, discover
 tōtwæman divide
 tōðmægen *n.* might of tusks
 tōþringan 3 force apart
 tōweccan arouse
 tōwrecan 5 drive apart, scatter
 tredan 5 tread, tread upon, walk upon
 treddean walk, stalk
 trēocynn *n.* nature of wood
 trēow *n.* tree, wood; wooden cross 20
 113
 trēow *f.* trust, good faith, loyalty;
 plighted word, vow of constancy
 triedeð *v.* tredan
 trum *adj.* strong
 getrum *n.* company, troop
 (ge)trūwian trust, trust in 4 352 14
 283; conclude (a treaty) 4 155
 trymm *n.* length, step 16 247
 trymman, trymian strengthen; marshal,
 get ready
 tū *num.* *n.* two
 tūd(d)or *n.* breeding, propagation,
 growth 9 19
 tungol *n.* heavenly body, sun, star etc.
 twā *num.* *f.* two
 getwæfan separate, part; deprive;
 divert
 getwæman deprive
 twām *num.* *d.* two
 twāniht *f.* two days (after)
 twēga *num.* *g.* two; oðer, ægðer twēga
 either
 twēgen *num.* *m.* two
 twelf *num.* twelve
 twentig *num.* twenty
 twēo *wk. m.* doubt
 twēonum; be . . . twēonum between
 twispræc *f.* 'double speaking,' insin-
 cerity 21 269
 tȳd(d)ran bring forth, breed
 tyht *m.* movement, motion
 tȳman *v.* tīeman
 tȳn *v.* tīen
 þā (1) *adv.* then, on that occasion; (2)
 conj. when, since

pā *pron. a.s.f.* that, the; *m.f.n.pl.* those, the; they; who, which
geþægon *v.* (ge)þicgan 14 499
pām, pām *d.s.pl. v. se, sēo, þæt*
pār (1) *adv.* there; (2) *conj.* where; when; if only 14 144, 316 19 152
pāra *g.pl.* = **pāra**
pære *g.d.s. of sēo*
pæs *pron. g.s.m.n.* of that, of the; his, its; whose; *used as adv.* to such a degree, so; therefore, on that account
pæs þe *conj.* because 1 95 2 26, 40 14 488 18 20 19 51; so far as, according to what, as 9 48 14 211 15 68 18 55 20 77
þæt *pron. n.* that, the; which, that which, what
þæt *conj.* that, so that, in order that
þætte = **þæt þe** that, that which, what
(ge)þaſian submit to, endure; permit 21 197
pāh *v.* **pēon**
geþāh *v.* (ge)þicgan
þan *v.* **pām**
þanc *m.* thanks *w. g.* 13 97 16 147
geþanc *n.* thoughts 20 100; intention 16 13
þanchycgende *adj.* thoughtful, provident
(ge)þancian *v. d.* thank
þancsnot(t)or *adj.* wise, thoughtful 17 11 21 100
þaneword *n.* word of thanks 1 137
þanon *adv.* thence, from there; after that 19 431
pāra *g.pl. of se, sēo, þæt*
pās *pron. a.f.s. and n.a.pl.* this; these
þe *rel. particle* who, whom, which; as
þē *pron. instr.* = **þy** *w. compar.* 14 203, 275, 382 16 146, 312; because 20 75
þē *a.d. of þū*
þēah (1) *adv.* nevertheless, however 16 220; (2) *conj.* though
geþēah *v.* (ge)þicgan 14 480, 490
þeaht *f.* plan, counsel 20 103
geþeaht *n.f.* plan, counsel 20 102
þeahton *v.* **þeccan**
þearf *v.* **þurfan**
þearf *f.* need; poverty
þearfian be in need 4 163
þearle *adv.* vigorously, severely, hard
þēaw *m.* custom, habit; quality, characteristic; *pl.* good qualities, virtues
þēawfæst *adj.* virtuous
þec *a. of þū*
þeccan cover 19 288 22 14; embrace 14 15

þecgan consume, destroy
þēge, þēgon *v.* **þicgan** 14 65 20 120
þēg(e)n *m.* royal servant, retainer; official, officer
þeg(e)nlice *adv.* like a thane, loyally
þegnian serve, treat 14 62
þehton *v.* **þeccan**
þencan think; purpose, intend
geþencan take thought; conceive, conceive of; decide; bear in mind
þenden (1) *adv.* at that time, then 4 384; as yet 14 504; (2), while, so long as
þengel *m.* prince
þēnode *v.* **þegnian**
þēod *f.* community, tribe, people, nation *freq.*; host, army 19 158
þēodecning *m.* king 14 322
þēoden *m.* prince, king, lord, chief
þēodenhold *adj.* faithful to a chief or prince
þēodenlēas *adj.* without a chief or lord
þēodenstōl *m.* throne
þēodmægen *n.* army, host
þēodscadā destroyer of the people
þēodscipe *m.* sense of community, responsibility 21 248
þēodgestrēon *n.* national treasure
þēodprēa *m.f.* national distress or calamity
þēof *m.* thief
þēon 1 (3) prosper, flourish
þēos *pron. f.s.* this
þēow *m.* servant 22 82
þes *pron. m.s.* this
þī *v.* **þy** 2 24, 38
(ge)þicgan 5 receive, accept; partake of
þider *adv.* thither
geþiedan join, put together 9 14
þlen, þiewan press, squeeze 22 97; urge on, drive 22 33
þlestre *adj.* dark 21 42
þlestro *f.* darkness 20 14 21 51 22 19
þiewan endow 21 134
þigeð *v.* (ge)þicgan
þin *pron. adj.* of thee; thy, thine
þinceð *v.* **þyncan**
þing *n.* affair; creature; **ænige þinga** on any account 14 173
geþing *n.* agreement, terms 4 145; issue, result 14 27
þingian settle 4 98
þis *pron. n.s.* this
þis *pron. instr.* = **þys**
geþoht *m.* thought; purpose; counsel, plan

(ge)polian endure, suffer; hold out; submit to, put up with

þon *pron. instr. of þæt; after prepp.* = þæm; *w. compar.* = þý 14 6 20 59 etc.

þonan *v.* þanon

þone *a. of se, sð*

þonne (1) *adv.* then, at that time; therefore; *gif þonne* if however 4 164; (2) *conj.* when, whenever; than, than that

þorfte *v.* þurfan

þracu *f.* conflict, clash

geþrac *n.* press, pressure, crowding

þræcwīg *n.* battle-clash, conflict

þræcwudu *m.* 'clash-wood,' spear 14 542

þræð *m.* thread

þræft *n.* quarrelling 12 42

þrægan run, race

þrafian repress 22 19

þrāg *f.* time, space of time

geþrang *n.* press, crowd 16 299

þrēa *m.f.n.* threat; affliction; *d.pl.*

þrēam forcibly, severely 20 137

þrēat *m.* company, band; multitude, 22 174

þrēatian press upon, afflict

þrēo *num.* three 7 68 16 299

þreodeuðe *v.* þridian

þridda *num.* third

þridian meditate, deliberate 20 100

þrimme *v.* þrymm

geþring *n.* mass, volume 22 42

þringan 3 press; press on, press forward; cramp 7 8

þrintan swell

þrīste *adv.* boldly, decisively

þrīsthygdig *adj.* daring 21 144

þrīt(t)ig *num.* thirty

þrōwian suffer, endure

geþrunge *v.* þringan

þrymm *m.* power, might, majesty; force, violence 12 24, 42 22 19, 76

þrymmful *adj.* powerful 22 82; violent 22 4

þrymmlic *adj.* powerful, mighty

þryð *f.* power, might 19 340; violence, shock 6 99

þryðswið *adj.* powerful, mighty 14 118

þū *pron.* thou

þūf *m.* banner

þūhte *v.* þyncan

þunge *pst. subj. of þeon* 21 182

þunian thunder, roar, resound

þunor *m.* thunder 21 4

þurfan *pst. prs. v.* need

þurh *prep. w. a.* through; by means of; owing to; *w. abstr. sb.* in, with, by; *freq.* = *adv.* 2 14 4 161, 245 etc.

þurhrāsan rush through

þurhtēon 2 carry out, accomplish

þurhwadan 6 penetrate 4 80 16 296

þurstig *adj.* thirsty

þus *adv.* so, thus

þūsend *num.* thousand

þūsendmælum *adv.* by thousands

geþwære *adj.* genial, pleasing

þý *instr. of þæt* = þæm that, the; *used as adv.* on that account, therefore 2 19, 25 4 267 19 349; *freq. w. compar.* the; *used as conj.* for that, because 2 13

geþýdan *v.* geþíedan 9 14

geþýde *v.* þíewan 21 134

þyder *v.* þider

geþyhte *adj.* acceptable? 23 18

þyhtig *adj.* strong

geþyld *f.n.* patience

geþyldig *adj.* patient

þyle *m.* spokesman, court orator and wit 14 583

þyllic *pron. adj.* such 12 45

þyncan seem, appear

þýrel (1) *n.* hole 22 125; (2) *adj.* with holes, perforated 5 46

þyrs *m.* water-monster, giant

þys *instr. of þes, þis* 15 66 16 316

þyslicne *v.* þyllic

þysne *v.* þes

þýstro *v.* þíestro

þýstrum *v.* þíestre 21 42

þýð, þýwan *v.* þíen, þíewan

uard *v.* weard

uerc *v.* weorc

ufan *adv.* from above, above

ufer(r)a *compar. adj.* later 4 411

ufor *compar. adv.* higher up

ūhta morning, early morning

ūhtcaru *f.* anxiety in the early morning 8 7

ūhttid *f.* early morning

umborwesende *adj.* as a new-born child

unbefohten *adj.* unfought

unbiernende *adj.* without being burnt 14 291

unc *d.a. of wit*

uncer *pron.* of us two, our

uncūð *adj.* unknown, unfamiliar, strange

undearnunga *adv.* not secretly, openly
5 23

under *prep. w. d. a.* under, underneath;
freg. indicates circumstances or manner
in, during, with

underhnlgan 1 sink under

underne *v.* **undierne**

undernmæl *n.* morning

undierne *adj.* not hidden, manifest
4 292

unearg *adj.* not cowardly, bold

unfæcne *adj.* free from guile, sincere

unfæge *adj.* not yet marked for death

unfæger *adj.* not fair, hideous

unfitme *adv.* without dispute, loyally

unforcldð *adj.* not base, honourable,
honest

unforht *adj.* unafraid, bold

ungēara *adv.* not long ago, lately 19 33

ungifeðe *adj.* not granted, withheld
4 302

ungrund *m.* vast multitude 19 424 *n.*

unhlēowe *adj.* not warm, cold

unhnēaw *adj.* not niggardly, generous

ungellic *adj.* unlike, not alike

unlifigende *adj.* dead

unlytel *adj.* great

unmæg *m.* false or disloyal kinsman

ungemedemod *adj.* immoderate, unre-
strained 12 25 *n.*

unmurnlice *adv.* heedlessly, without
caring 11 33; remorselessly, pitilessly
20 95

(ge)unnan *pst. prs. v.* grant; admit
14 5

unnytt *adj.* useless

unorne *adj.* feeble; unimportant,
ordinary

unriht *n.* injustice 2 27

unrlm *n.* countless number, multitude

unrōt *adj.* not cheerful, sad

unscende *adj.* undamaged, without
blemish 2 52; blameless, splendid
20 108

unslaw *adj.* not slow, ready, quick

unsnýt(t)ro *f.* folly

unswiðor *compar. adv.* less strongly

unsynnum *adv.* for no crime, inno-
cently

untýdre *m.* monster, monstrous creature

unwæclíc *adj.* firm, compact

unwæclíce *adv.* boldly, vigorously

unwearnum *adv.* irresistibly

unweaxen *adj.* not full-grown

up *adv.* up, aloft, on high; up from the
sea, inland 15 70

upcund *adj.* heavenly, celestial

upgang *m.* permission to go up

uphēah *adj.* lofty 8 30

uplang *adj.* upright

uppe *adv.* high up, aloft

uprodor *m.* sky, heaven

ur ? name of rune-letter 20 88 *n.*, 127 *n.*

ure *pron. adj.* of us; our

urigfeðera *adj.* wet-feathered

uriglāst *adj.* leaving wet or dewy tracks

urne *v.* **ure**

us *pron. d. a.* us

usic = **us** *a.* of wē

ussa *v.* **ure** our 20 48

ūt *adv.* out, outside, outward

utan *adv.* outside

ūtūs *adj.* eager to depart

ūtweard *adj.* trying to get out

ūðe *v.* (ge)unnan

ūðwita philosopher, sage

uneorðe *v.* **weorðan** 17 14

uuirthit *v.* **weorðan**

wā *m. indecl.* woe

wāc *adj.* soft, yielding 6 67; pliant 16
43; feeble 19 223 *superl.* 7 87 12 7

wāce *adv.* feebly 20 82

wacian be awake

wācian slacken, weaken

wada *v.* **wæd**

wadan 6 go, march, advance, pass

gewadan 6 come upon, spread over 19
378

wāccende *v.* **wacian** 19 213

wæcnan 6 be born

wæd *n.* water, sea; *pl.* **wado**, **wadu**

wæd *f.* clothing, garment

gewæde *n.* garment

wæfre *adj.* dazed, unsteady 4 210

wæg *v.* **weg** 5 44

wæg *m.* wave

wægan afflict, delude 12 41

wægbora wave-bearer, wave-traverser

wæge *n.* cup 11 68

wægfæt *n.* wave-vessel, sea 22 52

wægfaru *f.* avenue of waters

wæglifend *m.* wave-crosser, seafarer

wægn *m.* wagon, cart

wægstæð *n.* sea-shore

wægstreām *m.* water, sea

wæl *n.* slaughter, carnage; dead bodies,
slain

wæl *m. n.* pool 21 39

wælan afflict

wælbend *f. m.* deadly bond

wælbenn *f.* deadly wound

- wælcēasiga** carrion-eating (raven)
wælcwealm *m.* destruction, slaughter 22 8
wælfæhð *f.* deadly feud
wælfæðm *m.* deadly embrace
wælfæg *adj.* blood-stained
wælfeld *m.* field of slaughter
wælfieð *m.* slaughter, violent death 14 422
wælfyr *n.* deadly or destructive fire
wælgifre *adj.* greedy for blood
wælgriðm *adj.* savage, ferocious
wælgryre *m.* deadly horror or horror of death
wælhlemm *m.* murderous stroke
wæhlence *wk. f.* linked battle-shirt, corslet
wælhreow *adj.* fierce, cruel 10 6 14 491
wælhwerp *m.* fierce dog
Wælisca *v.* Wielisc
wælm *v.* wielm
wælmist *m.* mist or vapour from the slaughter, reek of battle
wælnett *n.* 'slaughter-net,' corslet
wælnið *m.* hostility, enmity
wælræs *m.* deadly attack, charge
wælrāp *m.* 'pool-rope,' icy bond or icicle
wælrēaf *n.* spoils of battle
wælrēc *m.* deadly vapour
wærest *f.* death-rest, death 16 113
wælseax *n.* dagger
wælsieht *m.* deadly blow, battle 5 29 6 91 19 328
wælspe *n.* spear
wælstōw *f.* 'slaughter-place,' field of battle; **wælstōwe wealdan** win the battle
wælwulf *m.* 'slaughter-wolf,' enemy
wāpen *n.* weapon
wāpenþracu *f.* 'weapon-clash,' battle 21 127
wāpengewrixl *n.* 'weapon-exchange,' battle
wāpnedcynn *n.* armed force
wār *adj.* wary, cautious 21 221
wār *f.* agreement, treaty, covenant, compact; safe-keeping, protection 4 27
wāran, wære *v.* **wesan**
wārloga breaker of treaties
wārwyrd *adj.* cautious of speech
wæs *v.* **wesan**
wæstm *m. n.* growth, stature, form 14 213 21 101; crops, fruit, produce 13 24 21 9 23 9
wæt (1) *adj.* wet 22 169; (2) *n.* liquid 22 63
wētan wet, moisten
wēter *n.* water
wēteryð *f.* sea-wave
wēðan rush along 20 134; hunt, drive 19 396
wāfian be amazed
wāgian rock, sway
wāle *v.* **Wealh**
walu *v.* **wæl** 14 527
walu *f.* rim, hoop 14 516
wamb *f.* interior, inside 22 63
wamm *m.* stain, defilement 18 52 21 258; crime 21 198
wan *adj.* lacking (in) 20 57
wandian hesitate, shrink
wandrian wander
wang *m.* plain; surface; ground; field
wanhgydig *adj.* irresolute, weak of purpose 6 67
wanian dissolve, melt away 14 601
wānian bewail 14 169
wann *adj.* dark
wann *v.* **winnan**
wannfeax *adj.* dark-haired
wansælig *adj.* unhappy
wansceaft *f.* wretched condition
wanspēdig *adj.* unsuccessful
warian dwell in 14 219; occupy 6 32
wāron *v.* **wesan** 14 500
wāst, wāt *v.* **witan**
gewāt *v.* **gewitan**
wāð *f.* wandering, journey, course
wāðol *adj.* wandering, travelling
wāðum, wāðem *m.* water, wave
wē *pron.* we
wēa *m.* misery, trouble, woe
wēadæd *f.* deed causing misery
wēalāf *f.* remnant or survivor of misfortune
gewealc *n.* rolling, tossing
weald *m.* forest 15 65
geweald *n.* power, authority, rule, control
(ge)wealdan *red. v. w. d.* control, rule; possess, wield; *w. g.* 16 83
gewealden *adj.* under control; subject 11 9 13 69 21 112
wealdend *m.* ruler, possessor, wielder
gewealdenmōd *adj.* self-controlled
wealdswaðu *f.* track through a wood, glade
Wealh *adj.* (1) Welsh; (2) *m.* serf, slave
wēalic *adj.* miserable, pitiable

weall *m.* rampart; wall; sea-cliff
weallan *red. v.* gush, well out; boil, boil up, heave, surge
weallfæsten *n.* rampart, fort
weallstān *m.* wall-stone, building-stone
weallsteall *m.* foundation, structure
weard *m.* guardian; king; watchman, sentry 7 54
weardian guard; inhabit, dwell in, occupy, remain in
wearg *m.* outcast, felon 21 55
wearn = worn; be warnum in abundance, to the full 3 1 n.
wearnian guard against 21 258, 264
wearp *m.* warp, parallel foundation threads stretched tight 22 173
wēaþearf *f.* wretched need
weaxan *red. v.* grow, grow up
weccan arouse, revive 4 246; kindle 14 412
wēdan rave, rage 19 405 20 134
wedd *n.* pledge
weder *n.* weather; storm 14 48 19 118; season 4 196 21 42
wederwolcen *n.* cloud
wefi *f.* weft, thread thrown across the warp with the shuttle
weg *m.* way, path, road; **on weg** away
wegan 5 carry, bear; show, display 4 91
wēgas *v.* wæg
wēgon *v.* wegan
wēl *adv.* well; rightly 14 344
wela wealth, riches
welgian grow rich, flourish
wēlhwā *pron.* everybody 12 30
wēlhwelc *pron.* every one, each one 4 64
welig *adj.* wealthy
wēlgeþungen *adj.* distinguished
wēn *f.* expectation, hope; likelihood 21 218; risk 22 43; *name of a rune-letter* = W 9 67
wēnan expect, hope for; think
wendan turn; change 3 32; avert 18 38; go
wenian train, accustom 21 186, 241; treat well 4 151 6 29, 36
wennan *v.* wynn
weolan *v.* wela
wēold, **wēoldan** *v.* wealdan
weolc *v.* wer
weorc *n.* work, deed; construction, structure 21 110; *d.s.* weorce grievous 14 257; = ge-weorc 2 2
geweorc *n.* handiwork; work, structure 21 3

weorod, **weorud** *v.* werod
weorpan 3 throw, cast, throw out
(ge)weorðan 3 come into existence, come to pass; grow, become; *freq. used as auxil. vb.* = **wesan**, **bēon** be; get, get away 19 294
geweorðan 3 agree to, agree upon 4 226
(ge)weorðian honour, adorn
weorðlice *adv.* honourably, nobly; *compar.* 5 38; *superl.* 14 429
weorðmynd *m.f.n.* honour, glory
weoruld *v.* woruld
weotena *v.* wita
weotode *v.* witian
wēox *v.* weaxan
wēpan *red. v.* weep; bewail
wer *m.* man; male, male creature 14 213 18 17
werbēam *m.* weir-beam, barrier 19 402
wered *v.* werod
wergan, **werigean** *v.* werian
wērgan *v.* wierig
wērga, **wērgum** *v.* wērig
werhðo *v.* wiergðo
werian defend, protect; put on, don 19 202; wear? 19 475
wērig *adj.* weary, exhausted; sad, sorrowful 6 15, 57
wērigmōd *adj.* exhausted with sorrow
werod *n.* troop, army, host
werodrædenn *f.* military service 4 202
werþeod *f.* people, nation
wesan 5 be
west *adv.* west, westward
wēste *adj.* deserted, desolate, uninhabited
wēstenn *n.* wilderness
wēstenngyre *m.* terror from the wilderness
wic *n.f.* place, dwelling, abode; encampment, camp 19 87, 133, 200
(ge)wican 1 give way 19 399; be blunted 14 320
wicg *n.* horse
wicgcræft *m.* horsemanship
wician dwell, remain
wicing *m.* pirate
wicsteall *m.* place for encampment
wicstede *m.* dwelling-place, homestead
wīd *adj.* wide, far-extending; **tō wīdan** fēore for ever
wīdcūð *adj.* widely known
wīde *adv.* widely, far off, to a distance, far and wide

widefeorh *m.* used as *adv.* for ever, for eternity, always
gewider *n.* bad weather, storm 14 236
widlāst *m.* distant wandering
widor *compar.* of **wide**
(ge)widost *superl.* of **wide** farthest, as far off as possible
Wielisc *adj.* Welsh 13 90
wielm *m.* boiling, seething; seething waters, surge; fount 4 289
wiergðo *f.* cursing, damnation 14 91
wierig *adj.* accursed 11 24 13 42 20 85
wierman warm 22 99
wiernan refuse 15 24 16 118 19 51
(ge)wierpan recover 4 375 19 130
wiersa *compar. adj.* worse, inferior; **þæt wyrsa** the worse side, misfortune 11 16
wierþe *adj.* worthy; *compar.* 14 459
wif *n.* woman, wife; lady
wifufu (*wk.*) *f.* affections of (his) wife
wig *n.* war, battle, attack; fighting power 14 527
wiga warrior
wigbealo *n.* misery or destruction of war
wigbill *n.* sword
wigblāc *adj.* pale (with fear of attack)
wigbord *n.* shield
wigcræft *m.* skill in war
wigend *m.* warrior
wigeð *v.* **wegan**
wigfruma leader in battle
wighafola helmet
wighaga 'battle-rampart,' phalanx 16 102
wighēap *m.* fighting band, troop
wigheard *adj.* strong or brave in battle
wiglēoð *n.* 'battle-song,' trumpet-call
wiglic *adj.* ready to fight
wigplega 'battle-play,' battle; fighting skill, prowess 13 69
wigrædenn *f.* battle, combat
wigrōd *f.* 'battle-pole,' thunderbolt 19 407
wigsmið *m.* 'battle-smith,' warrior
wigsteall *m.* 'battle-place,' citadel
wigweorðung *f.* 'honouring of idols,' idolatry
wiht *f.n.* thing, creature; *freq. w. neg.* (*also* **wihite**) at all, in any way
wilbec? 23 26 *n.*
wilde *adj.* wild
wilder *n.* wild creature 14 269
wilgiest *m.* beloved guest, popular character 12 7
willa desire, will, wish
willan will, wish; be going (to)

wilna *v.* **willa** 1 78 9 61
wilnian desire
wilgeslō *m.* retainer
wīn *n.* wine
wīnburg *f.* town, castle
wīnd *m.* wind
wīndan 3 wind, circle, turn, wheel; fly (of a spear) 16 322; wave (*trans.*) 16 43 (*intrans.*) 19 342; float, sail (in the air) 19 80
wīndbland *n.* wind-current 14 414
wīndig *adj.* windy, wind-swept
wīndgerest *f.* wind-swept couch 11 94 *n.*
wīne *m.* friend; mate, clansman; beloved lord
wīnedryhten *m.* dear lord or master
wīnegeōmor *adj.* sorrowing for dear ones
wīnelēas *adj.* friendless, lordless, unprotected
wīnemæg *m.* (dear) kinsman, clansman
wīnetrēow *f.* lover's troth
wīngāl *adj.* wanton through wine, luxurious
wīnia *v.* wine
gewinn *n.* struggle, conflict, fighting, fight
winnan 3 labour, struggle, fight
gewinnan 3 win 16 125
wīnreced *n.* wine-hall, hall
wīnsæd *adj.* sated with wine 13 50
wīnsæl *n.* wine-hall, hall 6 78
wīnsele *m.* wine-hall, hall
winter *m.* winter; *pl.* years
winterceald *adj.* wintry cold
wintercearig *adj.* sorrowful in winter
wīnþegu *f.* wine-drinking
wiolena *v.* **wela**
wīr *m.* wire
wīs *adj.* wise, prudent; clever, skilled
wīsa guide, leader
wīsdōm *m.* wisdom; learning
wīse *wk. f.* manner, fashion 20 16 22 156; way of acting, behaviour, character 12 30
wīsfæst *adj.* wise, prudent
wīsian guide
wīslīc *adj.* certain 3 34
gewislicost *superl. adv.* most certainly
wīsse *v.* **witan**
wīst *f.* food 19 130 22 165; abundance, luxury 6 36 11 12
wīste *v.* **witan**
wīstfyllo *f.* abundant feast
wit *pron.* we two, both of us
wīta wise man, councillor, elder

gewita accomplice **21** 198
witan *pst. prs. v.* know; be conscious of; discern **12** 8, 16
gewitan *pst. prs. v.* learn, ascertain **14** 211
gewitan **1** go, pass, go away, depart; *freq. w. compl. infin.*
wite *n.* punishment, torture
witega wise man, philosopher **12** 3
witian decree, destine
witig *adj.* wise
gewitloca mind
witnian punish **18** 52
witod *v.* **witian**
gewitt *n.* understanding, mind, sense, wits, faculties
gewittig *adj.* wise, prudent
wið *prep. (a) w. d. a.* over against, opposite **4** 324 **19** 303; *vis-à-vis*, compared with **4** 148; towards **2** 54 **4** 114 **14** 25, 193 **16** 290; to, with **9** 14; with **14** 343; from **14** 115; on ? **14** 131 *n.*; against *freq.*; in return for **16** 31, 35, 39; to; (*b*) *w. g.* in the direction of, towards **16** 8, 131
wiðerlēan *n.* repayment, requital
wiðfaran 6 retire, escape **19** 460
wiðfōn *red. v.* seize **14** 142
wiðhabban resist, stand against **14** 154
wiðre *n.* (power of) resistance **4** 352
wiðstandan 6 resist **6** 15
wlanc *adj.* proud, self-satisfied, stately, gallant, martial
wlencan adorn
wlenco *f.* pride, arrogance **21** 90; glory, ambition **4** 430 **14** 10
wlitan **1** gaze **16** 172
wlite *m.* beauty
wlitebeorht *adj.* radiantly beautiful
wlitig *adj.* beautiful
wlitigian make beautiful **22** 156; look beautiful **7** 49
wōc, **wōcun** *v.* **wæcnan**
wōd *v.* **wadan**
wōh (1) *adj.* crooked **11** 24; (2) *n.* wrong **21** 249
wōhwyrd *f.* devious destiny
wolcen *n.* cloud; *pl.* sky, heavens
wolcenfaru *f.* course or drift of clouds
wolcengehnāst *n.* collision or clash of clouds
wolde *v.* **willan**
wōm *v.* **wōh** **11** 24
wōma loud sound; blast of trumpet **19** 100; uproar, tumult
wone *v.* **wan** **20** 57

wonn, **won** *v.* **winnan**
wonn-, **won**- *v.* **wann**-
wōp *m.* shouting, howling **14** 167 **19** 200; wailing, lamentation **14** 414 **19** 42
worc *v.* **weorc**
word *n.* word; *d. pl. freq. not transl.*
wordbēotung *f.* vow
wordcraeftig *adj.* skilled in speech
wordcwide *m.* speech, conversation
wordgiedd *n.* song; dirge **14** 440
wordhord *n.* word-store, speech
wordon *v.* **word**
wordriht *n.* law
worðergyne *n.* 'word-mystery,' writing
worhte, **geworht** *v.* **wyrcan**
wōrian decay, be in ruins
worn *m.* multitude, numbers; *freq. w.* **fela**
worod- *v.* **werod**-
woruld *f.* world
woruldār *f.* worldly honour
woruldcraeft *m.* power, talent
woruldceþning *m.* king
worulddæl *m.* region
worulddream *m.* joy, delight
woruldliſ *n.* life in the world
woruldlice (1) *adj.* powerful, in authority **21** 105; (2) *n.* earthly kingdom, world **6** 65 **8** 13
woruldgesælig *adj.* prosperous
woruldgeſtreon *n.* wealth
wōðbora maker of melody, bard, minstrel
wracu *f.* punishment, misery, distress **3** 4
wræc, **wræc** *n.* exile **3** 1
wræcca exile, free-lance; outcast, wretch **20** 51
wræclāst *m.* footstep of exile, exile
wræcmæg *m.* exiled man, exile
wræcmann *m.* exile
wræcslō *m.* journey in exile, exile
wræstan twist, pluck
wrætlic *adj.* wonderfully made, marvelous, wondrous
wrætlice *adv.* ingeniously, cleverly **21** 110; splendidly, wondrously **13** 93
wrætt *f.* cunningly made ornament
wræðan get angry, rage **22** 4
wræð(ð)io *f.* wrath **22** 28 *n.*
wræð *adj.* fierce, ferocious, hostile
wræðe *adv.* heavily, with a vengeance **8** 32
wrēah *v.* **wrēon**
wrecan 5 drive, drive out, expel **4** 361 **14** 401 **22** 2, 11, 18; utter, tell **4** 125 **7** 1 **8** 1 **11** 84 **12** 15 **14** 440, 471

gewreca *n.* 5 *avenge* 4 310, 414 16 208,
248, 257, 263 16 279 18 19
wrecca(e)a *v.* wræcca
wrēgan *stir up, agitate*
wrenca *play tricks, be deceitful*
wrēon 1 *cover* 22 12
wreoðen- *v.* wriðen-
wriceð *v.* wreca 22 18
wriðian *flourish*
gewrit *n.* *writing, book*
writan 1 *engrave* 14 610
wriðan 1 *bind up*
wriðen hilt *adj.* *with twisted or cord-*
bound hilt 14 620
wrixl *f.* *exchange, retaliation*
wrixlan *exchange; wrixlan wordum*
converse or sing
wrōht *f.* *persecution, quarrelling, feud*
wudu *m.* *forest, wood, grove*
wudubēam *m.* *tree*
wudurēc *m.* *wood-smoke*
wudutrēow *n.* *wood (material)*
wuldor *n.* *heavenly glory*
wuldorecnyning *m.* *king of glory (God)*
wuldorfæder *m.* *father of glory (God)*
wuldorgiefu (*wk.*) *f.* *glorious gift* 21
90
wuldorgesteald *n.* *splendid furnishings*
wuldortorht *adj.* *gloriously or radiantly*
bright
wulf *m.* *wolf*
wulfhēafodtrēow 'wolf-head tree,'
felon-tree, gallows 22 223 *n.*
wulflið *n.* *wolf-haunted hillside* 14
219
wull *f.* *wool*
gewuna *adj.* *accustomed* 19 389
wund (1) *f.* *wound; (2) adj.* *wounded*
wunden *p.p.* *of windan* = *adj.* *twisted,*
coiled, hooped; spun 22 173
wundenfeax *adj.* *with braided hair*
(mane and tail)
wundian *wound*
wundor *n.* *wonder, marvel; d.pl.*
wondrously, marvellously
wundorbebod *n.* *marvellous order or*
command
wundorgiefu *f.* *wonderful gift*
wundorlic *adj.* *wonderful*
wundorsmið *m.* *marvellously clever*
smith
wundorworuld *f.* *wondrous world*
(ge)wunian *dwelt, live; remain, con-*
tinue, abide; be situated 11 57
gewunian *remain with* 4 22; *habituate*
oneself, have dealings 21 202

wunne *v.* winnan
wurdon *v.* weorðan
wurð- *v.* weorð-
wylfen *adj.* *wolf-like*
wylle *v.* willan
wylm *v.* wielm
wyndæg *m.* *happy day*
wynlēas *adj.* *joyless, cheerless*
wynlic *adj.* *pleasant*
wynn *f.* *joy, delight*
wynsum *adj.* *joyful, pleasant*
(ge)wyrca *make, create, form, fashion,*
construct, achieve 1 72, 142 7 74
21 21; *bring to pass, cause* 4 20
wyrd *f.* *destiny, fate*
gewyrht *n.f.* *deserts* 21 183
wyrhta *craftsman* 21 112
gewyrhta *worker, doer* 21 186
wyrn *m.* *serpent, dragon*
wyrmcynn *n.* *race of reptiles or serpents*
wyrmeð *v.* wierman
wyrmfæg *adj.* *with serpentine pattern*
wyrmlíc *n.* *serpentine pattern or orna-*
mentation
wyrnan *v.* wiernan
wyrp *m.* *throwing* 13 69
wyrpel *m.* *foot-ring (for falcon)*
wyrpte *v.* wierpan
wyrsan, wyrse *v.* wiersa
wyrft *f.* *root*
wyrft(ruma) *root*
gewyrðeð *v.* weorðan 20 135
gewyrðode *v.* weorðian
wyrðra *v.* wierðe
wyruld- *v.* woruld-
wyrscan *wish*

geƿced *v.* ƿecan
ƿfel (1) *adj.* *evil; (2) n.* *evil*
ƿlcan *v.* ilca
ƿld- *v.* ield-
ƿlfe *elf, fabulous creature* 18 24
ƿlfete *v.* ielfetu
ymb, ymbe *prep.* *w. a.* *around, near;*
about, concerning, as regards
ymbclippa *embrace, surround*
ymbfōn *red. v.* *clasp, seize* 14 386
ymbgān *athem. v.* *walk round* 14 482
ymbhwyrft *m.* *circumference, compass*
ymbhycgan *reflect on*
ymb sittan 5 *hover round* 14 66; *sur-*
round 4 9
ymbwician *encamp round* 19 65
ƿr ? *name of rune-letter* = ƿ 20 83,
121 *n.*
ƿrfe *v.* ierfe

yrhðo *v.* iergð(o)yrmðum *v.* iermð(o)yrr- *v.* ierr-ys *v.* isyð *f.* waveyðast *v.* ieðestyðgebland *n.* 'mingling of waves,'
surgeyðbord *n.* 'wave-board' gunwale of
boatyðde *v.* ieðanyðlāf *f.* 'wave-leavings,' strand, beachyðgesēne *v.* ieðgesiēne 14 540yðgewinn *n.* 'struggle in waves,' power
of swimmingywe *v.* iewan 20 32

NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES

N.B.—An asterisk after a name indicates that the person or place denoted by the name has not been identified.

- Abel** Abel 18 20
Abraham 19 18, 273
Ægelmund 1 117
Ælfhere (1) father of Waldere 2 11, 50;
 (2) kinsman of Wiglaf 14 347; (3)
 retainer of Byrhtnoth 16 80
Ælfnōð retainer of Byrhtnoth 16 183
Ælfric 16 209
Ælfwine (1) the Longobard king 1
 70 *n.*; (2) retainer of Byrhtnoth 16
 211, 231
Ænenas* 1 61
Æscferð a Northumbrian, son of
 Ecglaf 16 267
Æschere Hrothgar's thane 14 259
Æthān Etham, a city 19 66
Ætla Attila the Hun king, he died in
 A.D. 454 1 18 *n.*, 122 2 6
Æðelgār father of Godric 16 320
Æðelrēd king of England 979–1016
 16 53, 151, 203 24 10, 18
Æðelric retainer of Byrhtnoth, brother
 of Sibyrt 16 280
Æðelstān son of Edward the Elder,
 king of Wessex, 924–940 15 1
Alewiþ* 1 35 *n.*
Alexandreas Alexander the Great 1 15
Amothingas* 1 86 *n.*
Angel the country occupied by the
 Angles before they came to Britain
 1 8 *n.*, 35
Anlāf Olaf, leader of Norse invaders
 15 26, 31, 46; *vide* N. Kershaw,
Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems, pp.
 62–64
Baningas* 1 19
Beadeca* 1 112 *n.*
Beadohild a princess, daughter of Nith-
 heard 3 8
Bēanstān father of Breca 14 26
Becca Bikki 1 19 *n.*, 115
Bēowulf a Danish king 4 18, 53
Bēowulf the Geat hero, son of Ecgtheow
Billing* 1 25 *n.*
Brandingas* Breca's people 1 25 14 23
Breca a Branding prince, Beowulf's
 rival in swimming 1 19, 25 14 8, 33, 85
Breten Britain 15 70
Brettas Britons 24 10
Brōsingas the Brisings of the *Edda*,
 owners of the famous collar 4 423
Brunanburg 15 5 place where the famous
 battle took place in A.D. 937; for site
v. introd. note p. 68
Brytene v. Breten
Bryttum v. Brettas
Burgendas Burgundians 1 19 *n.*, 65
 2 46
Byrthelm father of Byrhtnoth 16 92
Byrhtnōð the ealdorman, defeated in
 battle by the Danes
Byrhtwold old retainer of Byrhtnoth
 16 309
Cælic* 1 20
Cain Cain 18 19
Cananēas Canaanites 19 442
Cēola father of Wulfstan 16 76
Cnūt king of England 1017–1035 24 18
Constantinus king of the Scots 15 38
Crēacas Greeks 1 20, 76
Crist Christ 20 2, 37 21 4
Dæghrefn a Hug warrior, slayer of
 Hygelac and slain by Beowulf 4 283
Deanas* 1 63
Dene Dane(s)
Dēor a minstrel 3 37
Dunnere a warrior at Maldon 16 255

Dyflen Dublin **15** 55

Dynges* mere **15** 54

Ēadgils (1) king of the Myrgings, lord of the travelled minstrel in *Widsith* **1** 93; (2) younger son of Ohthere **4** 411

Ēadmund son of Edward the Elder and brother of King Æthelstan, whom he succeeded as king of England in 940; reigned till 978

Ēadric a fighter at Maldon **16** 11

Ēadwacer* **10** 16

Ēadward (1) Edward the Elder, son of King Alfred and father of Æthelstan; king of Wessex 900-924 **15** 7, 52; (2) Edward the Confessor, king of England 1042-1066 **24** 13, 24; (3) name of two fighters at Maldon **16** 117, 273

Ēadwine (1) father of Ælfwine **1** 74; (2) father of Ealhild **1** 98; (3) a Longobard king? **1** 117

Ēadwold a fighter at Maldon **16** 304

Eaha a fighter at Finnsburh **5** 16

Ealhelm an ealdorman, father of Ælfwine **16** 218

Ealhild a princess, daughter of Eadwine, patroness of the minstrel in *Widsith* **1** 5, 97

Ēanmund elder son of Ohthere the Swedish king **14** 354

Ēast-Dene East Danes **14** 478

East-Gotan East Goths or Ostrogoths, Eormanric's people; see **Gotan** **1** 113

East-Seaxan men of Essex **16** 69

Ēast-Pyringas East Thuringians **1** 86

Eatule *v.* Eotole

Ēbrēas Hebrews **1** 83

Ecglāf father of Unferth **14** 1 16 267

Ecgþeow father of Beowulf the Geat **14** 31, 330

Egypte Egyptians **1** 83 **19** 145, 367, 416, 421

Elsa* **1** 117

Emerca one of the Herelings **1** 112 *n.*

Englaland England **24** 20

Engle Angles **1** 44, 61 **15** 70; English **24** 11

Eofor a Geat, son of Wonred and brother of Wulf; slayer of Ongentheow **4** 317, 363, 392, 396

Eolas* **1** 87

Ēomēr son of Offa king of the Angles **4** 120

Eormanric king of the Ostrogoths **1** 8, 18, 88, 111 **3** 21 **4** 425

Ēotan Jutes **1** 26 *n.*

Eotenas Jutes? Frisians? **4** 132 *n.*, 148, 201, 205

Eotole Italy **1** 70

Ēowas **1** 26

Exsyringas? **1** 82 *n.*

Faraon Pharaoh **19** 14, 32, 156, 417

Fifeldor river between Holstein and Slesvig **1** 43 *n.*

Finn king of the Frisians **1** 27 **4** 128, 141, 156, 188, 206, 212, 216 **5** 37

Finnas the modern Lapps **1** 20 *n.*, 76 14 82

Fitela nephew of Sigemund **4** 69, 79

Folcwalda father of Finn **4** 149

Folcwalding Finn **1** 27

Francan Franks **1** 24 *n.*, 68 **4** 293, 434

Frēawaru daughter of Hrothgar and wife of Ingeld **4** 222

Freoðeric? **1** 124 *n.*

Fridla one of the Herelings, brother of Emerca **1** 113

Friesan, **Frēsan** Frisians **1** 27 *n.*, 68 **4** 153, 164, 293, 296, 431

Friescyning Finn **4** 285

Friesland Friesland, Finn's country **4** 186, 273

Frōða king of the Heathobards and father of Ingeld **4** 225

Froncan *v.* **Francan**

Frumtingas* **1** 68

Frýsan *v.* **Frīesan**

Gadd **16** 287

Gār-Dene Spear-Danes, Danes **4** 1

Gārmund uncle of Eomer, king of the Angles **4** 122

Gārulf a fighter at Finnsburh **5** 19, 32

Gēatas Geats, Beowulf's people, who lived in extreme S. of Sweden; see introd. note to **4** **G**

Gefflegas* **1** 60

Gefðas the Gepidae **1** 60 *n.*

Gefwulf* **1** 26

Gifca the legendary founder of the Burgundian royal house **1** 19

Gislhere a Burgundian king **1** 123 *n.*

Glommas* **1** 21, 69

Godric (1) son of Odda **16** 187, 237; (2) son of Æthelgar **16** 221; both fighters at Maldon

Godwig brother of Godric **16** 192

Godwine brother of Godwig and Godric **16** 192

Gotan 1 18, 89, 109 3 23 Goths, a people first heard of in the first century A.D. as a Germanic tribe dwelling near the lower Vistula; thence they pushed S. and S.E. as far as the Black Sea. By the middle of the fourth century the East Goths formed a great and powerful kingdom under Eormannic; see **Eastgotan**

Grendel a monster in human form slain by Beowulf in the hall Heorot

Gūðhere (1) the famous Burgundian king Gundahari or Gunther 1 66 n. 2 25; (2) a fighter at Finnsburh 5 19

Gūðlāf a Danish warrior hostile to Finn 4 208, perhaps the Guthlaf who is mentioned in 5 17, 34

Gūð-Scylfingas Swedes; see **Scylfingas** 4 326

Hælsingas 1 22 n.

Hæreðas 1 81 n.

Hæðcen son of Hrethel the Geatish king; he accidentally kills his brother Herebeald 4 313, 324

Hæðnas 1 81 n.

Hagena called Hogni in the *Edda*; he was a friend of Gunther, whom he helped in his fight with Walther 1 21 2 47

Halga younger brother of Hrothgar the Danish king 4 61

Hāma called Heime in M.H.G. legend; he carried off the famous collar of the Brosings 1 124 n., 130 4 422

Harold king of England in 1066 24 36

Healfdene father of Hrothgar 4 57, 124 14 494, 505, 525

Healf-Dene 'Half-Danes,' Danes 4 129 n.

Heardrēd king of the Geats, son of Hygelac; killed by Onela the Swedish king 4 407

Heaðobeardan Heathobards, enemies of the Danes 1 49 n. 4 232, 237, 267

Heaðo-Rēamas 1 63 n. 14 21

Heaðoric* 1 116

Heaðo-Scylfingas 4 63 Swedes; see **Scylfingas**

Helm* 1 59 n.

Helmingas the people of Wealhtheow the Danish queen 14 482

Hemming a kinsman of Offa, king of the Angles 4 104, 121

Hengest a Danish leader who leads the fight against Finn's men at Finnsburh 4 143, 151, 156, 187 5 18

Heoden ruler of the Glommas 1 21 n.

Heodeningas 3 36 n.

Heorogār elder brother of Hrothgar 4 61

Heorot the famous hall of Hrothgar the Danish king, where Beowulf killed Grendel 1 49 14 148, 502

Heorrenda a minstrel who supplants Deor 3 39

Herebeald eldest son of Hrethel the Geatish king, killed by his brother Hæthcen 11 101

Herefaran* 1 34

Herelingas the Harlungs of M.H.G. legend; see **Emerca** and **Fridla** 1 112 n.

Here-Scylfingas Danes; see **Scylfingas** 4 168

Hetware a Frankish tribe who defeated the Geats and their king Hygelac 1 33 n. 4 279, 297; see introd. note to 4 F

Heðca* 1 112 n.

Hildeburh a Danish princess, daughter of Hoc, sister of Hnæf, and wife of Finn, king of the Frisians 4 131, 174

Hliðe 1 116 n.

Hnæf a Danish prince, son of Hoc, killed by Finn's men 1 29 4 129, 136, 174 5 4

Hōcingas a Danish tribe, the people of Hoc 1 29

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Hrefna-Wudu Ravens' Wood, scene of a fight between Geats and Swedes 4 324

Hrefnes Holt the same as preceding name 4 334

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Hrēðcýning Eormannic 1 7 n.

Hrēðel king of the Geats, father of Hygelac 4 274, 305, 309 14 548

Hrēð-Gotan 1 57; see 1 7 n.

Hrēðling 'son of Hrethel,' Hæthcen 4 324; *pl.* sons or people of Hrethel, Geats 4 359

Hringweald* 1 34

Hronas* 1 63

Hrōðgar king of the Danes, visited by Beowulf

Hrōðulf son of Hrothgar's younger brother Halga 14 502

Hrunting a sword lent by Unferth to Beowulf **14** 584

Hūgas a name given to the Franks **4** 284, 295

Hūn* **1** 33

Hūnas Huns, an Asiatic people who crossed the Don in 375, conquered the East Goths and settled N. of the Danube. * They reached their greatest power under Attila **1** 18 *n.*, 57

Hundingas **1** 23 *n.*, 81

Hunferð *v.* **Unferð**

Hūngār **1** 117 *n.*

Hūnlāfing **4** 203 *n.*

Hwala **1** 14 *n.*

Hygelāc king of the Geats, son of Hrethel and uncle of Beowulf

Idumingas **1** 87 *n.*

Incg* **14** 320

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Ingeld son of the Heathobard king Froda, and husband of Freawaru, daughter of Hrothgar **1** 48 **4** 264

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Langbeardan Longobards or Lombards **1** 32 *n.*, 80

Lēofsunu a fighter at Maldon **16** 244

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Lid-Wicingas Armoricans, Bretons **1** 80 *n.*

Longbeardan *v.* **Langbeardan**

Maccus a fighter at Maldon **16** 80

Mæringas **3** 19 *n.*

Mæðhild a princess **3** 14

Meaca* **1** 23

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Merewioingas Merovingians, Franks **4** 302

Mierce Mercians **15** 24 **16** 217

Mimming Waldere's sword, made by Weland **2** 3

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Moidas Medes **1** 84

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Offa (1) king of the Angles **1** 35, 37, 38 **4** 109, 117; (2) a fighter at Maldon **16** 5, 198, 230, 286, 288

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Ordlāf a fighter at Finnsburh **5** 17

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Öswold a fighter at Maldon **16** 304

Panta the modern river Blackwater, in Essex **16** 68, 97

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Perse Persians **1** 84

Ræðhere* **1** 123 *n.*

Randhere* **1** 123 *n.*

Randingas* **1** 24

Rūben Reuben the Israelite **19** 332

Rūgas the Rugii **1** 69 *n.*; see also **Holmrygas**

Rāmstān the Rimstein of M.H.G. legend **1** 123 *n.*

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Sceafa **1** 32 *n.*

Sceafthere* **1** 32

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Secca* 1 115
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Sigelwaras Ethiopians 19 69 *n.*
Sigmund the dragon-slaying hero 4 65 *n.*, 74
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Swæfe Swabians 1 22 *n.*, 44, 61
Swëon Swedes 1 31 *n.*, 58 4 303, 345, 357
Sweord-Weras* 1 62 *n.*
Swëorice Sweden 4 402
Swëopëod the Swedish people 4 321
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Sycgum v. Secgan 1 31 *n.*, 62

Pëodric (1) nephew of Eormanric the Ostrogoth, called Dietrich von Bern in M.H.G. story 1 115 *n.* 2 36 3 18; (2) king of the Franks, whose son vanquished Hygelac the Geat 1 24; see introd. note to 4 F
Pëod-Scyldingas Danes; see **Scyldingas**
Pröwendas* 1 64
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Pyringas Thuringians 1 30 *n.*, 64

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Wada Wade the giant, father of Weland 1 22 *n.*
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Wanrëd a Geat, father of Wulf and Eofor 4 370
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Wicingas a name for the Heathobards 1 47 *n.*, 59
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Wig(h)elm 16 300
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Won- v. Wan-
Wrosnas* 1 33
Wudga v. Widia

Wulf a Geat slain by King Ongentheow
4

Wulfhere* 1 119 *n.*

Wulfingas 1 29 *n.*

Wulfmær (1) a kinsman of Byrhtnoth
16 113; (2) a young fighter at Maldon,
son of Wulfstan 16 155, 183

Wulfstān a warrior who held the bridge
at Maldon 16 75, 79, 155

Wyrnhere 1 119

Ymbras 1 32 *n.*

Țtan *v.* Eotan

PART II

PROSE

I. HISTORICAL

THE A.-S. CHRONICLE

From an early period short annals written in Latin were kept in English monasteries and at episcopal sees, recording such events as deaths of abbots and bishops, appointments to vacant posts in the church, building of new churches and other matters of local importance. The death of the reigning king, his burial and the coronation of his successor were often noted. The idea of keeping a register of national events in the language of the people seems to have arisen in the critical years of the desperate struggle against the Danes at the end of the ninth century, when the English national consciousness was first aroused. The credit for this innovation is generally and with good reason given to King Alfred of Wessex, since of the various local records which together make up the *A.-S. Chronicle* the earliest is undoubtedly that of Winchester, recording the history of the West Saxon kings.¹ The example thus given was followed in course of time by other religious houses, possibly at King Alfred's suggestion, each of them, beginning with Canterbury, copying the earlier annals from older chronicles and thereafter continuing independently. Most of these redactions are still extant. The *A.-S. Chronicle* is a unique national achievement, carried out during two centuries and a half by unknown ecclesiastics inspired by higher than merely local interests. It is our main authority for the history of England up to the Norman Conquest, and is of great value for the subsequent history up to the accession of Henry II. The selections here given include the bulk of the entries relating to the two great Scandinavian invasions, the first of which was repelled by a united people rallying round their hereditary chief, while the second ended in the conquest of the same people when their leaders failed them.

The language of the annals is simple, like all A.-S. prose writing that is not a mere translation from the Latin. In the earlier entries the style is often bald, but during the later years, as the narrative broadens out and reflects the writer's consciousness of the national humiliation, the composition reaches some degree of literary merit. Towards the end of the eleventh century the language begins to change both in accident and in syntax, and the latest entries of the Peterborough chronicle can no longer be regarded as written in literary Anglo-Saxon or Old English, not even in a debased form; it is merely the current English spoken and written by educated monks of the time.

¹ There may have been a few written annals of earlier date in Alfred's possession; that there was also oral tradition is shown by the words at the end of annal 851, 'There was the greatest slaughter of Danes we have ever heard tell of.'

25. WESSEX AND THE DANES

Introduction to the Winchester Chronicle

This genealogical note forms a preface to the annals of Wessex. Another version, somewhat different, is given in annal 855, where Æthelwulf's death is noted, and fragments of the same genealogy occur under other years. The list of kings, it will be observed, ends with the name of Alfred, and as the length of his reign is not stated it is obvious that the introduction was written in his reign. We may confidently assume that he composed it himself.

Genealogies of royal dynasties were perhaps the earliest form of Anglo-Saxon or indeed of Germanic chronicle. Bede states that records of the Northumbrian kings were kept, with the dates of their accession and the length of their reigns; such a list is found in one of the MSS. of his *History*. Mercian and Kentish royal pedigrees are also extant.

Py¹ geare þe wæs agan fram Cristes acennesse CCCC wintra ond
 XCIII uuintra þa Cerdic ond Cynric his sunu cuom up æt Cerdices
 oran mid V scipum; ond se Cerdic wæs Elesing, Elesa Esling, Esla
 Gewising, Giwis Wiging, Wig Freawining, Freawine Friþugaring,
 5 Friþugar Bronding, Brond Bældæging, Bældæg Wodening. Ond
 þæs ymb VI gear þæs þe hie up cuomon, geeodon Westseaxna rice,
 ond þæt uuærun þa ærestan cyningas þe Westseaxna lond on
 Wealum geeodon; ond he hæfde þæt rice XVI gear, ond þa he
 gefor, þa feng his sunu Cynric to þam rice ond heold XVII winter.
 10 Þa he gefor, þa feng Ceol to þam rice ond heold VI gear. Þa he
 gefor, þa feng Ceolwulf to, his broþur, ond he ricsode XVII gear,
 ond hiera cyn gæþ to Cerdice. Þa feng Cynegils Ceolwulfes broþur
 sunu to rice, ond ricsode XXXI wintra, ond he onfeng ærest
 fulwihte Wesseaxna cyninga. Ond þa feng Cenwalh to, ond heold
 15 XXXI wintra, ond se Cenwalh wæs Cynegilses sunu; ond þa
 heold Seaxburg his cuen an gear þæt rice æfter him. Þa feng
 Æscwine to rice, þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice, ond heold II gear. Þa
 feng Centwine to Wesseaxna rice Cynegilsing, ond ricsode VII gear.
 Þa feng Ceadwalla to þam rice, þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice, ond heold
 20 III gear. Þa feng Ine to (West)seaxna rice, þæs cyn gæþ to Cear-
 dice, ond heold XXXVII wintra. Þa feng Æpelheard to, þæs cyn
 gæþ to Ceardice, ond heold XIII winter. Þa feng Cupred to, þæs

¹ The text of all the annals here printed, up to and inclusive of the year 900, is that of the Parker MS.; see note on the MSS

cyn gæþ to Cerdice, and heold XVII gear. Ða feng Sigeþryht to, þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice, and heold an gear. Ða feng Cynewulf to
 25 rice, þæs cyn gæþ to Ceardice, and heold XXXI wintra. Ða feng Beorhtric to rice, þæs cyn gæþ to Cerdice, and heold XVI gear. Ða feng Ecgbryht to þam rice, and heold XXXVII wintra and VII monaþ; and þa feng Æþelwulf his sunu to, and heold nigonteoðe healf gear. Se Æþelwulf wæs Ecgbryhting, Ecgbryht Ealhmund-
 30 ing, Ealhmund Eafing, Eafa Eopping, Eoppa Ingilding, Ingild Cenreding, and Ine Cenreding, and Cupburg Cenreding, and Cuenburg Cenreding, Cenred Ceolwalding, Ceolwald Cupwulfing, Cupwulf Cupwining, Cupwine Celming, Celm Cynricing, Cynric Cerdicing. Ond þa feng Æthelbald his sunu to rice, and heold V gear; þa feng
 35 Æþelbryht his broþur to, and heold V gear; þa feng Æþe(l)red his broþur to rice, and heold V gear. Ða feng Ælfred hiera broþur to rice, and þa wæs agan his ielde XXIII wintra, and CCC and XCVI wintra þæs þe his cyn ærest Westseaxna lond on Wealum ge(e)odon.

Murder of Cynewulf

This is the most vividly described event in the Chronicle.

755. Her Cynewulf benam Sigeþryht his rices ond Westseaxna
 40 wiotan for unryhtum dædum, buton Hamtunscire; and he hæfde þa oþ he ofslog þone aldormon þe him lengest wunode; and hiene þa Cynewulf on Andred adræfde, and he þær wunade oþ þæt hiene an swan ofstang æt Pryfetes flodan; and he wræc þone aldormon Cumbran; and se Cynewulf oft miclum gefeohtum feaht uuiþ
 45 Bretwalum ond ymb XXXI winter þæs þe he rice hæfde he wolde adræfan anne æþeling, se was Cyneheard haten, ond se Cyneheard wæs þæs Sigeþryhtes broþur; and þa geascode he þone cyning lytle werode on wifcyþþe on Merantune, ond hine þær berad, ond þone bur utan beeode ær hine þa men onfunden þe mid þam
 50 kyninge wærun. Ond þa ongeat se cyning þæt, ond he on þa duru eode, ond þa unheanlice hine werode, oþ he on þone æþeling locude, ond þa ut rædde on hine ond hine miclum gewundode. Ond hie alle on þone cyning wærun feohtende oþ þæt hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon. Ond þa on þæs wifes gebærum onfundon þæs cyninges þegnas þa
 55 unstillnesse, ond þa þider urnon swa hwelc swa þonne gearo wearþ ond radost. Ond hiera se æþeling gehwelcum feoh ond feorh

gebead, ond hiera nænig hit gepicgean nolde. Ac hie simle feoh-
tende wæran oþ hie alle lægon butan anum Bryttiscum gisle, ond
se swiþe gewundad wæs. Ða on morgenne gehierdun þæt þæs
60 cyninges þegnas þe him beaftan wærun þæt se cyning ofslægen
wæs; þa ridon hie þider, ond his aldormon Osríc, ond Wiferþ his
þegn, ond þa men þe he beaftan him læfde ær, ond þone æþeling
on þære byrig metton þær se cyning ofslægen læg. Ond þa gatu
him to belocen hæfdon, ond þa þær to eodon. Ond þa gebead he
65 him hiera agenne dom feos ond londes gif hie him þæs rices uþon,
ond him cyþdon þæt hiera mægas him mid wæron þa þe him from
noldon, ond þa cuædon hie þæt him nænig mæg leofra nære þonne
hiera hlaford, ond hie næfre his banan folgian noldon. Ond þa
budon hie hiera mægum þæt hie gesunde from eodon, ond hie
70 cuædon þæt tæt ilce hiera geferum geboden wære, þe ær mid þam
cyninge wærun. Þa cuædon hie þæt hie¹ þæs ne onmunden þon
ma þe 'eowre geferan þe mid þam cyninge ofslægene wærun.' Ond
hie þa ymb þa gatu feohrende wæron oþþæt hie þærinne fulgon,
ond þone æþeling ofslogon ond þa men þe him mid wærun alle
75 butan anum, se wæs þæs aldormonnes godsunu, ond he his feorh
generede, ond þeah he wæs oft gewundad. . . .

The First Danish Invasions

The Danes originally inhabited Scania, or Skånen, the extreme southern point of what is now Sweden, and perhaps the island of Seeland (Zealand); this was their territory at the beginning of the sixth century, when Hygelac led his Geats against the Franks. Hardly anything is heard of the Danes until the end of the eighth century, when they began to harry the neighbouring coasts, just as the Angles and Saxons had done over three hundred years before. By the year 787, when they are first mentioned in the *Chronicle*, they had extended their sway over all the islands in the west of the Baltic and were settled in Jutland as far as the Eider.

787. Her nom Beorhtric cyning Offan dohtor Eadburge; ond
on his dagum cuomon ærest III scipu,² ond þa se gerefa þær to rad
ond hie wolde drifan to þæs cyninges tune, þy he nyste hwæt hie
80 wæron; ond hiene mon ofslog. Þæt wæron þa ærestan scipu
Deniscra monna þe Angelcynnes lond gesohton. . . .

¹ hie hie *P.*, second hie *above line*.

² *The other MSS. have iii scipu norðmanna of hæreða lande.*

832. Her hæþne men oferhergeadon Sceapige.

833. Her gefeaht Ecgbryht cyning wiþ XXXV sciphlēsta æt Carrum; ond þær wearþ micel wæl geslægen, ond þa Deniscan¹ 85 ahton wælstowe gewald. . . .

835. Her cuom micel sciphære on Westwalas, ond hie to anum gecierdon ond wiþ Ecgbryht Westseaxna cyning winnende wæron. Þa he þæt hierde, ond mid fierde ferde, ond him wiþ feaht æt Hengestdune, ond þær gefliemde ge þa Walas ge þa Deniscan.

90 **837.** Her Wulfheard aldormon gefeaht æt Hamtune wiþ XXXIII sciphlēsta ond þær micel wæl geslog ond sige nom, ond þy geara forþferde Wulfheard. Ond þy ilcan geara gefeaht Æþelhelm dux wiþ Deniscne here on Port mid Dornsætum, ond gode hwile þone here gefliemde, ond þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe gewæld, ond þone 95 aldormon ofslogon.

838. Her Herebryht aldormon wæs ofslægen from hæþnum monnum ond monige mid him on Merswarum, ond þy ilcan geara eft on Lindesse ond on Eastenglum ond on Cantwarum wurden monige men ofslægene from þam herige.

100 **839.** Her wæs micel wælsliht on Lundene² ond on Cwantawic ond on Hrofesceastre.

840. Her Æþelwulf cyning gefeaht æt Carrum wiþ XXXV sciphlēsta, ond þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe gewald.

845. Her Ea(r)nulf aldorman gefeaht mid Sumursætum, ond 105 Ealchstan biscop ond Osric aldorman mid Dornsætum gefuhton æt Pedridan muþan wiþ deniscne here, ond þær micel wæl geslogon ond sige namon.

851. Her Ceorl aldormon gefeaht wiþ hæþene men mid Defenascire æt Wicganbeorge, ond þær micel wæl geslogon ond sige namon. 110 Ond þy ilcan geara Æþelstan cyning ond Ealchere dux micelne here ofslogon æt Sondwic on Cent, ond IX scipu gefengun ond þa oþre gefliemdon, ond hæþne men ærest ofer winter sæton. Ond þy ilcan geara cuom feorþe healfhund scipa on Temese muþan ond bræcon Contwaraburg ond Lundenburg, ond gefliemdon Beorhtwulf 115 Miercna cyning mid his fierde, ond foron þa suþ ofer Temese on Suþrige, ond him gefeaht wiþ Æþelwulf cyning ond Æþelbald his sunu æt Aclea mid Westseaxna fierde, ond þær þæt mæste wæl geslogon on hæþnum herige þe we secgan hierdon oþ þisne andwear-dan dæg, ond þær sige namon.

¹ denescan *P.*

² lundenne *P.*

120 **853.** . . . Ða ƿy ilcan geare Ealhere mid Cantwarum ond Huda
mid Suþrigum gefuhton on Tenet wiþ hæƿnum herige, ond ærest
sige namon ; ond ƿær wearþ monig mon ofslægen ond adruncen on
gehwæƿere hond. . . .

855. Her hæƿne men ærest on Sceapige ofer winter sætun ; ond
125 ƿy ilcan geare gebocude Æþelwulf cyning teoƿan dæl his londes
ofer al his rice Go(de) to lofe, ond him selfum to ecere hælo. . . .

860. Her Æþelbald cyng forþferde, ond his lic liþ æt Scirabur-
nan . . . ond on his dæge cuom micel sciphere up ond abracon
Wintanceastre. Ond wiþ þone here gefuhton Osric aldormon mid
130 Hamtunsire ond Æþelwulf aldormon mid Bearrucscire, ond þone
here gefliemdon ond wælstowe gewald ahton. . . .

865. Her sæt hæƿen here on Tenet ond genamon friþ wiþ Cant-
warum, ond Cantware him feoh geheton wiþ þam friþe, ond under
þam friþe ond þam feohgehate se here hiene on niht up bestæl, ond
135 oferhergeade alle Cent eastwearde.

866. Her feng Æþe(l)red Æþelbryhtes broþur to Wesseaxna
rice ; ond ƿy ilcan geare cuom micel here on Angelcynnes lond, ond
wintersetl namon on Eastenglum, ond ƿær gehorsude wurden, ond
hie him friþ (wiþ) namon.

Danes' Conquest and Settlement of East Anglia and Northumbria

140 **867.** Her for se here of Eastenglum ofer Humbre muþan to
Eoforwicceastre on Norþhymbre, ond ƿær wæs micel ungeþuærnes
þære þeode betweox him selfum, ond hie hæfdun hiera cyning
aworpenne Osbryht, ond ungecyndne cyning underfengon Ællan.
Ond hie late on geare to þam gecirdon þæt hie wiþ þone here win-
145 nende wærun, ond hie þeah micle fierd gegadrodon, ond þone here
sohton æt Eoforwicceastre, ond on þa ceastre bræcon, ond hie sume
inne wurden, ond ƿær was ungemetlic wæl geslægen Norþanhymbra,
sume binnan sume butan, ond þa cyningas begen ofslægene, ond
sio laf wiþ þone here friþ nam. . . .

150 **868.** Her for se ilca here innan Mierce to Snotengaham, ond
ƿær wintersetl namon. Ond Burgræd Miercna cyning ond his
wiotan bædon Æþe(l)red Westseaxna cyning ond Ælfred his broþur
þæt hie him ge fultumadon þæt hie wiþ þone here gefuhton ; ond
þa ferdon hie mid Wesseaxna fierde innan Mierce oþ Snotengaham,

155 and þone here þær metton on þam geweorce, and þær nan hefelic gefeoht ne wearþ, and Mierce friþ namon wiþ þone here.

869. Her for se here eft to Eoforwicceastre and þær sæt I gear.

870. Her rad se here ofer Mierce innan Eastengle and wintersetl
160 namon æt Peodforda, and þy wintre Eadmund cyning him wiþ feaht, and þa Deniscan sige namon and þone cyning ofslogon, and þæt lond all geodon. . . .

Danes Attack Wessex

871. Her cuom se here to Readingum on Westseaxe and þæs ymb III niht ridon II eorlas up. Þa gemette hie Æþelwulf alдор-
165 man on Englafelda, and him þær wiþ geteaht and sige nam. Þæs ymb IIII niht Æþe(l)red cyning and Ælfred his broþur þær micle fierd to Readingum gelæddon and wiþ þone here gefuhton, and þær wæs micel wæl geslaegen on gehwæpre hond; and Æþelwulf aldormon wearþ ofslægen, and þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe gewald.
170 Ond þæs ymb IIII niht gefeaht Æþe(l)red cyning and Ælfred his broþur wiþ alne þone here on Æscesdune; and hie wærun on twæm gefylcum: on oþrum wæs Bachsecg and Halfdene þa hæþnan cyningas, and on oþrum wæron þa eorlas. Ond þa gefeaht se cyning Æþe(l)red wiþ þara cyninga getruman, and þær wearþ se
175 cyning Bagsecg ofslægen; and Ælfred his broþur wiþ þara eorla getruman, and þær wearþ Sidroc eorl ofslægen se alda, and Sidroc eorl se gioncga, and Osbearn eorl and Fræna eorl and Hareld eorl, and þa hergas begen gefliemde, and fela þusenda ofslægenra, and onfeohrende wæron oþ niht. Ond þæs ymb XIII niht gefeaht
180 Æþe(l)red cyning and Ælfred his broþur wiþ þone here æt Basengum, and þær þa Deniscan sige namon, and þæs ymb II monaþ gefeaht Æþe(l)red cyning and Ælfred his broþur wiþ þone here æt Meretune, and hie wærun on tuæm gefylcium, and hie butu gefliemdon and longe on dæg sige ahton, and þær wearþ micel wælsliht on
185 gehwæpere hond, and þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe gewald. Ond þær wearþ Heahmund biscop ofslægen, and fela godra monna. Ond æfter þissum gefeohte cuom micel sumorlida; and þæs ofer Eastron gefor Æþe(l)red cyning, and he ricsode V gear, and his lic liþ æt Winburnan.

Alfred Succeeds Æthelwulf

190 Ða feng Ælfred Æþelwulfing his broþur to Wesseaxna rice.
 Ond þæs ymb anne monað gefeaht Ælfred cyning wiþ alne þone
 here lytle werede æt Wiltune, ond hine longe on dæg gefliemde,
 ond þa Deniscan ahton wælstowe gewald. Ond þæs geares wurdon
 VIII folcgefeht gefohten wiþ þone here on þy cynerice be suþan
 195 Temese, butan þam þe him Ælfred þæs cyninges broþur ond anlipig
 aldormon ond cyninges þegnas oft rade onridon, þe mon na ne
 rimde. Ond þæs geares wærun ofslægene VIII eorlas ond an
 cyning; ond þy geare namon Westseaxe friþ wiþ þone here.

872. Her for se here to Lundenbyrig from Readingum, ond þær
 200 wintersetl nam, ond þa namon Mierce friþ wiþ þone here.

873. Her for se here on Norþhymbre, ond he nam wintersetl
 on Lindesse, æt Turecesiege, ond þa namon Mierce friþ wiþ þone
 here.

874. Her for se here from Lindesse to Hreopedune ond þær
 205 wintersetl nam, ond þone cyning Burgræd ofer sæ adræfdon ymb
 XXII winter þæs þe he rice hæfde, ond þæt lond all geodon. Ond
 he for to Rome ond þær gesæt, ond his lic liþ on Sancta Marian
 circean on Angelcynnes scole. Ond þy ilcan geare hie sealdon
 (Ceolwulfe)¹ anum unwisum cyninges þegne Miercna rice to hald-
 210 anne, ond he him aþas swor ond gislas salde þæt he him gearo
 wære swa hwelce dæge swa hie hit habban wolden, ond he gearo
 wære mid him selfum ond on allum þam þe him læstan woldon,
 to þæs heres þearfe.

875. Her for se here from Hreopedune, ond Healfdene for mid
 215 sumum þam here on Norþhymbre ond nam wintersetl be Tinan
 þære ea, ond se here þæt lond geeode, ond oft hergade on Peohtas
 ond on Stræcledwalas. Ond for Godrum ond Oscytel ond Anwynd
 þa III cyningas of Hreopedune to Grantebrycge mid micle here ond
 sæton þær an gear. Ond þy sumera for Ælfred cyning ut on sæ
 220 mid sciphere ond gefeaht wiþ VII sciplæstas, ond hiera an gefeng
 ond þa oþru gefliemde.

876. Her hiene bestæl se here in to Werham Wesseaxna fierde,
 ond wiþ þone here se cyning friþ nam, ond him þa aþas sworon
 þam halgan beage, þe hie ær nanre þeode noldon, þæt hie hrædlice

¹ Ceolwulfe from the other MSS.

225 of his rice foren; and hie þa under þam hie nihtes bestælon þære fierde, se gehorsode here, in to Escanceastre.¹ Ond þy geare Healfdene Norþanhymbra lond gedælde, ond ergende wæron ond hiera tilgende.

877. Her cuom se here in to Escanceastre from Werham, ond
230 se sciphære sigelede west ymbutan ond þa mette hie micel yst on sæ, ond þær forweaþ CXX scipa æt Swanawic. Ond se cyning Ælfred æfter þam gehorsudan here mid fierde rad oþ Exanceaster, ond hie hindan ofridan ne meahte ær hie on þam fæstene wæron, þær him mon to ne meahte; ond hie him þær foregislas saldon, swa
235 fela swa he habban wolde, ond micle aþas sworon, ond þa godne friþ heoldon. Ond þa on hærfæste gefor se here on Miercna lond, ond hit gedældon sum, ond sum Ceolwulfe saldon.

878. Her hiene bestæl se here on midne winter ofer tuel(f)tan niht to Cippanhamme, ond geridon Wesseaxna lond ond gesæton,
240 (ond) micel þæs folces ofer² sæ adræfdon, ond þæs oþres þone mæstan dæl hie geridon ond him to gecirdon, buton þam cyninge Ælfrede; ond he lytle werede unieþelice æfter wudum for, ond on morfæstenum. Ond þæs ilcan wintra wæs Inwæres³ broþur ond Healfdenes on Westseaxum on Defenascire mid XXIII scipum ond
245 hiene mon þær ofslog ond DCCC monna mid him ond XL monna his heres.⁴ Ond þæs on Eastron worhte Ælfred cyning lytle werede geweorc æt Æþelinga-eigge, ond of þam geweorce was winnende wiþ þone here ond Sumursætna se dæl se þær nieht wæs.

Defeat of Danes. Treaty of Wedmore

þa on þære seofodan wiecan ofer Eastron he gerad to Ecgbryhtes-
250 stane be eastan Sealwyda,⁵ ond him to com þær ongen Sumorsæte alle ond Wilsætan ond Hamtunscir, se dæl se hie behinon sæ was, ond his gefægene wærun. Ond he for ymb ane niht of þam wicum to Iglea, ond þæs ymb ane to Eþandune, ond þær gefeaht wiþ alne þone here, ond hiene gefliemde ond him æfter rad oþ
255 þæt geweorc, ond þær sæt XIII niht; ond þa salde se here him foregislas ond micle aþas þæt hie of his rice uuoldon, ond him

¹ *P. has escan ceaster.*

² *ond ofer P.*

³ *One MS. has ingwæres.*

⁴ *P. here omits some words; see note.*

⁵ *Other MSS. have sealwuda; L. has wealwudu.*

eac geheton þæt hiera kyning fulwihte onfon wolde, ond hie þæt gelæston swa. Ond þæs ymb III wiecan com se cyning to him, Godrum þritiga sum, þara monna þe in þam here weorþuste wæron, 260 æt Alre, ond þæt is wiþ Æþelingga-eige; ond his se cyning þær onfeng æt fulwihte, ond his crismlicing was æt Wepmor; ond he was XII niht mid þam cyninge, ond he hine miclum ond his geferan mid feo weorþude.

879. Her for se here to Cirenceastre of Cippanhamme; ond sæt 265 þær an gear. Ond þy geare gegadrode an¹ hloþ wicenga ond gesæt æt Fullanhamme be Temese. . . .

880. Her for se here of Cirenceastre on Eastengle, ond gesæt þæt lond ond gedælde. Ond þy ilcan geare for se here ofer sæ þe ær on Fullanhomme sæt, on Fronclond to Gend, ond sæt þær 270 an gear.

The Main Danish Horde

881. Her for se here ufor on Fronclond, ond þa Francan him wiþ gefuhton, ond þær þa wearþ se here gehorsod æfter þam gefeohte.

882. Her for se here up onlong Mæse feor² on Fronclond, ond þær sæt an gear. Ond þy ilcan geare for Ælfred cyning mid scipum 275 ut on sæ, ond gefeaht wiþ feower sciphlēastas deniscra monna, ond þara scipa tu genam, ond þa men ofslægene wæron þe ðær on wæron, ond tuegen sciphēas³ him on hond eodon; ond þa wæron miclum forslægene ond forwundode ær hie on hond eodon.

883. Her for se here up on Scald to Cundoþ, ond þær sæt an 280 gear.

884. Her for se here up on Sunnan to Embenum, ond þær sæt an gear.

885. Her todælde se foresprecena here on tu, oþer dæl east, oþer dæl to Hrofesceastre, ond ymbsæton ða ceastre ond worhton 285 oþer faesten ymb hie selfe; ond hie þeah þa ceastre aweredon oþ þæt Ælfred com utan mid fierde; þa eode se here to hiera scipum ond forlet þæt geweorc. Ond hie wurdon þær behorsude ond sona þy ilcan sumere ofer sæ gewiton; ond þy ilcan geare sende Ælfred cyning sciphēre on Eastengle. Sona swa hie comon on Sture 290 muþan⁴ þa metton hie XVI scipu wicenga, ond wiþ ða gefuhton, ond

¹ on *P.*

³ From *C.*; *P.* has sciphlēastas.

² For feor other MSS. have ufor.

⁴ From *L.*; Stufemuþan *P.*

þa scipo alle geræhton, and þa men ofslogon. Þa hie þa hamweard wendon mid þære herehyþe, þa metton hie micelne sciphære wicenga, and þa wiþ þa gefuhton þy ilcan dæge, and þa Deniscan ahton sige . . . Ond þy ilcan geare se here on Eastenglum bræc friþ wiþ
295 Ælfred cyning.

886. Her for se here eft west þe ær east gelende, and þa up on Sigene, and þær wintersetl namon. Þy ilcan geare gesette Ælfred cyning Lundenburg, oþ him all Angelcyn to cirde þæt buton deniscra monna hæfniede was, and he¹ þa befæste þa burg
300 Æþe(l)rede aldormen to haldonne.

887. Her for se here up þurh þa brycge æt Paris, and þa up andlang Sigene oþ Mæterne, oþ Cariei;² and þa sæton þær on-innan³ Ionan tu winter on þam twam stedum. . . . Ond þy ilcan geare þe se here for forþ up ofer þa brycge æt Paris. . . .

890. Her lædde Beornhelm abbud Westseaxna ælmeſſan to Rome and Ælfredes cyninges. Ond Godrum se norþerna cyning forþferde, þæs fulluhtnama wæs Æþelstan; se wæs Ælfredes cyninges godsunu, and he bude on Eastenglum and þæt lond ærest gesæt. Ond þy ilcan geare for se here of Sigene to Sant Laudan,
310 þæt is betueoh Brettum and Francum, and Brettas him wiþ gefuhton and hæfdon sige and hie bedrifon ut on ane ea, and monige adrencton. . . .

891. Her for se here east, and Earnulf cyning gefeaht wið ðæm radehere⁴ ær þa scipu cuomon, mid Eastfrancum and Seaxum
315 and Bægerum, and hine gefliemde.

Three Irish Monks

Ond þrie Scottas comon to Ælfrede cyninge, on anum bate butan ælcum gereþrum of Hibernia, þonon hi hi bestælon forþon þe hi woldon for Godes lufan on elpiodignesſe beon, hi ne rohton hwær. Se bat wæs geworht of þridan healfre hyde þe hi on foron,
320 and hi namon mid him þæt hi hæfdun to seofon nihtum mete; and þa comon hie ymb VII niht to londe on Cornwalum, and foron þa sona to Ælfrede cyninge; þus hie wæron genemnde: Dubslane and Maccbethu and Mælinmun. Ond Swifneh, se betsta lareow on Scottum wæs, gefor.

¹ hie P. ² Cazei L. ³ þara and innan P.; þær innan L. ⁴ rædehere P.

A Great Danish Armada Arrives

325 **892.** Her on þysum geare for se micla here, þe we gefyrn ymbe
 spræcon, eft of þæm eastrice westweard to Bunnan, ond þær
 wurdon gescipode, swa þæt hie asettan hi ¹ on anne siþ ofer mid
 horsum mid ealle, ond þa comon up on Limene muþan mid CCL
 hundescipa. Se muþa is on easteweardre Cent æt þæs miclan wuda
 330 eastende þe we Andred hatað; se wudu is eastlang ond westlang
 hundtwelftiges mila lang oþþe lengra, ond þritiges mila brad. Seo
 ea þe we ær ymbe spræcon lið ut of þæm wealda; on þa ea hi
 tugon up hiora scipu oþ þone weald, IIII mila fram þæm muþan
 uteweardum, ond þær abracon an geweorc; inne on þæm f(æst)enne
 335 sæton feawa cirlice men on, ond wæs samworht. Ða sona æfter
 þæm com Hæsten mid LXXX scipa up on Temese muðan, ond
 worhte him geweorc æt Middeltune, ond se oþer here æt Apuldre.

893. On þys geare, þæt wæs ymb twelf monað þæs þe hie on
 þæm eastrice geweorc geworht hæfdon, Norþhymbre ond Eastengle
 340 hæfdon Ælfrede cyninge aþas geseald, ond Eastengle foregisla VI,
 ond þeh ofer þa treowa swa oft swa þa oþre hergas mid ealle herige
 ut foron, þonne foron hie, oþþe mid oþþe on heora healfe.² Ða
 gegaderade Ælfred cyning his fierd ond for þæt he gewicode
 betwuh þæm twam hergum, þær þær he niehst rymet hæfde for
 345 wudufæstenne ond for wæterfæstenne, swa þæt he mehte ægþerne
 geræcan gif hie ænigne feld secan wolden. Ða foron hie siþþan
 æfter þæm wealda hloþum ond flocradum bi swahwæpperre efes(e)
 swa hit þonne fierdleas wæs, ond hi ³ mon eac mid oþrum floccum
 sohte mæstra daga ælce, (oþþe on dæg) ⁴ oþþe on niht, ge of þære
 350 fierde ge eac of þæm burgum. Hæfde se cyning his fierd on tu
 tonumen, swa þæt hie wæron simle healfe æt ham, healfe ute,
 butan þæm monnum þe þa burga healdan scolden. Ne com se
 here oftor eall ute of þæm setum þonne tuwwa, oþre siþe þa hie
 ærest to londe comon, ær sio fierd gesamnod wære, oþre siþe þa
 355 hie of þæm setum faran woldon, þa hie gefengon micle herehyð,
 ond þa woldon ferian norþweardes ofer Temese in on Eastseaxe
 ongean þa scipu. Ða forrad sio fierd hie foran, ond him wið gefeah
 t æt Fearnhamme ond þone here gefliemde ond þa herehyða ahred-
 don; ond hie flugon ofer Temese buton ælcum forða þa up be

¹ hi *L.*; him *P.*² healfe on *P.*³ him *P.*⁴ *From C. and D.*

360 Colne on anne iggað. Ða besæt sio fierd hie þær utan þa hwile þe
 hie þær lengest mete hæfdon. Ac hi hæfdon þa heora stemn
 gesetenne ond hiora mete genotudne, ond wæs se cyng þa þider-
 weardes on fære mid þære scire þe mid him fierdedon. Ða he þa
 wæs þiderweardes ond sio operu fierd wæs hamweardes, ond ða
 365 Deniscan sæton þær behindan, forþæm hiora cyning wæs gewundod
 on þæm gefeohte, þæt hi hine ne mehton ferial. Ða gegaderedon
 þa þe in Norþhymbrum bugeað ond on Eastenglum sum hund scipa,
 ond foron suð ymbutan, ond sum feowertig scipa norþ ymbutan,
 ond ymsæton an geweorc on Defnascire be þære norþsæ; ond þa
 370 þe suð ymbutan foron ymsæton Exancester. Ða se cyng þæt
 hierde, þa wende he hine west wið Exanceastres mid ealre þære fierde
 buton swiþe gewaldenum dæle easteweardes þæs folces. Ða foron
 forð oþþe hie comon to Lundenbyrg, ond þa mid þæm burgwarum
 ond þæm fultume þe him westan com foron east to Beamfleote;
 375 wæs Hæsten þa þær cumen mid his herge þe ær æt Middeltune sæt,
 ond eac se micla here wæs þa þær to cumen, þe ær on Limene muþan
 sæt æt Apuldre; hæfde Hæsten ær geworht þæt geweorc æt
 Beamfleote ond wæs þa ut afaren on hergaþ, ond wæs se micla here
 æt ham. Ða foron hie to ond gefliemd on þone here, ond þæt
 380 geweorc abræcon, ond genamon eal þæt þær binnan wæs ge on feo
 ge on wifum ge eac on bearnum, ond brohton eall in to Lundenbyrig,
 ond þa scipu eall oðþe tobræcon oþþe forbærndon, oþþe to Lunden-
 byrig brohton, oþþe to Hrofesceastre. Ond Hæstenes wif ond his
 suna twegen mon brohte to þæm cyninge, ond he hi him eft ageaf,
 385 forþæm þe hiora wæs oþer his godsunu, oþer Æðe(l)redes caldormonnes.
 Hæfdon hi hiora onfangen ær Hæsten to Beamfleote come, ond he him
 hæfde geseald gislas ond aðas, ond se cyng him eac wel feoh sealde
 ond eac swa þa he þone cniht agef ond þæt wif. Ac sona swa hie to
 Beamfleote comon 7 þ geweorc geworct wæs,
 390 swa hergode he on his rice þone ilcan ende þe Æþe(l)red his cumpæder
 healdan sceolde, ond eft oþre siþe he wæs on hergað gelend on
 þæt ilce rice, þa þa mon his geweorc abræc. Ða se cyning hine
 þa west wende mid þære fierde wið Exancestres, swa ic ær sæde,
 ond se here þa burg beseten hæfde; þa he þær to gefaren wæs, þa
 395 eodon hie to hiora scipum. Ða he þa wið þone here þær wæst
 abisgod wæs, ond þa hergas wæron gegaderode begen to Sceobyrig
 on Eastseaxum, ond þær geweorc worhtun, foron begen ætgædere
 up be Temese, ond him com micel eaca to, ægþer ge of Eastenglum

ge of Norþhymbrum. Foron þa up be Temese oþ þæt hie gedydon
 400 æt Sæferne. Ða gegaderode Æþe(l)red ealdormon ond Æþelm ealdor-
 man ond Æþelnoþ ealdorman ond þa cinges þegnas þe þa æt ham
 æt þæm geweorcum wæron, of ælcra byrig be eastan Pedredan, ge
 be westan Sealwuda ge be eastan, ge eac be norþan Temese ond
 be westan Sæfern, ge eac sum dæl þæs Norðwealcynnes. Ða hie
 405 þa ealle gegaderode wæron, þa offoron hie þone here hindan æt
 Buttingtune on Sæferne staþe, ond hine þær utan besæton on ælce
 healfe on anum fæstenne. Ða hie ða fela wucena sæton on twa
 healfe þære e, ond se cyng wæs west on Defnum wiþ þone sciphære,
 þa wæron hie mid metelieste gewægde, ond hæfdon mic(e)lne dæl
 410 þara horsa freten, ond þa oþre wæron hungre acwolen, þa eodon
 hie ut to ðæm monnum þe on easthealfe þære e wicodon, ond him
 wiþ gefuhton, ond þa Cristnan hæfdon sige. Ond þær wearð Ordheh
 cyninges þegn ofslægen ond eac monige oþre cyninges þegn(as),
 (ond þara Deniscra þær wearþ swiþe mycel wæl geslægen),¹ ond se
 415 dæl þe þær aweg com wurdon on fleame generede. Ða hie on East-
 seaxe comon to hiora geweorce ond to hiora scipum, þa gegaderade
 sio laf eft of Eastenglum ond of Norðhymbrum micelne here onforan
 winter, ond befæston hira wif ond hira scipu ond hira feoh on East-
 englum, ond foron anstreces dæges ond nihtes, þæt hie gedydon on
 420 anre westre ceastre on Wirhealum, seo is Legaceaster gehaten. Ða
 ne mehte seo fird hie na hindan offaran ær hie wæron inne on þæm
 geweorce; besæton þeah þæt geweorc utan sume twegen dagas
 ond genamon ceapes eall þæt þær buton wæs, ond þa men ofslogon
 þe hie foran forridan mehton butan geweorce, ond þæt corn eall
 425 forbærndon ond mid hira horsum fretton on ælcra efenehðe. Ond
 þæt wæs ymb twelf monað þæs þe hie ær hider ofer sæ comon.

894. Ond þa sona æfter þæm on ðys gere for se here of Wirheale
 in on Norðwealas, forþæm hie ðær sittan ne mehton; þæt wæs
 forðy þe hie wæron benumene ægðer ge þæs ceapes ge þæs cornes
 430 ðe hie gehegrod hæfdon. Ða hie ða eft ut of Norðwealum wendon
 mid þære herehyðe þe hie ðær genumen hæfdon, þa foron hie ofer
 Norðhymbra lond ond Eastengla, swa swa seo fird hie geræcan ne
 mehte, oþþæt hie comon on Eastseaxna lond easteward on an
 igland þæt is ute on þære sæ, þæt is Meresig haten. Ond þa se here

¹ Words missing in P. supplied from C. and D.; in their place P. has only ofslægen.

135 eft hamweard wende þe Exanceaster beseten hæfde, þa hergodon
 hie up on Suðseaxum neah Cisseceastre, ond þa burgware hie
 gefliemdon ond hira monig hund ofslogon, ond hira scipu sumu
 genamon. Ða þy ylcan gere onforan winter þa Deniscan þe on
 140 Meresige sæton tugon hira scipu up on Temese ond þa up on
 Lygan; þæt wæs ymb twa ger þæs þe hie hider ofer sæ comon.

London and the Danes

895. On þy ylcan gere worhte se foresprecena here geweorc be
 Lygan XX mila bufan Lundenbyrig. Þa þæs on sumera foron
 micel dæl þara burgwara ond eac swa oþres folces, þæt hie gedydon
 æt þara Deniscana geweorce, ond þær wurdon gefliemde, ond sume
 445 feower cyninges þegnas ofslægene. Þa þæs on hærfeSte þa wicode
 se cyng on neaweste þære byrig þa hwile þe hie hira corn gerypon,
 þæt þa Deniscan him ne mehton þæs ripes forwiernan. Þa sume
 dæge rad se cyng up be þære eæ ond gehawade hwær mon mehte
 þa ea forwyrcan, þæt hie ne mehton þa scipu ut brengan; ond hie
 450 ða swa dydon; worhton ða tu geweorc on twa healfes þære eas.
 Þa hie ða þæt geweorc furþum ongunnen hæfdon ond þær to gewicod
 hæfdon, þa onget se here þæt hie ne mehton þa scyfu ut brengan.
 Þa forleton hie hie ond eodon ofer land þæt hie gedydon æt Cwat-
 brycge be Sæfern, ond þær gewerc worhton. Þa rad seo fierd
 455 west æfter þæm herige, ond þa men of Lundenbyrig gefetodon þa
 scipu ond þa ealle þa hie alædan ne mehton tobræcon, ond þa þe
 þær stælwyrðe wæron binnan Lundenbyrig gebrohton. Ond þa
 Deniscan hæfdon hira wif befæst innan Eastengle ær hie ut of
 þæm geweorce foron. Þa sæton hie þone winter æt Cwatbrycge.
 460 Þæt wæs ymb þreo ger þæs þe hie on Limene muðan comon hider
 ofer sæ.

The Danish Host Breaks Up

896. Ða þæs on sumera on ðysum gere tofor se here, sum on
 Eastengle, sum on Norðhymbre, ond þa þe feohlease wæron him
 þær scipu begeton ond suð ofer sæ foron to Sigene. Næfde se here,
 465 Godes þonces, Angelcyn ealles forswiðe gebrocod; ac hie wæron
 micle swiþor gebrocoded on þæm þrim gearum mid ceapes cwilde
 ond monna, ealles swiþost mid þæm þæt manige þara selestena

cynges þena þe þær on londe wæron forðferdon on þæm þrim gearum: þara wæs sum Swiðulf biscop on Hrofesceastre, ond
 470 Ceolmund ealdormon on Cent, ond Beorhtulf ealdormon on East-seaxum, ond Wulfred ealdormon on Hamtunscire, ond Ealhheard biscop æt Dorceceastre, ond Eadulf cynges þegn on Suðseaxum, ond Beornulf wicgerefa¹ on Winteceastre ond Ecgulf cynges horsþegn, ond manige eac him, þeh ic ða geðungnestan nemde.

Alfred's New Ships

Py ilcan geare drehton þa hergas on Eastenglum ond on Norð-hymbrum Westseaxna lond swiðe be þæm suðstæde mid stælhergum, ealra swiþust mid ðæm æscum þe hie fela geara ær timbredon. Þa het Ælfred cyng timbran lang scipu ongen ða æscas; þa wæron fulneah tu swa lang swa þa oðru; sume hæfdon LX ara, sume
 480 ma. Þa wæron ægðer ge swiftran ge unwealtran ge eac hier(r)-an þonne þa oðru; næron nawðer ne on fresisc gescæpene ne on denisc, bute swa him selfum ðuhte þæt hie nytwyrðoste beon meahten. Þa æt sumum cirre þæs ilcan gears comon þær sex scipu to Wiht ond þær mycel yfel gedydon ægðer ge on Defenum
 485 ge welhwær be ðæm særiman. Þa het se cyng faran mid nigonum to þara niwena scipa, ond forforon him þone muðan foran on utermere; þa foron hie mid þrim scipum ut ongen hie, ond þreo stodon æt ufewardum þæm muðan on drygum; wæron þa men uppe on londe of agane. Þa gefengon hie þara þreora scipa tu
 490 æt ðæm muðan utewardum, ond þa men ofslogon, ond þæt an oðwand; on þæm wæron eac þa men ofslægene buton fifum. Þa comon forðy on weg ðe ðara oþerra scipu asæton; þa wurdon eac swiðe unedlice aseten; þreo asæton on ða healfe þæs deopes ðe ða deniscan scipu aseten wæron, ond þa oðru eall on oþre healfe,
 495 þæt hira ne mehte nan to oðrum. Ac ða þæt wæter wæs ahebbad fela furlanga from þæm scipum, þa eodon ða Deniscan from þæm þrim scipum to þæm oðrum þrim þe on hira healfe beebbade wæron, ond hie þa þær gefuhton. Þær wearð ofslægen Lucumon cynges gerefa, ond Wulfheard Friesa ond Æbbe Friesa ond Æðelhere Friesa,
 500 ond Æðelferð cynges geneat, ond ealra monna fresiscra ond englisra LXII ond þara deniscena CXX. Þa com þæm deniscum

¹ So other MSS.; wicgefera P.

scipum þeh ær flod to, ær þa Cristnan mehten hira ut ascufan, ond hie forðy ut oðreowon. Þa wæron hie to þæm gesargode þæt hie ne mehton Suðseaxna lond utan berowan, ac hira þær tu sæ on lond 505 wearp. Ond þa men mon lædde to Winteceastre to þæm cynge, ond he hie ðær ahon het; ond þa men comon on Eastengle þe on þæm anum scipe wæron, swiðe forwundode. Þy ilcan sumera forwearð no læs þonne XX scipa mid monnum mid ealle be þam suðriman . . .

Death of King Alfred

900.¹ Her gefor Ælfred Apulfing syx nihtum ær Ealra Haligra 510 mæssan. Se wæs cyning ofer eal Ongelcyn butan ðæm dæle þe under Dena onwalde wæs, ond he heold þæt rice oþrum healfum læs þe XXX wintra; ond þa feng Eadweard his sunu to rice.

26. THE SECOND SCANDINAVIAN INVASION. CONQUEST OF ENGLAND

For the first few years of his reign Eadweard, Alfred's eldest son, was at war with the Northumbrian and East-Anglian Danes, who had ranged themselves under the leadership of his renegade cousin Æthelweald. There followed a treaty and six years of peace and then from 910 to 919 Eadweard with his valiant sister Æthelflæd, widow of Æthelred Alfred's viceroy of Mercia, devoted themselves systematically to the subjugation of the Danelaw. Throughout Mercia towns were fortified and blockhouses built after the system which had proved so successful in Wessex. It was especially necessary to prevent the Irish Scandinavians from coming to the aid of those of the Danelaw. In 910 a fleet of vikings came over from Brittany to the mouth of the Severn, and several years later, probably in 913, another arrived to support their kinsmen, but after being defeated passed on to Ireland. These were the last invasions of England made by the vikings from French ports; henceforward nothing is heard of Scandinavian raids till the year 980. By this time 'the Northmen,' the vikings from Norway, had established kingdoms in Ireland, the Western Isles, and part of Scotland, and were beginning to form settlements in Cumberland and Westmorland; they may even have penetrated as far inland as the West Riding. Traces of their settlement survive in archæological remains as well as in the place-names and dialects of these districts. Their kings were already beginning to plan the subjugation of the stubborn English, and thanks to the weak character of King Æthelred and the incompetence or treachery of his nobles, these Scandinavian colonists, in league with their mother-countries, succeeded in what their predecessors had failed to achieve. The bitter indignation and despair of the English people are reflected in the comments of the annalist.

¹ *This annal is under 901 in the MSS.*

The Battle of Maldon

991.¹ Her wæs G(types)wic gehergod, ond æfter þam swyðe raðe wæs Brihtnoð ealdorman ofslægen æt Mældune, ond on þam geare man gerædde þæt man geald ærest gafol deniscan mannum for þam mycclan brogan þe hi worhtan be þam særiman; þæt wæs 5 ærest X þusend punda. Þæne ræd gerædde Siric arcebiscop.

Anlaf and Swegen

994. Her on þysum geare com Anlaf ond Swegen to Lundenbyrig on Natiuitas sancte Marie mid IIII ond hundnigontigum scipum; ond hi ða on ða burh festlice feohtende wæron, ond eac hi mid fyre ontendan woldon, ac hi þar gefeordon maran hearm ond yfel 10 þonne hi æfre wendon þæt heom ænig burhwaru gedon sceolde. Ac se(o) halige Godes modor on ðam (dæge)² hire mildheortnisse þære burhware gecyðde, ond hi ahredde wið heora feondum; ond hi þanon ferdon ond wrohton þæt mæste yfel þe æfre ænig here don mihte on bærnette ond hergunge ond on manslihtum, ægðer be 15 ðam særiman on Eastseaxum ond on Centlande ond on Suðseaxum ond on Hamtunscire, ond æt nyxtan naman heom hors ond ridon swa wide swa hi woldon, ond unasecgendlice yfel wircende wæron. Þa gerædde se cyng ond his witan þæt him man to sende, ond him gafol behete ond metsunge, wið þon þe hi þære hergunge geswicon. 20 Ond hi þa þet underfengon, ond com þa eall se here to Hamtune, ond þær wintersetl³ namon; ond hi man þær fædde geond eall Westseaxna rice, ond him man geald XVI þusend punda. Þa sende se cyn(g) æfter Anlafe cyninge Ælfeach biscop ond Æðelward ealdorman, ond man gislade þa hwile in to þam scipum ond hi þa 25 læddan Anlaf mid mycclum wurðscipe to þam cyng to Andeferan, ond se cyn(g) Æðelred his anfeng æt biscopes handa, ond him cynelice gifode ond him þa Anlaf behet, swa he hit eac gelæste, þæt he næfre eft to Angelcynne mid unfriðe cumon nolde. . . .

999. Her com se here eft abuton in to Temese, ond wendon þa 30 up andlang Medewægan to Hrofeceastre. Ond com þa seo centisce fyrd⁴ þær ongean, ond hi þær fæste togedere fengon. Ac wala þæt hi to hraðe bugon ond flugon, forþam þe hi næfdon fultum þe

¹ For this and the remaining annals except that for 1066 the text is from L.

² From the other MSS.

³ winter settle L.

⁴ fyrde L.

hi habban sceoldan. Ða ahton þa Dæniscan wælstowe gewæld, ond naman þa hors ond ridan swa wide swa hi woldon sylf, ond for-
 35 næh ealle Westcentingas¹ fordydon ond forhergodan. Ða rædde se cyng wið his witan þæt man sceolde mid scipfyrde ond eac mid landfyrde him ongean faran, ac ða þa scipu gearwe wæron, þa elkede man fram dæge to dæge, ond swencte þæt earme folc þe on ðam scipon lagon.² Ond a swa hit forðweard(r)e³ beon scolde,
 40 swa hit lætre wæs fram anre tyde to oðre, ond a hi leton heora feonda wærod wexan. Ond a man rymde fram þære sæ, ond hi ferdon æfre forð æfter ond þonne æt þam ende ne beheold hit nan þing seo scipfyrding buton folces geswinc ond feos spilling ond heora feonda forðbylding.

45 **1000.** Her on ðissum geare se cyng ferde in to Cumerlande, ond hit swiðe neah eall forhergode, ond his scipu wendon ut abuton Legceastre, ond sceoldan cumon ongean hine, ac hi ne mihton. Ða gehergodon hi Mænige; ond se unfriðflota wæs þæs sumeres gewend to Ricardes rice.

Buying off the Danes

50 **1002.** Her on þissum geare se cyng gerædde ond his witan þæt man sceolde gafol gyldon þam flotan ond frið wið hi geniman wið þon þe hi heora yfeles geswican sceoldan. Ða sende se cyng to þam flotan Leofsig ealdorman, ond he þa þæs cynges worde ond his witena grið wið hi gesætte, ond þet hi to metsunge fengon
 55 ond to gaffe; ond hi þa þæt underfengon, ond him man þa geald XXIIII þusend punda. Ða on gemang þysum ofsloh Leofsig ealdorman Ælif þæs cynges heahgerefan, ond se cyng hine ða geutode of earde. And þa on þam ilcan lengtene com seo hlæfdige Ricardes dohtor hider to lande.

Massacre on St. Brice's Day

60 On ðam ilcan sumera Ealdulf arcebiscop forðferde; ond on ðam geare se cyng het ofslean ealle ða deniscan men þe on Angelcynne wæron on Bricius messedæg, forþon þam cyngre wæs gecydd þæt hi woldon hine besyrewian æt his life ond syððan ealle his witan, ond habban syððan his rice.

¹ Weast-L.

² The other MSS. have læg.

³ From the other MSS.

65 **1003.** Her wæs Eaxeceaster abrocen þurh þone frenciscan ceorl
 Hugon, þe seo hlefdige heafde hire gesett to gerefan; ond se
 here þa burh miȝ ealle fordyde, ond mycle herehuðe þær genamen.
 Ða gegaderode man swiðe mycele fyrde of Wiltunscire ond of Ham-
 tunscire, ond swiðe anrædlice wið þæs heres weard wæron. Ða
 70 sceolde se ealdorman Ælfric lædan þa fyrde, ac he teah forð þa
 his ealdan wrenceas. Sona swa hi wæron swa gehende þet ægðer
 heora on oðer hawede, þa gebræd he hine seocne, ond ongan hine
 brecan to spiwenne, ond cweð þet he gesiclod wære; ond swa
 þæt folc beswac þæt he lædan sceolde, swa hit gecweden is: 'Ðonne
 75 se heretoga wacað, þonne bið eall se here swiðe gehindred.' . . .

1005. Her on þyssum geare wæs se mycla hungor geond Angel-
 cynn, swilce nan man ær ne gemunde swa grimne. Ond se flota
 þæs geares gewende of þissum earde to Dænemearcon, ond litelne
 fyrst let þet he eft ne com.

80 **1006.** . . . Agan se cyng georne to smeagenne wið his witan
 hwet heom eallum rædlicost þuhte þæt man þisum earde gebeorgan
 mihte, ær he mid ealle fordon wurde. Ða gerædde se cyng ond
 his witan eallum þeodscipe to þearfe, þeah hit him eallum lað
 wære, þet man nyde moste þam (here) gafol gyldan. Ða sende se
 85 cyng to þam here ond him cyþan het þet he wolde þet heom grið
 betweonan beon sceolde. . . . Ond hi ða ealle þet underfengon,
 ond him man metsod(e) geond Angelcyn.

1007. Her on ðissum geare wæs þet gafol gelæst þam unfriðhere;¹
 þet wæs XXX þusend punda. . . .

90 **1008.** Her bebead se cyng þet man sceolde ofer eall Angelcynn
 scipu feastlice wircean, þet is þonne (of) þrym hund hidum ond of
 X hidon ænne scegð, ond of VIII hidum helm ond byrnan.

1009. Her on þissum geare gewurdon þa scipu gearwe þe we ær
 ymbe spræcon, ond heora wæs swa feala swa næfre ær, þes ðe us bec
 95 secgað, on Angelcynne ne gewurdon on nanes cynges dæg; ond
 hi man þa ealle togædere feroðe to Sandwic, ond þær sceoldan licgan
 ond þisne eard healdan wið ælcne uthere; ac we gyt næfdon þa
 gesælða ne þone wurðscipe þet seo scipfyrð nytt wære ðisum earde
 þe ma þe heo oftor ær wæs. . . . Ða æfter Sanctes Martinus
 100 mæssan þa ferdon hi eft ongan to Cent ond namon him wintersetl²
 on Temesan, ond lifedon of Eastseaxum ond of ðam scirum þe þær

¹ unfriðhere *L.*² -settl *L.*

nyxt wæron on twa healfe¹ Temese. Ond oft hi on þa burh Lundene gefuhton, ac si Gode lof þet heo gyt gesund stent; and hi þær æfre yfel geferdon. Ða æfter middanwintra hi namon þa ænne
 105 upgang ut þurh Ciltern and swa to Oxneforda, and þa burh forbærndon, and namon hit þa on twa healfe Temese to scipan weard. Ða gewarnode man hi þet þær wæs fyrd æt Lundene ongean. Hi gewendon þa ofer æt Stane; and þus ferdon ealne þone winter, and ðone lencten wæron him on Cent, and bettan
 110 heora scipa.

1011. Her on þissum geare sende se cyng and his witan to ðam here and georndon friðes, and him gafol and metsunga behetan, wið þam hi heora hergunga geswicon. Hi heafdon þa ofergan Eastengla i and Eastseaxe ii and Middelseaxe iii and Oxenaford-
 115 scire iiii and Grantabrycgescire v and Heortfordscire vi and Bucingahamscire vii and Bedanfordscire viii and healfe Huntadunscire ix² and be suðan Temese ealle Centingas and Suðseaxe and Hæstingas and Suðrig and Bearrucscire and Hamtunscire and micel on Wiltunscire. Ealle þas ungesælða us gelumpon þurh unrædas³ þet mann
 120 nolde him to timan gafol be(o)dan, ac þonne hi mæst to yfele gedon hæfdon, þonne nam man grið and frið wið hi. Ond naðelæs for eallum þisum griðe and friðe and gafole hi ferdon æghwider flocmælum⁴ and hergodon, and ure earme folc ræpton and slogon. Ond on þissum geare betwyx Natiuit. Sancte Marie and Sancte
 125 Michaelæs mæssan hi ymbesætan Cantwaraburh, and hi þær in to comon þurh syrewrenceas, forþon Ælmær hi(m) becyrde Cantwaraburh, þe se arcebiscop Ælfeah ær generede his life. Ond hi þær þa genaman þone arcebiscop Ælfeah and Ælfword þæs cynges gerefan, and Leofrune⁵ abbodesse and Godwine biscop. Ond
 130 Ælmær abbot hi lætan aweg, and hi þær genaman inne ealle þa gehadode menn, and weras and wif; þæt wæs unasecgendlic ænigum menn hu mycel þæs folces wæs. Ond on þære byrig siððon wæron swa lange swa hi woldon; and þa hi hæfdon þa burh ealle asmeade, wendon him þa to scipon and læddon þone arcebiscop mid him.
 135 Wæs ða ræpling, se þe ær wæs Angelcynnes heafod, and Cristendomes. Þær man mihte þa geseon earmðe þær man ær geseah blisse on þære ærman byrig, þanon us com ærest Cristendom and

¹ on twam healfe *L.*; on twam healfum. *C.*; on twa healfum *D.*

² *L.* has *X.*

³ unrædes *L.*

⁴ So *C.* and *D.*; folcmælum *L.*

⁵ So *C.* and *D.*; leofwine *L.*

blisse for Gode ond for worulde. Ond hi heafdon þone arcebiscop mid him swa lange oð þone timan þe hi hine gemartyredon.

Martyrdom of Archbishop Ælfheah

- 140 **1012.** Her on þissum geare com Eadric ealdorman ond ealle þa yldestan witan, gehadode ond leawede, Angelcynnes to Lundenbyrig toforan þam Eastron. . . . Ond hi þær ¹ ða swa lange wæron oð þæt gafol wæs eall gelæst ofer Eastran; þæt wæs VIII þusend ² punda. Þa on þone Sæternes dæg wearð swiðe gestired se here
- 145 ongean þone biscop, forþan þe he nolde heom nan feoh behaten, ond forbead þæt man nan þing wið him syllan ne moste. Wæron hi eac swyðe druncene, forþam þær wæs gebroht win suðan. Genamon þa þone biscop, leaddon hine to heora hustinga on þone Sunnanefen octabas Paschæ, ond hine þa þær oftorfodon mid
- 150 banum ond mid hryðera heafdum, ond sloh hine þa an heora mid anre æxe yre on þet heafod, þet he mid þam dynte niðer asah, ond his halige blod on ða eorðan feoll, ond his þa haligan sawle to Godes rice asende. . . . Ða þet gafol gelest wæs, ond þa friðaðas gesworene, þa toferde se here wide swa he ær gegaderod wæs. . . .

England Submits to Sweyn

- 155 **1013.** On þam æftran geare þe se arcebiscop wæs gemartyrod, se cyng gesætte Lifing biscop to Cantwarabyrig to ðam arcestole, ond on þam ilcan geare toforan þam monðe Augustus com Swegen cyning mid his flotan to Sandwic, ond wende swyðe raðe abutan Eastenglum in to Humbran muðan ond swa uppweard andlang
- 160 Trentan þet he com to Gegnesbyr(i)g, ³ ond þa sona abeah Uhtred eorl ond eall Norðhymbra to him, ond eall þæt folc on Lindesige, ond syððan þet folc of Fifburhingan, ond raðe þæs eall here be norðan Wætlingastræte; ond him man sealde gislas of ælcere scire. Syððan he undergeat þet eall folc him to gebogen wæs, þa bead he
- 165 þet man sceolde his here metian ond horsian. Ond he þa gewende syððan suðweard mid fulre fyrde, ond betæhte his scipa ond þa

¹ þæra *L.*

² *Two other MSS., have ehta ond feowertig þusend.*

³ gegnes burh *L.*

gislas Cnute his suna.¹ Ond syððan he com ofer Wætlingastræte hi wrohton þet mæste yfel þe ænig here don mihte. Wende þa to Oxnaforda, ond seo burhwaru sona abeah ond gislode, ond þanon
 170 to Winceastre, ond þet ilce dydon; wendon þa þanon eastward to Lundene, ond mycel his folces adranc on Temese, forðam hi nanre brycge ne cepton. Ða he to þære byrig com, þa nolde seo burhwaru abugan, ac heoldan mid fullan wige ongean, forðan þær was inne se cyning Æpelred, ond Þurkil mid him. Þa wende Swe-
 175 gen cyning þanon to Wealingaforda, ond swa ofer Temese westweard to Baðon, ond sæt þær mid his fyrde. Ond com Æpelmer ealdorman þider, ond þa westernan þægnas mid him, ond bugon ealle to Swegene ond gislodon. Þa he eall þus gefaren heafde, wende þa norðweard to his scipon, ond eall þeodscipe hine heafde for fullne
 180 cyning, ond seo burhwaru æfter þam on Lundene beah ond gislode, forþam hi ondreddon þet he hi fordon wolde; bead þa Swegen full gild ond metsunga to his here þone winter. Ond Þurcyl bead þet ilce to þam here þe læg on Grenawic; ond buton þam² hi hergodan swa oft swa hi woldon. Ða ne dohte³ naðor þisse þeode⁴ ne suðan
 185 ne norðan. Þa wæs se cyng sume hwile mid þam flotan þe on Temese wæron; ond seo hlafdige wende þa ofer sæ⁵ to hire broðor Ricarde, ond Ælsige abbot of Burh mid hire. Ond se cyng sende Ælfun biscop mid þam æþelinge Eadwearde, ond Ælfrede, ofer se, þæt he hi bewitan sceolde. Ond se cyng gewende þa fram þam
 190 flotan to ðam middan wintra to Wihtlande, ond wæs þær þa tid, ond æfter þære tide gewende þa ofer sæ to Ricarde, ond wæs þær mid him oð ðone byre þe Swegen dead wearð, . . .

Cnut Succeeds Swegen

1014. Her on þissum geare Swegen geendode his dagas to Candelmæssan iii No. Febr., ond se flota eall gecuron Cnut to
 195 cyninge. . . . Ond þa syððon Swegen dead wæs sæt Cnut mid his here on Gegnesburh oð ða Eastron, ond gewearð him ond þam folce on Lindesige anes þæt hi hine horsian sceoldan, ond syððan ealle ætgædere faran ond hergian. Ða com se cyning Æðelred mid fulre fyrde þider ær hi gearwe wæron to Lindesige, ond mann þa

¹ sunu *L.*³ duhte *L.*² For buton þam *C. has* for eallon þam⁴ þeoda *L.*⁵ seo *L.*

200 hergode ond bærnde ond sloh eall þet mancynn þet man aræcan
 mihte. Se Cnut gewende him ut mid his flotan, ond wearð þet
 earme folc þus beswicen ¹ þurh hine; ond wænde þa suðweard oð
 þet he com to Sandwic, ond let þær up þa gislas þe his fæder gesealde
 wæron, ond cearf of heora handa ond heora nosa; ond buton
 205 eallum þisum yfelum se cyning het gyldan þam here þe on Grenewic
 læg XXI þusend punda. . . .

1015. . . . Ond þa on ðam ylcan timan com Cnut cyng to
 Sandwic, ond wende sona abutan Centland in to Westseaxan ² oð
 he com to Fro(m) muðan, ond hergode þa on Dorsætum ond on
 210 Wiltunscire ond on Sumærsætton. Þa læg se cyng seoc æt Cosham.
 Ða gaderode Eadric ealdorman fyrde ond se æðeling Eadmund be
 norðan. Ða hi togædere comon, þa wolde se ealdorman beswicon
 þone æþeling, ond hi tohwurfon þa buton gefeohte forþam, ond
 rymdon ³ heora feondum. Ond Eadric ealdormann aspeon þa XL
 215 scipa fram þam cyning(e) ond beah þa to Cnute; ond Westseaxe
 bugon ond gislodon, ond horsodon þone here, ond he wæs þær þa
 oð midne winter.

Eadmund's Heroic Struggle

1016. . . . Ða gelamp hit þet se cyng Æðelred forðferde ær ða
 scipu comon; he geendode his dagas on Scs. Geor(g)ius mæssedæge
 220 æfter mycclum gewince ond earfoðnissum his lifes. Ond þa
 æfter his ende ealle þa witan þe on Lundene wæron ond se(o)
 burhwaru gecuron Eadmund to cyng(e), ond his rice he heardlice
 werode ⁴ þa hwile þe his tima wæs. Þa comon þa scipo to Grenawic
 to þam gan(g)dagum, ond binnon lytlum fæce wendon to Lundene,
 225 ond dulfon þa ane mycele dic on ða suðhealfe ond drogon heora
 scipa on westhealfe þære brycge, ond bedicodon syððon þa burh
 uton þæt nan mann ne mihte ne inn ne ut, ond oftrædlice on ða
 burh fuhton, ac hi heom heardlice wiðstodon. Þa wæs Eadmund
 cyng ær þam gewend ut ond gerad þa Westseaxan ond him beah eall
 230 folc to; ond raðe æfter þam he gefeaht wið þone here æt Peonnan
 wið Gillinga, ⁵ ond oðer gefeoht he gefeaht æfter middan sumera æt
 Sceorstane, ond þær mycel wæll feoll on ægðre healfe. Ond þa
 heras ⁶ him sylfe to eodon on ðam gefeohte, ond Eadric ealdorman

¹ beswican *L.*

⁴ werode *L.*

² west seaxen *L.*

⁵ Gillingaham *D.*

³ rimdon *L.*

⁶ heres *L.*

and Ælmær Deorlinge wæron þam here on fultume ongean Eadmund
 235 cyng. Ond þa gegaderode he III siðe fyrde ond ferde to Lundene,
 ond þa burhware ahredde, ond þone here aflymde to scipon. Ond
 þa wæs ymbe twa niht þæt se cyning gewende ofer æt Brentforda,
 ond þa wið þone here gefeaht ond hine aflymde; ond þær adranc
 mycel æn(g)li(s)ces folces on heora agenre gymeleaste, þa ðe
 240 ferdon beforan þære fyrde ond fang woldon fon. Ond se cyning
 wende æfter þam to Westseaxan, ond his fyrde gesomnode. Ða
 gewende se here sona to Lundene ond þa burh utone besæton, ond
 hire stranglice wið feaht ge be wætere ge be lande, ac se ælmihtiga
 God hi ahredde. Se here gewende þa æfter þam fram Lundene
 245 mid heora scipum in to Arwan, ond þar up foran, ond feordon on
 Myrcean, ond slogon ond bærndon swa hwæt swa hi oferforon, swa
 heora gewuna wæs, ond heom metes tilodon, ond hi drifon ægðer
 ge scipa ge heora drafa in to Medewæge. Ða gesomnode Eadmund
 cyng IIII siþe ealle Englaþeode, ond ferde ofer Temese to Brent-
 250 forda, ond ferde innan Cent; ond se here him fleah beforan mid
 hira horsa(n) in to Sceapige, ond se cyng ofslah heora swa feala
 swa he offaran mihte. Ond Eadric ealdormann gewende þa ðæne
 cyng ongean æt Ægelesforda; næs nan mare unræd gered þonne
 se wæs. Se here gewende eft up on Eastxeaxan, ond ferde in to
 255 Myrcean, ond fordydon eall þæt he oferferde. Ða se cyng geaxode
 þæt se here uppe wæs ða gesomnode he V siðe ealle Englaþeode
 ond ferde him æt hindan ond offerde hi innan Eastxeaxan æt
 þere dune þe mann hætt Assandun, ond þær togædere heardlice
 fengon. Ða dyde Eadric ealdormann swa he oftor ær dyde, a-
 260 stealde þone fleam ærest mid Magesæton, ond swa aswac his
 cynehlaforde, ond ealle þeode. Þær hæfde Cnut sige, ond ge-
 gefeaht him eall Englaþeod.

Cnut's Final Victory

Þær wearð ofslagen Eadnoð, ond Wulsige abbot, ond Ælfric
 ealdorman, ond Godwine ealdorman, ond Ulfcytel of Eastenglan,
 265 ond Æðelward Æpelwines¹ sunu ealdormannes, ond eall se(o)
 dugoð on Angelcinne. Ða æfter þisum gefeohte wende Cnut cing
 upp mid his here to Gleaweceastrescire, þær he geherde secgan þæt

¹from C.; Æðelsiges L.

se cyng wæs, Eadmund. Ða gerædde Eadric ealdormann ond þa witan þe ðær wæron þæt ða cyningas seht namon heom betweenan ;
 270 ond hi gislas sealdon heom betweenan ond þa cyningas comon togædere æt Olanige ond heora freondscipe þær gefæstnodon ge mid wedde ge mid aðe, ond þæt gyld setton wið þone here. Ond hi tohwurfon þa mid þisum sehte, ond feng Eadmund cing to Westseaxan ond Cnut to Myrcean. Se here gewende þa to scipon
 275 mid þam þingum þe hi gefangen hæfdon, ond Lundenewaru griðede wið þone here, ond heom frið gebohtan. Ond se he(re) gebrohton heora scipa on Lundene, ond heom wintersetle þær inne namon. Ða to Scs. Andreas mæssan forðferde se cyng Eadmund, ond is byrged mid his ealdan fæder Eadgare on Glæstingabyrig. Ond
 280 on þam ilcan geare forðferde Wulfgar abbot on Abbandune ond feng Æðelsige to.

Cnut Sole King of England

1017. Her on þisum geare feng Cnut cyning to eall(um) Angelcynnes rice, ond hit todæld(e) on f(e)ower: him sylfum Westseaxan, ond Þurcylle Eastenglan, ond Eadrice Myrcean, ond Yrice
 285 Norðhymbran . . .

1018. On þisum geare wæs þæt gafol gelæst ofer eall Angelcynn; þæt wæs ealles LXXII þusend punda, buton þam þe seo burhwaru on Lundene guldon XI þusend punda. Ond se here ferde þa sum to Dennearcon, ond XL scipo belaf mid þam cyninge
 290 Cnute. Ond Dene ond Engle wurdon sammæle æt Oxnaforda . . .

The Norman Conquest

With Cnut on the throne, peace and strong government returned to the sorely tried English. For many years the annals are brief and uninteresting. By far the fullest account we possess, and the only native account, of Duke William's victory over Harold is given in the annal in the so-called Worcester Chronicle, which we here reproduce.

1066. Ða com Wyllelm eorl of Normandige in to Pefnesea on Sce. Michaelles mæsse æfen. Ond sona þæs hi fere wæron, worhton castel æt Hæstinga port. Þis wearð þa Harolde cynggegecydd, ond he gaderade þa mycelne here ond com him togenes æt þære haran apuldran.
 295 Ond Wyllelm him com ongean on unwær, ær his folc gefylced wære.

Ac se kyng þeah him swiðe heardlice wið feaht mid þam mannum
 þe him gelæstan woldon, ond þær wearð micel wæl geslægen on
 ægðre healfe. Ðær wearð ofslægen Harold kyng ond Leofwine
 eorl his broðor, ond Gyrð eorl his broðor, ond fela godra manna.
 300 Ond þa Frencyscan ahton wælstowe gewæld, eall swa heom God
 uðe for folces synnon. Aldred arcebiscop ond seo burhwaru on
 Lundene woldon habban þa Eadgar cild to kynge, eall swa him wel
 gecynde wæs; ond Eadwine ond Morkere him beheton þæt hi mid
 him feohtan woldon, ac swa hit æfre forðlicor beon sceolde, swa
 305 wearð hit fram dæge to dæge lætre ond wyrre, eall swa hit æt þam
 ende eall geferde. Ðis gefeoht wæs gedon on þone dæg Celesti
 pape. Ond Wyllelm eorl for eft ongean to Hæstingan ond gean-
 bidode þær hwæðer man him to bugan wolde, ac þa he ongeat þæt
 man him to cuman nolde, he for upp mid eallon his here þe him to
 310 lafe wæs ond him syððan fram ofer sæ com, ond hergade ealne
 þone ende þe he ofer ferde, oðþ̅ he com to Beorhhamstede. Ond
 þær him com ongean Ealdred arcebiscop, ond Eadgar cild, ond
 Eadwine eorl, ond Morkere eorl, ond ealle þa betstan men of
 Lundene ond bugon þa for neode, þa mæst wæs to hearne gedon.
 315 Ond þæt wæs micel unræd þæt man æror swa ne dyde, þa hit God
 betan nolde for urum synnum. Ond gysledan ond sworon him
 aðas, ond he heom behet þæt he wolde heom hold hlaford beon;
 ond þeah onmang pisan hi hergedan eall þæt hi ofer foron. Ða
 on midwintres dæg hine halgode to kynge Ealdred arcebiscop on
 320 Westmynstre. Ond he sealde him on hand mid Xpes bec, ond eac
 swor, ær þan þe he wolde þa corona him on heafode settan, þæt
 he wolde þisne þeodscype swa wel haldan swa ænig kyngc ætforan
 him betst dyde, gif hi him holde beon woldon . . .

Doomsday Book

1085.¹ . . . Æfter þisum hæfde se cyng mycel geþeaht ond
 325 swiðe deope spæce wið his witan ymbe þis land hu hit wære gesett,
 oððe mid hwylcon mannon. Sende þa ofer eall Englaland in to
 ælcere scire his men, ond lett agan ut hu fela hundred hyda wæron
 innon þære scire, oððe hwet se cyng him sylf hæfde landes ond

¹ For this and the next annal the text is that of the Peterborough Chronicle (L.).

orfes innan þam lande, oððe hwilce gerihtæ he ahte to habbanne
 330 to XII monþum of ðære scire. Eac he lett gewritan hu mycel
 landes his arcebiscopas hæfdon ond his leodbiscopas ond his abbodas
 ond his eorlas, ond þeah ic hit lengre telle, hwæt oððe hu mycel
 ælc mann hæfde þe landsittende wæs innan Englalande on lande
 oððe on orfe, ond hu mycel feos hit wære wurð. Swa swyðe near-
 335 welice he hit lett ut aspyrian þæt næs an ælpig hide, ne an gyrde
 landes, ne furðon, hit is sceame to tellanne, ac hit ne þuhte him
 nan sceame to donne, an oxe ne an cu ne an swin næs belyfon þæt
 næs gesæt on his gewrite, ond ealle þa gewrita wæron gebroht to
 him syððan.

Death of the Conqueror

The annal for 1086 is one of the longest in the Chronicle and is quite a literary production. The writer begins by giving a vivid description of the sufferings of the people and then, after recording the death of the Conqueror, proceeds to paint for us his portrait.

340 **1086.** . . . Ðisum þus gedone, se cyng Willelm cearde ongear
 to Normandige. Reowlic þing he dyde, ond reowlicor him gelamp.
 Hu reowlicor? Him geyflade, ond þæt him stranglice eglade.
 Hwæt mæg ic teollan? Se scearpa deað þe ne forlet ne rice menn
 ne heane, se hine genam. He swealt on Normandige on þone
 345 nextan dæg æfter natiuitas Sce. Marie, ond man bebyrgede hine
 on Capum æt Sce. Stephanes mynstre; ærer he hit arærde, ond
 syððan mænifealdlice gegodade. Eala hu leas ond hu unwrest is
 þysses middaneardes wela! Se þe wæs ærur rice cyng ond maniges
 landes hlaford, he næfde þa ealles landes buton seofon fotmæl, ond
 350 se þe wæs hwilon gescrið mid golde ond mid gimum, he læg þa
 oferwrogen mid moldan. . . . Gif hwa gewilnigeð to gewitan(n)e
 hu gedon mann he wæs, oððe hwilcne wurðscipe he hæfde, oððe hu
 fela lande(s) he wære hlaford, ðonne wille we be him awritan swa
 swa we hine ageaton, ðe him on locodan, ond oðre hwile on his
 355 hirede wunedon. Se cyng Willelm þe we embe specað wæs swiðe
 wis man, ond swiðe rice, ond wurðfulre ond strengre þonne ænig
 his foregenga wære. He wæs milde þam godum mannum þe God
 lufedon, ond ofer eall gemett stearc þam mannum þe wiðcwædon
 his willan. On ðam ilcan steode þe God him geuðe þæt he moste
 360 Engleland gegan he arerde mære mynster, ond munecas þær

gesætte ond hit wæll gegodade. On his dagan wæs þæt mære mynster on Cantwarbyrig getymbrad, ond eac swiðe manig oðer ofer eall Engaland. Eac þis land wæs swiðe afylled mid munecan, ond þa leofodan heora lif æfter Scs. Benedictus regule, ond se
 365 Xpendom wæs swilc on his dæge þæt ælc man, hwæt his hade to belumpe, folgade se þe wolde. Eac he wæs swyðe wurðful; þriwa he bær his cynehelm ælce geare, swa oft swa he wæs on Englelande. On Eastron he hine bær on Winceastre, on Pentecosten on Westmynstre, on midewintre on Gleaweceastre; ond þænne wæron mid
 370 him ealle þa rice men ofer eall Engaland, arcebiscopas ond leod-biscopas, abbodas ond eorlas, þegnas ond cnihtas. Swilce he wæs eac swyðe stearc man ond ræðe, swa þæt man ne dorste nan þing ongean his willan don. He hæfde eorlas on his bendum, þe dydan ongean his willan. Biscopas he sætte of heora biscoprice, ond
 375 abbodas of heora abbodrice, ond þægnas on cweartern, ond æt nextan he ne sparode his agenne broðor, Odo het; he wæs swiðe rice biscop on Normandige; on Baius wæs his biscopstol, ond wæs manna fyrrest to eacan þam cyng. Ond he hæfde eorldom on Englelande, ond þonne se cyng (wæs) on Normandige þonne wæs
 380 he mægester on þisum lande; ond hine he sætte on cweartern. Betwyx oðrum þingum nis na to forgyta(n)ne þæt gode frið þe he macode on þisan lande, swa þæt an man þe him sylf aht wære mihte faran ofer his rice mid his bosum full goldes ungederad. Ond nan man ne dorste slean oðerne man, næfde he næfre swa
 385 mycel yfel gedon wið þone oðerne . . .

27. ANGLO-DANISH TREATIES

1. Alfred and Guthrum

The following is the pact or treaty of peace, made probably about the year 886, between King Alfred and Guthrum the Danish king, who had been baptised after the complete defeat of his army by Alfred in 878 (No. 25, l. 257). By this treaty, which is not mentioned in the *A.-S. Chronicle*, the boundaries of the two kings' territories were fixed. North of the Thames Alfred received London, Middlesex, the greater part of Hertfordshire and some of Bedfordshire. The extent of Guthrum's kingdom is not known, but it cannot have included the whole of the Danish territory in N. Anglia. Before Alfred's death Mercia came under West Saxon rule and Danish E. Anglia was in time subdued by Alfred's successors. The text of the

treaty is followed by directions (here omitted) as to the terms of intercourse between Englishmen and Danes, the fixing of wergild, etc. For such directions we may compare those in treaty no. 3 *infra*.

Dis is ðæt frið ðæt Ælfred cyninc ond Guðrum cyning and ealles Angelcynnes witan and eall seo ðeod ðe on Eastænglum beoð ealle gecweden habbað and mid aðum gefæstnod for hy sylfe and for heora gingran, ge for geborene ge for ungeborene, ðe Godes miltse
5 recce oððe ure.

Ærest ymb landgemære : up on Temese, and ðonne up on Ligan, and andlang Ligan oð hire æwylm ; ðonne on gerihte to Bedanforda, ðonne up on Usan oð Wætlingastræt. . . . And ealle we cwædon on ðæm dæge ðe mon ða aðas swor, þæt ne ðeowe ne freo ne moton
10 in ðone here faran butan leafe, ne heora nan ðe ma to us. Gif ðonne gebyrige þæt for neode heora hwylc wið ure bige habban wille oððe we wið heora, mid yrfe and mid æhtum, ðæt is to ðafianne on ða wisan þæt man gislas sylle friðe to wedde and to swutulunge þæt man wite ðæt man clæne bæc hæbbe. . . .

2. Eadweard and a Danish King

The Guthrum referred to below cannot have been the Guthrum who made the treaty with Alfred, as the latter died in 890, ten years before Alfred's death. Possibly the name Guthrum has been inserted by a later copyist. The treaty may date from the third decade of the tenth century.

15 Þis syndon þa domas ðe Ælfred cyneg and Guþrum cyneg gecuron. And þis is seo gerædnis eac þe Ælfred cyng and Guðrum cyng and eft Eadweard cyng gecuran and gecwædon, þa þa Engle and Dene to friþe and to freondscipe fullice fengon ; and þa witan eac, þe syþþan wæron, oft and unseldan þæt seolf geniwodon and
20 mid gode gehihtan. . . . Dis ærest, þæt hig gecwædon þæt hi ænne God lufian woldon and ælcne hæþendom georne aweorpan. . . . And gif hwa Cristendom wyrde oððe hæþendom weorþige wordes oððe weorces, gylde swa wer, swa wite, swa lahslite, be þam þe syo dæd sy. . . . Gif wiccan oððe wigleras, mansworan oððe
25 morðwyrhtan oððe fule afylede, æbere horcwenan ahwar on lande wurðan agytene, ðonne fyse hi man of earde ond clænsie þa ðeode, oððe on earde forfare hy mid ealle, buton hig geswican and þe deopor betan. . . .

3. Æthelred and Olaf Tryggvason

See the note on annal 991, No. 26, l. 3 *n.* This is the treaty accompanying the payment mentioned in the annal.

Dis synd ða friðmal and ða forword ðe Æthelred cyng and ealle
30 his witan wið ðone here gedon habbað, ðe Anlaf and Iustin and
Guðmund Stegitan sunu mid wæron.

Dæt ærost, þæt woroldfrið stande betweox Æthelrede cyng
and eallum his leodscipe and eallum ðam here, ðe se cyng þæt feoh
sealde, æfter ðam formalan ðe Sigeric arcebiscop and Æðelwerd
35 ealdormann and Ælfric ealdorman worhton, ða hy abædon æt ðam
cyng þæt hy mostan ðam læppan frið gebicgean ðe hy under
cyng hand ofer hæfdon. And gif ænig sciphere on Englaland
hergie, þæt we habban heora ealra fultum; and we him sculon
mete findan, ða hwile ðe hy mid us beoð. And ælc ðæra landa ðe
40 ænigne friðige ðæra ðe Ænglaland hergie, beo hit utlah wið us
and wið ealne here. And ælc ceapscip frið hæbbe ðe binnan muðan
cuman, ðeh hit unfriðscyp sy, gyf hit undrifen bið. And ðeh hit
gedriuen beo and hit ætfleo to hwilcre friðbyrig, and ða menn up
ætberstan in to ðære byrig, ðonne habban ða men frið and þæt hy
45 him mid bringað. And ælc agenra friðmanna frið hæbbe, ge on
lande ge on wætere, ge binnan muðan ge butan. Gyf Æðelredes
cynges friðman cume on unfriðland, and se here ðær to cume,
hæbbe frið his scip and ealle his æhta. Gyf he his scip upp getogen
hæbbe oððon hulf geworhtne oððon geteld geslagen, þæt he ðær
50 frið hæbbe and ealle his æhta. Gyf he his æhta bere geman(g)
ðara unfriðmanna æhta in to huse, ðolie his æhta and hæbbe sylf
frið and feorh, gif he hine cyðe. Gyf se friðman fleo oððon feohte
and nelle hine cyðan, gif hine man ofslea, licge ungylde.

Gyf man beo æt his æhtan bereafod, and he wite of hwilcum
55 scipe, agyfe steoresman ða æhta oððon gange feowra sum to and
oðsace—and beo him sylf fifta—þæt he hit ariht name, swa hit ær
geforword wæs.

Gyf ænglisc man deniscne ofslea, frigman frigne, gylde hine mid
XXV pundum, oððon man ðone handdædan agyfe; and do se
60 denisca ðone engliscan ealswa, gif he hine ofslea. Gyf englisc man
deniscne ðræl ofslea, gylde hine mid punde, and se denisca engliscne
ealswa, gif he hine ofslea.

Gyf eahta men beon ofslagene, ðonne is þæt friðbrec, binnan

byrig oððon buton. Binnan eahta mannum bete man þæt fullum
 65 were. Gyf hit binnan byrig gedon bið, seo friðbræc, fare seo
 buruhwaru sylf to and begyte ða banan, cuce oððe deade, heora
 nyhstan magas, heafod wið heafde. Gyf hy nellan, fare se ealdor-
 man to ; gif he nelle, licge se ealdordom on unfriðe.

Æt eallum slyht(e) and æt ealre ðære hergunge and æt eallum
 70 ðam hearmum ðe ær ðam gedon wære, ær ðæt frið geset wære,
 man eall on weig læte, and nan man þæt ne rece ne bote ne bidde.
 And þæt naðor ne hy ne we ne underfon oðres wealh ne oðres ðeof
 ne oðres gefan.

And gif man secge on landesmann þæt he orf stæle oððon man
 75 sloge, and hit secge an sceiðman and an landesman, ðonne ne beo
 he nanes andsæces wyrðe.

And gif heora menn slea ure eahta, ðonne beoð hy utlage ge wið
 hy ge wið us, and ne beo nanre bote weorðe.

Twa and twentig ðusend punda goldes and seolfres man gesealde
 80 ðam here of Ænglalande wið friðe.

28. CNUT'S MANIFESTO

From the *A.-S. Chronicle* we learn that Cnut, who in 1017 became king of all England, went in 1019 for a brief visit to Denmark, and on his return to England in 1020 held a great *gemot* at Cirencester. It is highly probable that he issued the manifesto of policy printed below just before or after this *gemot*. As Earle points out in his *Handbook to the Land Charters*, etc., p. 232, the manifesto must have been published after 1018, the year in which the two races agreed at Oxford to live together, and before 1021, the year of Thurkil's outlawry. Cnut cleverly enlisted the aid of the bishops to conciliate his new English subjects; he paid a visit to Rome and made a special point of enriching English monasteries and honouring English saints. The text of the manifesto was obviously composed by one or more of the bishops, perhaps by Æthelnoth.

Cnut cyning gret his arcebiscopas and his leodbiscopas and
 þurcyl eorl, and ealle his eorlas, and ealne his þeodscype, twelf-
 hynde and twyhynde, gehadode and læwede, on Englalande freond-
 lice. And ic cyðe eow þæt ic wylle beon hold hlaford and unswi-
 5 cende to Godes gerihtum and to rihtre woroldlage. Ic nam me to
 gemynde þa gewritu and þa word þe se arcebiscop Lyfing me fram
 þam papan brohte of Rome, þæt ic scolde æghwær Godes lof upp
 aræran and unriht aleggan and full frið-wyrcean be ðære mihte
 þe me God syllan wolde. Nu ne wandode ic na minum sceattum

10 þa hwile þe eow unfrið on handa stod, nu ic mid Godes fultume
 þæt totwæmde mid minum scattum. Þa cyððe man me þæt us
 mara hearm to fundode þonne us wel licode, and þa for ic me sylf
 mid þam mannum þe me mid foron in to Denmearcon þe eow
 mæst hearm of com, and þæt hæbbe mid Godes fultume forene for-
 15 fangen, þæt eow næfre heononforð þanon nan unfrið to ne cymð
 þa hwile þe ge me rihtlice healdað and min lif byð. Nu ðancige ic
 Gode ælmihtigum his fultumes and his mildheortnesse, þæt ic þa
 myclan hearmas þe us to fundedon swa gelogod hæbbe þæt we ne
 þurfon þanon nenes hearms us asittan, ac us to fullan fultume
 20 and to ahreddingge, gyf us neod byð. Nu wylle ic þæt we ealle
 eadmodlice Gode ælmihtigum þancian þære mildheortnesse þe
 he us to fultume gedon hæfð. Nu bidde ic mine arcebiscepas
 and ealle mine leodbiscepas þæt hy ealle neodfulle beon ymbe
 Godes gerihta, ælc on his ende þe heom betæht is; and eac minum
 25 ealdormannum ic beode þæt hy fylstan þam biscepum to Godes
 gerihtum and to minum kynescype and to ealles folces þearfe. Gif
 hwa swa dystig sy, gehadod oððe læwede, denisc oððe englisce,
 þæt ongeanes Godes lage ga, and ongean minne cynescype, oððe
 ongean woroldriht, and nelle betan and geswican æfter minra
 30 biscepa tæcinge, þonne bidde ic þurcyl eorl and eac beode þæt
 he ðæne unrihtwisan to rihte gebige, gyf he mæge; gyf he ne
 mæge, þonne wille ic mid uncer begra cræfte þæt he hine on earde
 adwæsce oððe ut of earde adræfe, sy he betera sy he wyrsa. And
 eac ic beode eallum minum gerefum be minum freondscype and be
 35 eallum þam þe hi agon and be heora agenum life, þæt hy æghwær
 min folc rihtlice healdan and rihte domas deman be ðæra scira
 biscepa gewitnesse, and swylce mildheortnesse þær on don swylce
 þære scire biscepe riht þince, and þe¹ man acuman mæge. And
 gyf hwa þeof friðige oððe forene forlicge, sy he emscyldig wið me
 40 þam ðe þeof scolde, buton he hine mid fulre lade wið me geclænsian
 mæge. And ic wylle þæt eal þeodscype, gehadode and læwede,
 fæstlice Eadgares lage healde, þe ealle men habbað gecoren and
 to gesworen on Oxenaforda, for ðam þe ealle biscepas secgað þæt
 hit swyþe deop (sy) wið God to betanne þæt man aðas oððe wedd
 45 tobrece, and eac hy us furðor lærað þæt we sceolon eallan mægene
 and eallon myhton þone ecan mildan God inlice secan, lufian, and

¹ se MS.

weorðian, and ælc unriht ascunian: ðæt synd mægslagan and
 morðslagan, and mansworan, and wiccean, and wælcyrrian, and
 aewbrecan, and syblegeru. And eac we beodað on Godes ælmih-
 50 tiges naman and on ealra his haligra þæt nan man swa dyrstig ne
 sy þæt on gehadodre nunnan oððe on mynecenan gewifige; and gyf
 hit hwa gedon hæbbe, beo he utlah wið God and amansumod from
 eallum Cristendome, and wið þone cyning scyldig ealles þæs þe he
 age, buton he ðe raðor geswice and þe deopplior gebete wið God.
 55 And gyt we furðor maniað þæt man Sunnandæges freols mid eallum
 mægene healde and weorðige, fram Sæternesdæges none oð Monan-
 dæges lyhtinge; and nan man swa dyrstig ne sy þæt he aðor oððe
 cypinge wyrce oððe ænig mot gesece¹ þam halgan dæge. And ealle
 men, earne and eadige, heora cyrcan secean and for heora synnum
 60 þingian, and ælc beboden fæsten² geornlice healdan, and þa halgan
 georne weorðian þe us mæssepreostas beodan sceolan, þæt we
 magan and moton ealle samod þurh þæs ecean Godes mild-
 heortnesse and his halgena þingrædene to heofena rices myrhðe
 becuman, and mid him wunian, þe leofað and rihxað a butan ende.
 65 Amen.

29. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR'S DECREE

This is the only example of a law or decree written in English after the Conquest for several centuries. Otherwise they are in Latin or Norman French.

Wilhelm cyng gret ealle þa þe ðys gewrit to cymð ofer eall Engla-land freondlice and beot and eac cyð eallum mannum ofer eall Angelcynn to healdenne, þæt is:

Gif englisc man beclypað ænigne frænciscne mann to orneste for
 5 þeofte oððe for manslihte oððe for ænigan þingan þe gebyrige
 ornest fore to beonne oððe dom betweox twan mannum, habbe he
 fulle leafe swa to donne. And gif se englisca forsæcð þæt ornest,
 se³ frencisca þe se englisca beclypað, ladige hine mid aðe ongean
 hine mid his gewitnesse æfter norðmandiscere lage.
 10 Eft gif frencisc man beclypað engliscne man to orneste for ðam
 ylcan þingan, se englisca be fulre leafe hine werige mid orneste oððe
 mid irene, gif him þæt gecwemre byð. And gif he untrum byð and
 nelle þæt ornest, oððe ne mage, begyte him lahlicne spalan. And

¹ gesæce MS.

² fæstan MS.

³ þe MS.

gif se frencisca byð ofercumen, he gyfe þam cyng 100 pund. And
gif se englisca nele hine werian mid orneſte oððe mid gewitneſſe,
he ladige hine mid irene.

Æt eallan utlaga þingan ſe cyng geſette þæt ſe engliſca ladige
hine mid irene. And gif ſe engliſca beclypað frenciſcne mid utlaga
þingan and wille hit þonne on him geſoðian, ſe frenciſca bewerie
20 hine mid orneſte. And gif ſe engliſca ne durre hine to orneſte
beclypian, werige hine ſe frenciſca mid unfoedan aðe.

II. LEARNING AND EDUCATION

KING ALFRED'S TRANSLATIONS AND PREFACES

In his *Life* of King Alfred Asser, bishop of Sherborne, a personal friend of the king's, tells us that in furtherance of his plan of educating his people, both clergy and laity, Alfred translated or caused to be translated certain well-known Latin books which he judged most suitable for his purpose. Of these translations the following, representing probably the whole number, have come down to us: *The Dialogues* and the *Cura Pastoralis* of Pope Gregory the First, the *Historia Universalis* of Orosius, the *De Consolatione Philosophiæ* of Boethius, the *Soliloquia* of St. Augustine, and the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* of Bede. Scholars differ as to the share taken by King Alfred himself in these translations. His literary activities belonged to the last few years of his reign, a period of comparative peace. His prefaces, especially the long one prefixed to the translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*, bear witness to his earnest nature and his noble solicitude for the spiritual and intellectual welfare of his people. From the point of view of language and literature the prefaces and those parts of the *Boethius* and the *Orosius* which were added by the king himself are valuable as specimens of Old English prose uninfluenced by Latin. The style on the whole is simple and easy to read, but the sentences are occasionally long and involved. Ælfric, who lived a century after Alfred, speaks of the king as the first English writer and takes him for his own literary model.

30. GREGORY'S *DIALOGUES*

Asser's statement that King Alfred caused Werferth, bishop of Worcester, to make an English translation of the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory, is confirmed by William of Malmesbury, who had access to early sources. It may be assumed therefore that Alfred had not as yet the leisure or the knowledge of Latin required for his projected translations. The *Dialogues* consist of a discussion by Gregory and his deacon Peter of various incidents in the lives of Christian martyrs and saints.

1. Prose Preface

Ic Ælfred, geofendum Criste mid cynehades mærnysse geweorðod, habbe gearolice ongyten and þurh haligra boca gesægene oft gehyred þætte us, þam þe God swa micle heanesse worldgeþingða

forgifen hafað, is seo mæste ðearf þæt we hwilon ure mod betwix
 5 þas eorþlican ymbhigdo geleoðigen and gebigen to ðam godcundan
 and þam gastlican rihte. And forþan ic sohte and wilnade to
 minum getreowum freondum þæt hi me of Godes bocum be haligra
 manna þeawum and wundrum awriten þas æfterfylgendan lare,
 þæt ic þurh þa mynegunge and lufe gescyrped on minum mode
 10 betwih þas eorðlican gedrefednesse hwilum gehicge þa heofonlican.

2. Verse Preface

In one of the three extant MSS. of the O.E. version of the *Dialogues* the following metrical preface immediately precedes the translation. If, as is probable, the Wulfstan therein named was the famous bishop of Worcester, appointed in 1063, this preface would seem to have been composed by him for a copy made for the episcopal library by his orders of another MS., perhaps the original one presented by King Alfred to Bishop Werferth, the author of the translation. The verses are remarkably correct in form for so late a period; we may compare with them the verses on the death of Edward the Confessor in the *A.-S. Chronicle* anno 1065.

Se ðe me rædan (wile rihtge)ðance,
 he in me findan mæg, gif hine feola lysteð
 gastlices lifes godre biesene,
 þæt he ful eape mæg upp gestigan

15 to ðam heofonlican hame, þar byð a hyht ond wyn,
 blis on burgum, þam þe bearn Godes
 sielfes hiora eagum geseon motan.

Þæt mæg se mon begytan, se þe his modgeðanc
 æltowe byþ, ond þonne þurh his ingehygd

20 to þissa haligra helpe geliefeð,
 ond hiora bisene fulgað, swa þeos boc sagað.

Me awritan het Wulfstan bisceop,
 þeow ond þearfa þæs þe alne þrym ahof,
 ond eac walden(d) is wihta gehwelcre,

25 an ece God eallra gesceafta.

Bideþ þe se bisceop, se þe ðas boc begeat,
 þe þu on þinum handum nu hafast ond sceawast,
 þæt þu him to þeossum halgum helpe bidde,
 þe heora gemynd heron gemarcude siendon,

30 ond þæt him God ællmihtig forgyue þa gyltas þe he geworhte,
 ond eac resðe mid him, se ðe ah ealles rices geweald,

ond eac swa his beahgifu þe him ðas bysene forgeaf,
 þæt is se selesða sinces brytta,
 Ælfryd mid Englum, ealra cyninga
 35 þara þe he sið oððe ær secgan hyrde,
 oððe he eorðcyninga ænigne gefrugne.

31. GREGORY'S *CURA PASTORALIS*

1. Prose Preface

King Alfred unfolds in simple words his plan of a better education for his people; he recalls the glorious days when the monasteries of England were the homes of many learned men and abounded with well-stocked libraries and he laments the decay of learning in his own day. He proposes to make English the basis of elementary education, reserving Latin for those youths who were destined for higher positions in church and state. To this end he has decided to have some well-known Latin treatises translated, and he says he has himself, with the aid of his scholars, completed the translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*, a manual for the guidance of persons set in authority, especially ecclesiastics, in their relations to their subordinates.

Alfred here reveals himself and shows that he is the man that Asser, who knew him intimately, affirms him to have been. The reference to the devastation wrought by the Danes and its effects on culture is a valuable addition to what we learn from the *Chronicle*. The translation of the *Cura Pastoralis* is loose, but there are not many additions and omissions.

Ælfred kyning hateð gretan Wærferð biscep his wordum lufice
 ond freondlice; ond ðe cyðan hate ðæt me com swiðe oft on
 gemynd hwelce wiotan iu wæron giond Angelcyn, ægðer ge godcun-
 dra hada ge woruldcundra; ond hu gesæliglica tida ða wæron giond
 5 Angelcynn; ond hu ða kyningas ðe ðone onwald hæfdon ðæs
 folces Gode ond his ærendwrecum hyrsumedon; ond hie ægðer ge
 hiora sibbē ge hiora siodo ge hiora onweald innanbordes gehioldon,
 ond eac ut hiora eðel gerymdon; ond hu him ða speow ægðer ge
 mid wige ge miðl wisdom; ond eac ða godcundan hadas hu giorne
 10 hie wæron ægðer ymb lare ge ymb liornunga, ge ymb ealle ða
 ðiowotdomas ðe hie Gode don scoldon; ond hu man utanbordes
 wisdom ond lare hiede on lond sohte, ond hu we hie nu sceoldon
 ute begietan gif we hie habban sceoldon. Swæ clæne hio wæs
 oðfeallenu on Angelcynne ðæt swiðe feawa wæron behionan Humbre
 15 ðe hiora ðeninga cuðen unde Crstondan on englisc, oððe furðum an

ærendgewrit of lædene on englisc areccean, and ic wene ðætte noht
 monige begiordan Humbre næren. Swæ feawa hiora wæron ðæt
 ic furðum anne anlepne ne mæg geðencean be suðan Temese ða ða
 ic to rice feng. Gode ælmihtegum sie ðonc ðætte we nu ænigne
 20 onstal habbað lareowa. Ond forðon ic ðe bebiode ðæt ðu do swæ
 ic geliefe ðæt ðu wille, ðæt ðu ðe ðissa worulddinga to ðæm geæme-
 tige swæ ðu oftost mæge, ðæt ðu ðone wisdom ðe ðe God sealde
 ðær ðær ðu hiene befæstan mæge, befæste. Geðenc hwelc witu us
 ða becomon for ðisse worulde, ða ða we hit nohwæðer ne selfe ne
 25 lufodon ne eac oðrum monnum ne lefdon; ðone naman anne we
 lufodon ðætte we cristne wæren, and swiðe feawa ða ðeawas. Ða
 ic ða ðis eall gemunde, ða gemunde ic eac hu ic geseah, ær ðæm ðe
 hit eall forhergod wære ond forbærned, hu ða ciricean giond eall
 Angelcynn stodon maðma ond boca gefyldæ ond eac micel menigeo
 30 Godes ðiowa, ond ða swiðe lytle fiorme ðæra boca wiston, forðæm
 ðe hie hiora nanwuht ongiotan ne meahton, forðæm ðe hie næron
 on hiora agen geðiode awritene. Swelce hie cwæden: 'Ure
 ieldran, ða ðe ðas stowa ær hioldon, hie lufodon wisdom ond ðurh
 ðone hie begeaton welan ond us læfdon. Her mon mæg giet gesion
 35 hiora swæð, ac we him ne cunnon æfterspyrigean, ond forðæm we
 habbað nu ægðer forlæten ge ðone welan ge ðone wisdom, forðæm
 ðe we noldon to ðæm spore mid ure mode onlutan.' Ða ic ða ðis
 eall gemunde, ða wundrade ic swiðe swiðe ðara godena wiotona
 ðe giu wæron giond Angelcynn, ond ða bec callæ be fullan geliornod
 40 hæfdon, ðæt hie hiora ða nænne dæl noldon on hiora agen geðiode
 wendan. Ac ic ða sona eft me selfum andwyrde ond cwæð: 'Hie
 ne wendon ðætte æfre menn sceolden swæ reccelease weorðan ond
 sio lar swæ oðfeallan; for ðære wilnunga hie hit forleton, ond
 woldon ðæt her ðy mara wisdom on londe wære ðy we ma geðeoda
 45 cuðon.' Ða gemunde ic hu sio æ wæs ærest on ebreisc geðiode
 funden, ond eft ða hie Creacas geliornodon, ða wendon hie hie on
 hiora agen geðiode ealle, ond eac ealle oðre bec; ond eft Lædenware
 swæ same, siððan hie hie geliornodon, hie hie wendon ealla ðurh
 wise wealhstodas on hiora agen geðiode. Ond eac ealla oðræ
 50 cristnæ ðioda sumne dæl hiora on hiora agen geðiode wendon.
 Forðy me ðyncð betre, gif iow swæ ðyncð, ðæt we eac sumæ bec,
 ða ðe niedbeðearfosta sien eallum monnum to wiotonne, ðæt we
 ða on ðæt geðiode wenden ðe we ealle gecnawan mægen, ond gedon
 swæ we swiðe eaðe magon mid Godes fultume gif we ða stilnesse

55 habbað, ðætte eall sio gioguð ðe nu is on Angelcynne friora monna
ðara ðe ða speda hæbben ðæt hie ðæm befeolan mægen, sien to
liornunga oðfæste, ða hwile ðe hie to nanre oðerre note ne mægen,
oð ðone first ðe hie wel cunnen englisc gewrit arædan.

Lære mon siððan furður on lædengedïode ða ðe mon furðor læran
60 wille ond to hier(r)an hade don wille. Ða ic ða gemunde hu sio
lar lædengedïodes ær ðissum afeallen wæs giond Angelcynn, ond
ðeah monige cuðon englisc gewrit arædan, ða ongan ic ongemang
oðrum mislicum ond manigfealdum bisgum ðisses kynerices ða boc
wenden on englisc ðe is genemned on læden *Pastoralis*, ond on
65 englisc *Hierdeboc*, hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgit of and-
giete, swæ swæ ic hie geliornode æt Plegmunde minum ærcebiscepe
ond æt Assere minum biscepe ond æt Grimbolde minum mæsse-
prioste ond æt Iohanne minum mæssepreoste. Siððan ic hie ða
geliornod hæfde swæ swæ ic hie forstod ond swæ ic hie andgit-
70 fullicost areccean meahte, ic hie on englisc awende; ond to ælcum
biscepstole on minum rice wille ane onsendan; ond on ælcra bið
an æstel, se bið on fitegum mancessa. Ond ic bebiode on Godes
naman ðæt nan mon ðone æstel from ðære bec ne do, ne ða boc from
ðæm mynstre. Uncuð hu longe ðær swæ gelærede biscepas sien,
75 swæ swæ nu Gode ðonc welhwær siendon; forðy ic wolde ðætte
hie ealneg æt ðære stowe wæren, buton se biscep hie mid him habban
wille oððe hio hwær to læne sie, oððe hwa oðre bi write.

2. Verse Preface

This preface may not have been written by Alfred.

Dis ærendgewrit Agustinus
ofer sealtne sæ suðan brohte
80 iegbuendum, swa hit ær fore
adihtode Dryhtnes cempa,
Rome papa. Ryhtspell monig
Gregorius gleawmod gindwod
ðurh sefan snyttro, searoðonca hord.
85 Forðæm he moncynnes mæst gestriende
rodra wearde, Romwara betest,
monna modwelegost, mærdum gefrægost.
Siððan min on englisc Ælfred kyning
awende worda gehwelc, ond me his writenum

90 sende suð ond norð ; heht him swelcra ma
 brengan bi ðære bisene, ðæt he his biscepum
 sendan meahte, forðæm hi his sume ðorfton,
 ða ðe lædenspræce læste cuðon.

3. Epilogue

At the end of the translation occur the following verses, which were perhaps composed by King Alfred, or at any rate suggested by him. The allegorical style reminds us of his preface to Augustine's *Soliloquies* ; *vide infra*, No. 34, § 1.

Dis is nu se wæterscipe ðe us wereda God
 95 to frofre gehet, foldbuendum.
 He cwæð ðæt he wolde ðæt on worulde forð
 of ðæm innoðum a libbendu
 wætru fleowen, ðe wel on hine
 gelifden under lyfte. Is hit lytel twee
 100 ðæt ðæs wæterscipes welsprynge is
 on hefonrice ; ðæt is Halig Gæst.
 Ðonan hine hlodan halge ond gecorene,
 siððan hine gierdon ða ðe Gode herdon,
 ðurh halga bec, hider on eorðan
 105 geond manna mod missenlice.
 Sume hine weriað on gewitlocan,
 wisdomes stream, welerum gehæftað,
 * ðæt he on unnyt ut ne tofloweð ;
 ac se wæl wunað on weres breostum
 110 ðurh Dryhtnes giefes diop ond stille.
 Sume hine lætað ofer landscare
 riðum torinnan. Nis ðæt rædlic ðing,
 gif swa hlutor wæter hlud ond undiop
 tofloweð æfter feldum oð hit to fenne werð.
 115 Ac hladað iow nu drincan, nu iow Dryhten geaf,
 ðæt iow Gregorius gegiered hafað
 to durum iowrum, Dryhtnes welle.
 Fylle nu his fætels se ðe fæstne hider
 kylle brohte ; cume eft hræðe,
 120 gif her ðegna hwelc ðyrelne kylle
 brohte to ðys burnan ; bete hine georne,
 ðylæs he forsceade scirost wætra,
 oððe him lifes drync forløren weorðe.

32. THE HISTORY OF OROSIUS

Paulus Orosius, a Christian priest of Spanish birth, wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, at the suggestion of St. Augustine, a history of the known world down to his own day. His object in writing was to refute the accusation brought against the Christian religion by the followers of the old faiths that whereas the world lived happily until the introduction of Christianity, the new religion had brought disasters upon the Roman Empire. This book became very popular, and during the Middle Ages served as a manual of history for young students. Orosius prefaces his record of events with a detailed account of the countries and races of the world as known in his day. As regards Asia and Africa Alfred follows his author fairly closely, but he recognised that the account of Europe needed rewriting. In the five centuries which separated him from Orosius great changes in the relative positions of the numerous races inhabiting Europe had come about. The extensive migrations of the Germanic peoples, which had only recently begun early in the fifth century, were now at an end. Accordingly Alfred gives a fresh account of Europe from the point of view of his own time, supplying details of the names and position of Germanic and other races living on the borders of or outside the old Roman Empire. It is probable that he obtained some of his information from foreign visitors at his court. The narratives of Ohthere and Wulfstan, which Alfred embodied in his version of the *History*, throw further light on some of the peoples inhabiting the Scandinavian peninsula and the Baltic coast. In the historical narrative Alfred has made but few additions, but his translation is very loose and often inaccurate, with frequent omissions, as if he wrote down or dictated what he could remember of the translation made for him by his scholars of a sentence or paragraph, without troubling to compare it with the Latin text. The strangely distorted spellings of many of the proper names seem also to point to dictation, and may conceivably be an attempt to reproduce Alfred's pronunciation of these names imitated from that of Asser, a Welshman, or of one or other of his foreign scholars. The language is a good example of Old English narrative prose, hardly if at all influenced by the Latin. Plummer and other scholars have noted a number of resemblances between phrases used in the *Orosius* and in the annals of Alfred's reign as recorded in the Parker MS. of the *A.-S. Chronicle*. There is no preface in any of the MSS. of the Old English *Orosius*.

1. The Peoples of Europe

Nu hæbbe we scortlice gesæd ymbe Asia londgemæro ; nu wille we ymbe Europe londgemæro areccean swa micel swa we hit fyrmost witon. From þære ie Danais west oþ Rin þa ea, seo wiðð of þæm beorge þe mon Alpis hætt, ond irnð þonne norðryhte on þæs
 5 garsecges earm þe þæt lond uton ymblið þe mon Bryttania hætt ; ond eft suð oð Donua þa ea, þære æwielme is neah Rines ofre þære ie, ond is siþþan east irnende wið norþan Crea lond ut on þone Wendelsæ ; ond norþ oþ þone garsecg þe mon Cwensæ hætt ; binnan þæm sindon monega þeoda, ac hit mon hætt eall Germania.

10 Þonne wið norþan Donua æwielme ond be eastan Rine sindon
 Eastfrancan,¹ ond be suþan him sindon Swæfas, on oþre healfe
 þære ie Donua; ond be suþan him ond be eastan sindon Bægwære,
 se dæl þe mon Regnesburg hætt, ond ryhte be eastan him sindon
 Bæme, ond eastnorþ sindon Þyringa(s); ond be norþan him sindon
 15 Ealdseaxan, ond be norþanwestan him sindon Frisan. Be westan
 Ealdseaxum is Ælfe muþa þære ie, ond Frisland, ond þonan west-
 norð is þæt lond þe mon Ongle hætt, ond Sillende ond sumne dæl
 Dene; ond be norþan him is Afdrede ond eastnorþ Wilte, þe mon
 Hafeldan hætt; ond be eastan him is Wineda lond, þe mon hætt
 20 Sysyle, ond eastsuþ, ofer sum(ne) dæl, Maroara; ond hie Maroara
 habbað be westan him Þyringas, ond Behemas, ond Begware
 healfe; ond be suþan him on oþre healfe Donua þære ie is þæt
 land Carendre suþ oþ þa beorgas þe mon Alpis hætt. To þæm
 ilcan beorgan licgað Begwara landgemæro ond Swæfa. Þonne
 25 be eastan Carendran londe, begeondan þæm westenne, is Pulgara
 land, ond be eastan þæm is Creca land; ond be eastan Maroara
 londe is Wisle lond; ond be eastan þæm sint Datia, þa þe iu
 wæron Gotan. Be norþaneastan Maroara sindon Dalamentsan
 ond be eastan Dalamentsan sindon Horigti; ond be norþan Dala-
 30 mentsan sindon Surpe; ond be westan him Sysyle. Be norþan
 Horoti is Mægþa land; ond be norþan Mægþa londe Sermende, oþ
 þa beorgas Riffen. Be westan Suþdenum is þæs garsecges earm þe
 liþ ymbutan þæt land Brettania; ond be norþan him is þæs sæs
 earm þe mon hætt Ostsæ; ond be eastan him ond be norþan sindon
 35 Norðdene, ægþer ge on þæm maran landum ge on þæm iglandum;
 ond be eastan him sindon Afdrede; ond be suþan him is Ælfe muþa
 þære ie ond Ealdseaxna sum dæl. Norðdene habbað be norþan
 him þone ilcan sæs earm, þe mon hætt Ostsæ, ond be eastan him
 sindon Osti þa leode, ond Af(d)rede be suþan. Osti habbað be
 40 norþan him þone ilcan sæs earm, ond Winedas, ond Burgendan, ond
 be suþan him sindon Hæfeldan. Burgendan habbað þone (ilcan)
 sæs earm be westan him, ond Sweon be norþan; ond be eastan
 him sint Sermende, ond be suþan him Surfe. Sweon habbað be
 suþan him þone sæs earm Osti, ond be eastan him Sermende; ond
 45 be norþan him ofer þa westenne is Cwenland; ond be westannorþan
 him sindon Scridefinnas, ond be westan Norþmenn.

¹ From C., Eastfrancna L.

2. Ohthere's Voyage round the North Cape

Ottar, a wealthy Norwegian, called Ohthere by King Alfred, came from the northernmost Norse settlement, well within the Arctic circle, in the neighbourhood of the modern Tromsø. He had either been expressly invited to England by King Alfred or, happening to be in port on a trading voyage, was sent for by the king.

Ohthere sæde his hlaforde, Ælfrede cyninge, þæt he ealra Norðmonna norþmest bude. He cwæð þæt he bude on þæm lande norþweardum wiþ þa Westsæ. He sæde þeah, þæt land sie swiþe
 50 lang norþ þonan; ac hit is eal weste, buton on feawum stowum styccemælum wiciað Finnas, on huntoðe on wintra, ond on sumera on fiscepe be þære sæ. He sæde þæt he æt sumum cirre wolde fandian hu longe þæt land norþryhte læge, oþþe hwæðer ænig mon norðan þæm westenne bude. Ða for he norþryhte be þæm lande;
 55 let him ealne weg þæt weste land on ðæt steorbord ond þa widsæ on ðæt bæcbord þrie dagas. Ða wæs he swa feor norþ swa þa hwælhuntan firrest farap. Ða for he þagiet norþryhte swa feor swa he meahte on þæm oþrum þrim dagum gesiglan. Ða beag þæt land þær eastryhte oþþe seo sæ in on ðæt lond, he nysse hwæðer;
 60 buton he wisse ðæt he ðær bad westan windes ond hwon norþan, ond siglde ða ¹ east be lande swa swa he meahte on feower dagum gesiglan. Ða sceolde he ðær bidan ryhtnorþanwindes, forðæm þæt land beag þær suþryhte oþþe seo sæ in on ðæt land, he nysse hwæper. Ða siglde he þonan suðryhte be lande swa swa he mehte
 65 on fif dagum gesiglan. Ða læg þær an micel ea up in on þæt land. Ða cirdon hie up in on ða ea, forþæm hie ne dorston forþ bi þære ea siglan for unfriþe; forþæm ðæt land wæs eall gebun on oþre healfe þære eas. Ne mette he ær nan gebun land siþþan he from his agnum ham for. Ac him wæs ealne weg weste land on
 70 þæt steorbord, butan fiscerum ond fugelerum ond huntum, ond þæt wæron eall Finnas; ond him wæs a widsæ on ðæt bæcbord. Ða Beormas hæfdon swiþe wel gebud hira land; ac hie ne dorston þær on cuman. Ac þara Terfinna land wæs eal weste buton ðær huntan gewicodon, oþþe fisceras oþþe fugeleras.

75 Fela spella him sædon þa Beormas ægþer ge of hiera agnum lande ge of þæm landum þe ymb hie utan wæron; ac he nyste hwæt þæs soþes wæs, forþæm he hit self ne geseah. Ða Finnas, him puhte, ond þa Beormas spræcon neah an geþeode. Swiþost

¹ þanon C.

he for ðider, toeacan þæs landes sceawunge, for þæm horshwælum,
 80 forðæm hie habbað swiþe æpele ban on hiora toþum—þa teð hie
 brohton sume þæm cyninge—ond hiora hyd bið¹ swiðe god to
 sciprapum. Se hwæl bið micle læssa þonne oðre hwalas; ne bið
 he lengra ðonne syfan elna lang. Ac on his agnum lande is se
 betsta hwælhuntað. Ða beoð eahta ond feowertiges elna lange,
 85 ond þa mæstan fiftiges elna lange. Ðara he sæde þæt he syxa sum
 ofsloge syxtig on twam dagum.

He wæs swyðe spedig man on þæm æhtum þe heora speda on
 beoð, þæt is, on wil drum. He hæfde þagyt, ða he ðone cyningc
 sohte, tamra deora unbebohtra syx hund. Ða deor hi hatað
 90 hranas; þara wæron syx stælhhranas; ða beoð swyðe dyre mid
 Finnum, forðæm hy foð þa wildan hranas mid. He wæs mid
 þæm fyrstum mannum on þæm lande, næfde he þeah ma ðonne
 twentig hryðera ond twentig sceapa ond twentig swyna; ond þæt
 lytle þæt he erede he erede mid horsan. Ac hyra ar is mæst on
 95 þæm gafole þe ða Finnas him gylðað; þæt gafol bið on deora fellum
 ond on fugela feðerum ond hwales bane ond on þæm sciprapum,
 þe beoð of hwæles hyde geworht ond of seoles. Æghwilc gylt be
 hys gebyrdum. Se byrdesta sceall gyldan fiftyne mearðes fell ond
 fif hranes ond an beren fel ond tyn ambra feðra ond berenne kyrtel,
 100 oððe yterenne, ond twegen sciprapas: ægþer sy syxtig elna lang;
 oþer sy of hwæles hyde geworht, oþer of sioles.

He sæde ðæt Norðmanna land wære swyþe lang ond swyðe
 smæl. Eal þæt his man aþer oððe ettan oððe erian mæg, þæt lið
 wið ða sæ; ond þæt is þeah on sumum stowum swyðe cludig; ond
 105 licgað wilde moras wið eastan ond wið uppon emnlange þæm bynum
 lande. On þæm morum eardiað Finnas; ond þæt byne land is
 easteward bradost, ond symle swa norðor swa smælre. Easte-
 werd hit mæg bion syxtig mila brad oþpe hwene brædre, ond
 middeward þritig oððe bradre; ond norðeward he cwæð, þær hit
 110 smalost wære, þæt hit mihte beon þreora mila brad to þæm more;
 ond se mor syðþan on sumum stowum swa brad swa man mæg on
 twam wucum oferferan; ond on sumum stowum swa brad swa
 man mæg on syx dagum oferferan. Donne is toemnes þæm lande
 suðewardum on oðre healfe þæs mores Sweoland, oþ þæt land

¹ From this point up to the end of the next section (Wulfstan's voyage) there is a gap in MS. L., which is here made good from MS. C.

115 norðeward ; ond toemnes þæm lande norðewardum Cwena land.
 Ða Cwenas hergiað hwilum on ða Norðmen ofer ðone mor, hwilum
 þa Norðmen on hy ; ond þær sint swiðe micle meras fersce geond
 þa moras ; ond berað þa Cwenas hyra scypu ofer land on ða meras,
 ond þanon hergiað on ða Norðmen ; hy habbað swyðe lytle scypu ¹
 120 ond swyðe leohte.

Ohthere sæde þæt sio scir hatte Halgoland þe he on bude. He
 cwæð þæt nan man ne bude be norðan him. Þonne is an port on
 suðewardum þæm lande, þone man hæf Sciringesheal. Þyder he
 cwæð þæt man ne mihte geseglian on anum monðe, gyf man on
 125 niht wicode, ond ælce dæge hæfde ambyrne wind ; ond ealle ða
 hwile he sceal seglian be lande ; ond on þæt steorbord him bið
 ærest Iraland, ond þonne ða igland þe synd betux Iralande ond
 þissum lande. Þonne is þis land oð he cymð to Sciringesheale, ond
 ealne weg on þæt bæcbord Norðweg. Wið suðan þone Sciringesheal
 130 fylð swyðe mycel sæ up in on ðæt lond ; seo is bradre þonne ænig
 man ofer seon mæge ; ond is Gotland on oðre healfe ongean, ond
 siðða(n) Sillende. Seo sæ lið mænig hund mila up in on þæt land.
 Ond of Sciringesheale he cwæð þæt he seglode on fif dagan to þæm
 porte þe mon hæf æt Hæpum ; se stent betuh Winedum ond Seaxum
 135 ond Angle, ond hyrð in on Dene. Ða he þiderweard seglode fram
 Sciringesheale, þa wæs him on þæt bæcbord Denemearc, ond on
 þæt steorbord widsæ þry dagas ; ond þa, twegen dagas ær he to
 Hæpum come, him wæs on þæt steorbord Gotland ond Sillende,
 ond iglanda fela. On þæm landum eardodon Engle, ær hy hider
 140 on land coman. Ond hym wæs ða twegen dagas on ðæt bæcbord
 þa igland þe in to Denemearce hyrað.

3. Wulfstan's Voyage in the Baltic

Nothing further is known of this navigator.

Wulfstan sæde þæt he gefore of Hæðum, þæt he wære on Truso
 on syfan dagum ond nihtum, þæt þæt scip wæs ealne weg yrnende
 under segle. Weonoðland him wæs on steorbord, ond on bæcbord
 145 him wæs Langaland ond Læland ond Falster ond Sconeg ; ond þas
 land eall hyrað to Denemearcan ; ond þonne Burgenda land wæs
 us on bæcbord, ond þa habbað him sylf cyning. Þonne æfter

¹scypa C.

Burgenda lande wæron us þas land, þa synd hatene ærest Blecinga-
 eg ond Meore ond Eowland, ond Gotland on bæcbord; ond þas
 130 land hyrað to Sweon; ond Weonodland wæs us ealne weg on
 steorbord oð Wisle muðan. Seo Wisle is swyðe mycel ea, ond hio
 tolið Witland ond Weonodland; ond þæt Witland belimpeð to
 Estum; ond seo Wisle lið ut of Weonodlande, ond lið in Estmere;
 ond se Estmere is huru fiftene mila brad. Þonne cymeð Ilfing
 155 eastan in Estmere of ðæm mere ðe Truso standeð in staðe, ond
 cumað ut samod in Estmere Ilfing eastan of Estlande ond Wisle
 suðan of Winodlande, ond þonne benimð Wisle Ilfing hire naman
 ond ligeð of þæm mere west ond norð on sæ; forðy hit man hæť
 Wisle muða.

160 Þæt Estland is swyðe mycel, ond þær bið swyðe manig burh,
 ond on ælcere byrig bið cyningc; ond þær bið swyðe mycel hunig
 ond fiscnað; ond se cyning ond þa ricostan men drincað myran
 meolc, ond þa unspedigan ond þa þeowan drincað medo. Þær bið
 swyðe mycel gewinn betweenan him; ond ne bið ðær nænig ealo
 165 gebrowen mid Estum, ac þær bið medo genoh. Ond þær is mid
 Estum ðeaw, þonne þær bið man dead, þæt he lið inne unforbærned
 mid his magum ond freondum monað, ge hwilum twegen; ond þa
 kyningas ond þa oðre heahðungene men, swa micle lencg swa hi
 maran speda habbað, hwilum healf gear þæt hi beoð unforbærned
 170 ond licgað bufan eorðan on hyra husum. Ond ealle þa hwile þe
 þæt lic bið inne, þær sceal beon gedrync ond plega oð ðone dæg þe
 hi hine forbærnað. Þonne þy ylcan dæge (þe) hi hine to þæm ade
 beran wyllað, þonne todælað hi his feoh, þæt þær to lafe bið æfter
 þæm gedrynce ond þæm plegan, on fif oððe syx, hwylum on ma,
 175 swa swa þæs feos andefn bið. Alecgað hit ðonne forhwæga on anre
 mile þone mæstan dæl fram þæm tune, þonne oðerne, ðonne þæne
 þridan, oþ þe hyt eall aled bið on þære anre mile; ond sceall beon
 se læsta dæl nyhst þæm tune ðe se deada man on lið. Ðonne
 sceolon beon gesamnode ealle ða menn ðe swyftoste hors habbað on
 180 þæm lande forhwæga on fif milum oððe on syx milum fram þæm
 feo; . . . ðonne cymeð se man se þæt swiftoste hors hafað to þæm
 ærestan dæle ond to þæm mæstan, ond swa ælc æfter oðrum, oþ hit
 bið eall genumen; ond se nimð þone læstan dæl se nyhst þæm tune
 þæt feoh gearneð. Ond þonne rideð ælc hys weges mid ðan feo,
 185 ond hyt motan habban eall; ond forðy þær beoð þa swiftan hors
 ungefoge dyre. Ond þonne hys gestreon beoð þus eall aspended,

þonne byrð man hine ut ond forbærneð mid his wæpnum ond hrægle. Ond swiðost ealle hys speda hy forspendað mid þan langan legere þæs deadan mannes inne, ond þæs þe hy be þæm wegum
 190 alecgað, þe ða fremdan to ærnað ond nimað. Ond þæt is mid Estum þeaw þæt þær sceal ælces geðeodes man beon forbærned; ond gyf þar man an ban findeð unforbærned, hi hit sceolan miclum gebetan. Ond þær is mid Estum an mægð þæt hi magon cyle gewyrcean; ond þy þær licgað þa deadan men swa lange ond ne
 195 fuliað þæt hy wyrcað þone cyle hine on; ond þeah man asette twegen fætels full ealað oððe wæteres, hy gedoð þæt ægþer¹ bið oferfrozen, sam hit sy sumor sam winter.

4. Alexander the Great

Æfter þæm he gefor to anum fæstenne. Ða he þær to com, þa ne mehton hie nanne monn on ðæm fæstenne utan geseon. Ða wun-
 200 drade Alexander hwy hit swa æmenne wære; ond hrædlice þone weall self oferclom, ond he ðær wearð from þæm burgwarum in abroden. Ond hie his siþþan wæran swa swiðe ehtende swa hit is ungeliefedlic to secganne, ge mid scotum ge mid stana torfungum ge mid eallum heora wigcræftum, þæt swaþeah ealle þa burgware
 205 ne mehton hine ænne genieddan þæt² he him an hand gan wolde. Ac þa him þæt folc swiðost an þrang, þa gestop he to anes wealles byge, ond hiene ðær awerede; ond swa eall þæt folc wearð mid him anum agæled þæt hie þæs wealles nane giemen³ ne dydon, oð Alexandres þegnas toemnes him þone weall abracon ond þær in
 210 coman. Ðær wearð Alexander þurhscoten mid anre flan(e) underneodan oþer breost. Nyte we nu hwæðer sie swiþor to wundrianne, þe þæt hu he ana wið ealle þa burgware hiene awerede, þe eft, þa him fultum com, hu he þurh þæt folc geþrang þæt he ðone ilcan ofslog þe hiene ær þurhsceat; þe eft, þara þegna angin, þa hie
 215 untweogend(lice)⁴ wendon þæt heora hlaford wære on heora feonda gewearde, oððe cuca oððe dead, þæt hie swaþeah noldon þæs wea¹¹ abrecas geswican, þæt hie heora hlaford ne gewræccen, þeh
 þe hie hie¹¹ meðigne on cneowum sittende metten.
 Siþþan hie¹¹ þa burg hæfde him to gewildum gedon, þa for he to
 220 oðere byrg, þæt¹ Ambira se cyning on wunode. Ðær forwearþ micel

¹ oþer C.² þæt C.; þonne L.³ gieman MSS.⁴ From C.

Alexandres heres for geætredum gescotum. Ac Alexandre wearð on ðære ilcan niht an swefne an wyrt oðewed. Ða nam he þa on mergen ond sealde hie ðæm gewundedum drincan; ond hie wurdon mid þæm gehæled; ond siþþan þa burg gewann. Ond he siþþan
 225 hwearf hamweard to Babylonia. Ðær wæron ærendracan on anbide of eallre worolde; þæt wæs from Spaneum ond of Affrica ond of Gallium ond of ealre Italia. Swa egefull wæs Alexander þa þa he wæs on Indeum, on eastewardum þissum middangearde, þætte þa from him ondredan þe wæron on westewardum.

230 Eac him coman ærendracan ge of monegum þeodum þe nan mon Alexandres geferscipes ne wende þæt man his naman wiste, ond him friþes to him wilnedon. Ðagiet þa Alexander ham com to Babylonia, þagiet wæs on him se mæsta þurst monnes blodes. Ac þa þa his geferan ongeatan þæt he ðæs gewinnes þagiet geswican
 235 nolde, ac he sæde þæt he on African faran wolde, þa geleornedon his byrelas him betweonum hu hie him mehten þæt lif oþþringan; ond him gesealdon ator drincan. Ða forlet he his lif.

5. Carthage and the First Punic War

Nu we sculon (fon), cwæð Orosius, ymb þæt Punica gewin, þæt wæs of þæm folce of Cartaina þære byrig. Sio wæs getimbred
 240 from Elisan þæm wifmen LXXII-tigum wintra ær Romeburg. Swa some þara burgwarena yfel ond heora bismeres wearð lytel asæd ond awriten, swa swa Trogus ond Iustinianus sedon heora stærwriteras; forþon þe heora wise on nænne sæl wel ne gefor, naþer ne innan from him selfum ne utane from oþrum folcum. Swaþeah
 245 toeacan þæm yflum hie gesetton, þonne him micel moncwealm on becom, þæt hie sceolden men hiera godum blotan, swa eac ða dioflu¹ (þe) hie on geliefdon gelærdon hie þæt þa ðe þær on unhæle wæran, þæt hie hale for hie cwealdon. Ond wæron þa men to ðon dysige þæt hie wendon þæt hie mehten þæt yfel mid þæm ge-
 250 stillan, ond þa dioflu¹ to þon lytige þæt hie hit mid þæm gemicledan. Ond forþon þe hie swa swiðe dysige wæron, him com on Godes wracu an gefeohtum toeacan oþrum yflum. Ðæt wæs oftost on Sicilium ond on Sardinium þæm iglondum, on þa hie gelomlicost wunnon. Æfter þæm þe him swa oftrædlice mislamp, hie angunnan

¹ diofla MSS.

- 255 hit witan heora latteowum ond heora cempum heora earfeþa, ond
 him bebudan þæt hie on wræcsipas foran ond on ellþiede. Raþe
 æfter þæm hie bædon þæt hie mon to hiora earde forlete, þæt hie
 mosten gefandian hweðer hie heora medselða oferswiþan mehte(n).
 Ða him mon þæs forwiernde, þa gesohton hie hie mid firde. On
 260 þære heriunge gemette se ieldesta ladteow Macheus his agenne sunu
 mid purpulum gegieredne on biscephade. He hiene þa for
 þæm girelan gebealg, ond hiene oferfon het ond ahon, ond wende
 þæt he for his forsewenesse swelc sceorp were, forþon þe hit
 næs þeaw mid him þæt ænig ofer purpulan were buton cyningum.
 265 Raþe æfter þæm hie begeaton Cartaina þa burg, ond ealle þa
 æltæwestan ofslogon þe þær inne wæron; ond þa oþre to him
 genieddon. Ða æt nihstan he wearð self besiered ond ofslagen.
 Ðis wæs geworden on Ciruses dæge Persa cyninges.

33. BOETHIUS: *DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIÆ*

Amicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, a Roman aristocrat, consul in 510 A.D., early in the century wrote a number of literary, philosophical, and scientific works, some of which were accepted as authorities in Europe even so late as the eighteenth century. By far the most read and the most valued of his books was his treatise on the consolation to be derived in misfortune from the study of philosophy and the application of its precepts. This work has been translated into nearly every European language and has profoundly influenced European literature. King Alfred's was the earliest version in a vernacular speech. Though Boethius was not a Christian, his *De Consolatione* is in harmony with the spirit of Christianity, and has been regarded by the Church as a valuable manual. King Alfred, who must have regarded the popularising of this book as a most important part of his educational plans, has given a distinctly Christian colouring to his version. Many passages of the abstract and difficult original he has recast in simple language and has inserted in his text illustrations, many of which he derived from the commentary accompanying the Latin text in some MSS. Most of the poems with which Boethius enlivens the course of the discussion are translated into prose in one of the two extant O.E. MSS., while in the other this translation is further expanded into alliterating verses, without reference to the Latin. Whether Alfred himself wrote this metrical version is a moot point, but the definite assertion of the preface that 'he made it again into verse' is not to be lightly set aside. The metre differs little from that of the older poetry. Alfred's translation of the prose part of the treatise gives a good idea of the capacity of Old English for expressing abstract notions in an easily intelligible form, and is in strong contrast to the clumsy style of the O.E. version of the *Cura Pastoralis*.

It is worthy of note that in a MS. recording benefactions made to Exeter cathedral by Bishop Leofric about the middle of the eleventh century, occurs the item *Boetius boc on englisc*, and among the Latin books is mentioned *liber Boetii de*

consolatione. There is also a Latin MS. of the treatise in the Royal library of the Escorial, with a note in Old English on the first page to the effect that 'this book is given by Ælfgyth to God into Horton.'

1. Prose Preface

Ælfred kyning¹ wæs wealhstod ðisse bec ond hie of boclædene on englisc wende, swa hio nu is gedon. Hwilum he sette word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgite, swa swa he hit sweotolost ond andgitfullicast gereccan mihte for þam mistlicum ond manigfeald-
 5 um weoruldbisgum þe hine oft ægðer ge on mode ge on lichoman bisgodan. Ða bisgu us sint swiþe earfoþrime þe on his dagum on þa ricu becoman þe he underfangen hæfde, ond þeah ða (he) þas boc hæfde geleornode ond of lædene to englisum spelle gewende, þa geworhte he hi eft to leoðe, swa swa heo nu gedon is; ond nu
 10 bit ond for Godes naman he halsað ælcne þara þe þas boc rædan lyste, þæt he for hine gebidde, ond him ne wite gif he hit rihtlicor ongite þonne he mihte; forþam þe ælc mon sceal be his andgites mæðe ond be his æmettan sprecan þæt he sprecð ond don þæt þæt he deð.

2. Verse Preface

15 Ðus Ælfred us ealdspell reahte,
 cyning Westsexna, cræft meldode,
 leoðwyrhta list; him wæs lust micel
 ðæt he ðiossum leodum leoð spellode,
 monnum myrgen, mislice cwidas,
 20 þy læs ælinge ut adrife
 selflicne secg, þonne he swelces lyt
 gymð for his gilpe. Ic sceal giet sprecan,
 fon on fitte, folccuðne ræd
 hæleðum secgean; hliste se þe wille.

3. Prose Introduction

This is not in the Latin original.

25 On ðære tide ðe Gotan of Sciððiu mægðe wið Romana rice gewin up ahofon, ond mid heora cyningum, Rædgota ond Eallerica wæron

¹kuning MS.

- hatne, Romane burg abracon ond eall Italia rice þæt is betwux þam muntum ond Sicilia þam ealonde in anwald gerehton, ond þa æfter þam forespreceanan cyningum Ðeodric feng to þam ilcan rice.
- 30 Se Ðeodric wæs Amulinga; he wæs cristen, þeah he on þa arrianiscan gedwolan þurhwunode. He gehet Romanum his freondscipe, swa þæt hi mostan heora ealdrihta wyrðe beon. Ac he þa gehat swiðe yfele gelæste ond swiðe wraðe geendode mid manegum mane. Þæt wæs toeacan oðrum unarimedum yflum þæt he Iohannes þone
- 35 papan het ofslean. Þa wæs sum consul, þæt we heretoha hatað, Boetius wæs gehaten; se wæs in boccræftum ond on woruldþeawum se rihtwisesta. Se þa ongeat þa manigfealdan yfel þe se cyning Ðeodric wið þam cristendome¹ ond wið þam romaniscum wutum dyde. He þa gemunde þara eðnessa ond þara ealdrihta þe hi
- 40 under þam caserum hæfdon heora ealdhlafordum. Þa ongan he smeagan ond leornigan on him selfum hu he þæt rice þam unrihtwisan cyninge aferran mihte ond on ryhtgeleafulra ond on rihtwisra anwealde gebringan. Sende þa digellice ærendgewritu to þam kasere to Constantinopolim, þær is Creca heahburg ond heora
- 45 cynestol, forþam se kasere wæs heora ealdhlafordcynnes; bædon hine þæt he him to heora cristendome ond to heora ealdrihtum gefultumede. Þa þæt ongeat se wælhreowa cyning Ðeodric, þa het he hine gebringan on carcerne ond þær inne belucan. Þa hit ða gelomp þæt se arwyrða wæs on swa micelre nearanesse becumen,²
- 50 þa wæs he swa micle swiðor on his mode gedrefed swa his mod ær swiðor to þam woruldsælþum gewunod wæs; ond he þa nanre frofre beinnan þam carcerne ne gemunde; ac he gefeoll niwol ofdune on þa flor, ond hine astrehte swiðe unrot, ond ormod hine selfne ongan wepan ond þus singend(e) cwæð.

4. King Alfred's Idea of Kingship

In this deeply interesting passage, inspired by a few words of the original (see Appendix), we hear the authentic voice of the good king declaring with his usual directness and simplicity the views and principles which guided him in governing his people.

- 55 Eala, Gesceadwisnes, hwæt, þu wast þæt me nafre seo gitsung ond seo gemægð þisses eorðlican anwealdes forwel ne licode, ne ic

¹ cristenandome MS.

² becom MS.

ealles forswiðe ne girnde þisses eorðlican rices, butan tola ic wilnode
 þeah ond andweorces to þam weorce þe me beboden wæs to wyr-
 anne; þæt wæs þæt ic unfracodlice ond gerisenlice mihte steoran
 60 ond reccan þone anwald þe me befæst wæs. Hwæt, þu wast þæt
 nan mon ne mæg nænne cræft cyðan ne nænne anweald reccan ne
 stioran butan tolum ond andweorce. Þæt bið ælces cræftes and-
 weorc þæt mon þone cræft buton wyrcean ne mæg. Þæt bið þonne
 65 cyninges andweorc ond his tol mid to ricsianne, þæt he hæbbe his
 lond fullmonnad; he sceal habban gebedmen ond fyrdmen ond
 weorcmen. Hwæt, þu wast þætte butan þissan tolan nan cyning
 his cræft ne mæg cyðan. Þæt is eac his ondweorc, þæt he habban
 sceal to ðæm tolum þam þrim geferscipum biwiste. Þæt is þonne
 heora biwist: land to bugianne, ond gifa ond wæpnu ond mete
 70 ond ealo ond clāpas, ond gehwæt þæs ðe þa þre geferscipas behofiað.
 Ne mæg he butan þisum þas tol gehealdan, ne buton þisum tolum
 nan þara þinga wyrcean þe him beboden is to wyrccenne. Forþy ic
 wilnode andweorces þone anweald mid to reccenne, þæt mine
 cræftas ond anweald ne wurden forgitene ond forholene. Forþam
 75 ælc cræft ond ælc anweald bið sona forealdod ond forsugod, gif he
 bið buton wisdom; forðæm ne mæg nan mon nænne cræft (forð)-
 bringan buton wisdom, forðæm þe swa hwæt swa þurh dysig gedon
 bið, ne mæg hit mon næfre to cræfte gereccan. Þæt is nu hraðost
 to secganne, þæt ic wilnode weorðfullice to libbanne þa hwile þe
 80 ic lifde, ond æfter minum life þæm monnum to læfanne, þe æfter
 me wæren, min gemynd¹ on godum weorcum.

5. Titans and Giants

The Latin here has merely the words 'Accepisti, inquit, in fabulis lacessentes cælum gigantas; sed illos quoque, uti condignum fuit, benigna fortitudo deposuit.'

Hwæt, ic wat þæt ðu geherdest oft reccan on ealdum leasum
 spellum þætte Iob Saturnes sunu sceolde bion se hehsta god ofer
 ealle oðru godu, ond he sceolde bion þæs heofenes sunu, ond sceolde
 85 ricsian on heofenum; ond sceolden gigantas bion eorðan suna, ond
 ða sceolden ricsian ofer eorðan; ond þa sceolden hi bion swelce hi
 wæren geswysterna bearn, forðæm þe he sceolde bion heofenes
 sunu, ond hi eorðan. Ond þa sceolde þæm gigantum ofþincan
 þæt he hæfde hiera rice; woldon þa tobrecan þone heofon under

¹ min gemyndig *J.*; gemynd *B.* (min omitted).

90 him; þa sceolde he sendan þunras ond ligeta ond windas, ond
 toweorpan eall hira geweorc mid, ond hi selfe ofslean. Ðyllica
 leasunga hi worhton, ond meahton eaðe seggan soð spell, gif him
 þa leasunga næren swetran, ond þeah swiðe gelic ðisum. Hi
 meahton seggan hwylc dysig Nefrod se gigant worhte; se Nefrod
 95 wæs Chuses sunu; Chus wæs Chames sunu, Cham Noes. Se
 Nefrod het wyrcan ænne tor on ðæm felda ðe Sennar hatte, ond
 on ðære þiode ðe Deira hatte, swiðe neah þære byrig þe mon nu
 hæst Babilonia. Þæt hi dydon for þam ðingum þe hi woldon
 witan hu heah hit wære to ðæm heofone, ond hu ðicce se hefon
 100 wære ond hu fæst, oððe hwæt þær ofer wære. Ac hit gebyrede,
 swa hit cyn wæs, þæt se godcunda onweald hi tostencte ær hi hit
 fullwyrcan moten, ond towearp ðone tor ond hiora monigne ofslog,
 ond hiora spræce todælde on tu ond hundseofontig geþioda.

6. Ulysses and Circe

For the original Latin see Appendix.

Ic ðe mæg reccan of ealdum leasum spellum sum swiðe anlic
 105 spell þære spræce þe wit nu ymbe spræcon. Hit gebyrede gio on
 Troiana gewinne þæt þær wæs an cyning þæs nama Aulixes; se
 hæfde twa þioda under þam kasere. Þa ðioda wæron hatene
 Iþacige ond Retie, ond þæs kaseres nama wæs Agamemnon. Ða
 se Aulixes mid þam kasere to þam gefiohte for, þa hæfde he sume
 110 hundred scipa; þa wæron hi sume ten gear on þam gewinne. Þa
 se cyning eft ham cerde from þam kasere, ond hi þæt land hæfdon
 gewunnen, þa næfde he na ma scipa þonne an; þæt wæs þeah
 þrereðre. Ða gestod hine heahweder ond stormsæ. Wearð þa
 fordrifen on an iglond ut on ðære Wendelsæ. Þa wæs þær Apollines
 115 dohtor, Iobes suna; se Iob wæs hiora cyning ond licette þæt he
 sceolde bion se hehsta god; ond þæt dysige folc him gelyfde,
 forþam ðe he wæs cynecynnes; ond hi nyston nænne oðerne god
 on þæne timan, buton hiora cyningas hi weorþodon for godas.
 Þa sceolde þæs Iobes fæder bion eac god, þæs nama wæs Saturnus;
 120 ond his suna swa ilce ælcne hi hæfdon for god. Þa wæs hiora an
 se Apollinus þe we ær ymb spræcon. Þæs Apollines dohtor sceolde
 bion gyden, þære nama wæs Kirke. Sio, hi sædon, sceolde bion
 swiðe drycraeftigu, ond sio wunode on þam iglande þe se cyning on

fordrifen wearð, þe we ær ymbe spræcon. Hio hæfde þær swiðe
 125 micle werode hire ðegna, ond eac oðerra mædena. Sona swa hio
 geseah þone fordrifenan cyning ðe we ær ymb spræcon, þæs nama
 wæs Aulixes, þa ongan hio hine lufian, ond hiora ægþer oðerne
 swiðe ungemetlice, swa þætte he for hire lufan forlet his rice eall
 ond his cynren, ond wunode mid hire oð ðone first þæt his ðegnas
 130 him ne mihton leng mid gewunian, ac for hiora eardes lufan ond
 for þære wræce tih(h)odon hine to forlætenne. Ða ongunnon lease
 men wyrcan spell, ond sædon þæt hio sceolde mid hire drycræft þa
 men forbredan ond weorpan hi an wildedeora lic, ond siððan slean
 on þa racentan ond on cospas. Sume hi sædon þæt hio sceolde
 135 forsceoppan to leon, ond þonne seo sceolde spreca, þonne ryde
 hio. Sume sceoldan bion eforas ond þonne hi sceoldan hiora sar
 siofian, þa grymetodan hi. Sume wurdon to wulfan; þa ðuton,
 þonne hi spreca sceoldon. Sume wurdon to þam deorcynne þe
 mon hæf ¹ tigris. Swa wearð eall se geferscipe forhwerfed to mist-
 140 licum deorcynnum, ælc to sumum diore, buton þam cyninge
 anum. Ælcne mete hi onscunedon þe men etað, ond wilnodon
 þara þe deor etaþ. Næfdon hi nane anlicnesse manna ne on lichoman
 ne on stemne, ond ælc wiste þeah his gewit swa swa he ær
 wiste. Þæt gewit wæs swiðe sorgiende for þam ermðum ðe hi
 145 drugon.² Hwæt, þa menn þe ðisum leasungum gelefdon, þeah
 wisston þæt hio mid þam drycræfte ne mihte þara monna mod
 onwenden, þeah hio þa lichoman onwende.

7. Expansion of One of Boethius' Poems

For the Latin see Appendix. On the slender foundation of 28 Latin hexameters Alfred has written a scientific treatise and an eloquent address to the Almighty.

Eala, Dryhten, hu micel ond hu wunderlic þu eart, þu ðe ealle
 þine gesceafta gesewenlice ond eac ungesewenlice wunderlice ge-
 150 sceope ond gesceadwislice heora weltst; ðu ðe tida fram middan-
 geardes fruman oð ðone ende endebyrdlice gesettest; swa þætte hi
 ægþer ge forð farað ge eft cumað; þu ðe ealle þa unstillan gesceafta
 to þinum willan astyrast, ond þu self simle ond unawendedlic
 þurhwunast; forþam ðe nan mihtigra þe nis, ne nan þin gelica, ne

¹ hat *MS.*

² drogon *MS.*

- 155 þe nan neodþearf ne lærde to wyrccanne þæt þæt ðu worhtest ; ac
mid þinum agenum willan ond mid þinum agenum anwealde þu
eall þing geworhtest, ðeah ðu heora nanes ne beþorfte. Swiðe
wunderlic is þæt gecynd þines godes, forþam ðe hit is eall an,
þu ond þin godnes ; þæt god na uton cumen to þe, ac hit is ðin
160 agen. Ac eall þæt we godes habbað on þisse worulde, þæt us is
uton cumen, þæt is from þe. Næfst þu nanne andan to nanum
þinge, forþam þe nan cræftigra nis þonne þu, ne nan þin gelica ;
forþam ðu ealle god mid ðines anes geþeahte geþohtest ond geworht-
test. Ne bisnode þe nan man, forþam þe nan ær þe næs þara þe
165 auht oððe nauht worhte. Ac þu ealle þing geworhtest swiðe gode
ond swiðe fægere, ond þu self eart þæt hehste god ond þæt fægereste.
Swa swa þu self geþohtest þu geworhtest þisne middangeard, ond
his weltst swa swa þu wilt, ond þu self dælst eall god swa swa þu
wilt. Ond ealle gesceafta þu gesceope him gelice, ond eac on
170 sumum ðingum ungelice. Þeah þu þa ealle gesceafta ane naman
genemde, e(a)lle þu nemdest togedere ond hete woruld ; ond þeah
þone anne noman þu todældest on feower gesceafta ; an þæra is
eorðe, oðer wæter, ðridde lyft, feorþe fyr. Ælcum þara þu gesetttest
his agene sunderstowe, ond þeah ælc is wið oðre genemned ond
175 sibsumlice gebunden mid þinum bebode, swa þæt heora nan oðres
mearce ne ofereode, ond se cile geþrowode wið ða hæto, ond þæt
wæt wið þam drygum. Eorðan gecynd ond wæteres is ceald ; sio
eorðe is dryge ond ceald, ond þæt wæter wæt ond ceald. Sio
lyft þonne is genemned þæt hio is ægþer ge ceald ge wæt ge wearm.
180 Nis hit nan wonder, forþam ðe hio is gesceapen on þam midle
betwux þære drygan ond þære cealdan eorþan on þam hatan fyre.
Þæt fyr is yfemest ofer e(a)llum þissum woruldgesceaftum. Wun-
dorlic is þæt þin geðeaht, þæt ðu hæfst ægþer gedon, ge þa gesceafta
gemærsode betwux him, ge eac gemengde þa drigan eorðan ond þa
185 cealdan under þam cealdan wætere ond þam wætan, þæt þæt
hnesce ond flowende wæter hæbbe flor on þære fæstan eorðan ;
forþam þe hit ne mæg on him selfum gestandan. Ac seo eorðe hit
helt ond be sumum dæle swilgð, ond for þam sype heo bið geleht
þæt hio grewð ond blewð ond westmas bringð ; forþam gif þæt
190 wæter hi ne geðwænde, þonne drugode hio ond wurde todrifen mid
þam winde swa swa dust oððe axe. Ne mihte nanwuht libbendes
þære eorðan brucan ne þæs wæteres, ne on nauðrum eardigan for
cile, gif þu hi hwætwegununga wið fir ne gemengdest. Wundorlice

cræfte þu hit hæfst gesceapen þæt þæt fyr ne forbærnð þæt wæter
 195 ond þa eorþan, nu hit gemenged is wið ægðer; ne eft wæter ond
 seo eorðe eallunga ne adwæsceð þæt fyr. Þæs wæteres agnu cyð
 is on eorþan, ond eac on lyfte, ond eft bufan þam rodore. Ac þæs
 fyres agen stede is ofer eallum woruldgesceaftum gesewenlicum, ond
 þeah hit is gemenged wið ealle gesceafta; ond þeah ne mæg nane
 200 þara gesceafta eallunga forcuman, forþam þe hit næfð leafe þæs
 Ælmihtigan. Sio eorðe þonne is hefigre ond piccre þonne oðra
 gesceafta, forþam hio is niðor þonne ænig oðru gesceaft buton þam
 rodore; forþam se rodor hine hæfð ælce dæg(e) utane, þeah he
 hire nawer ne genealæce; on ælcra stowe he is hire emneah, ge
 205 ufan ge neoðon. Ælc þara gesceafta þe we gefyrn ær ymbe spræcon
 hæfð his agenne eard onsundron; ond þeah is ælc wið oðer
 gemenged, forðam þe nan ðara gesceafta ne mæg bion buton oðerre,
 ðeah hio unsweotol sie on þære oðerre. Swa swa nu eorðe is ond
 wæter sint swiðe earfoðe to geseonne oððe to ongitonne dysgum
 210 monnum on fyre, ond swaþeah hi sint ðærwið gemengde. Swa is eac
 þær fyr on ðam stanum ond on ðam wætere, swiðe earfoðhawe, ac
 hit is þeah þara. Þu gebunde þæt fyr mid swiðe unanbindendlicum
 racentum, þæt hit ne mæg cuman to his agenum earde, þæt is, to
 þam mæstan fyre ðe ofer us is, pylæs hit forlæte þa eorðan; ond
 215 ealle oðre gesceafta aswindað for ungemetlicum cile, gif hit eallunga
 from gewite. Ðu gestaðoladest eorðan swiðe wundorlice ond fæst-
 lice, þæt heo ne helt on nane healfe ne on nanum eorðlicum þinge ne
 stent; ne nanwuht eorðlices hi ne healt þæt hio ne sige, ond nis hire
 þeah þon eðre to feallanne ofdune þonne up. Þu eac þa ðriefealdan
 220 sawla on geðwærum limum styrest, swa þæt ðære sawle þy læsse
 ne bið on ðam læstan fingre ðe on eallum þam lichoman. Forþi ic
 cwæð þæt sio sawul wære preofeald, forþam þe uðwitan secgað ðæt
 hio hæbbe þrio gecynd. An ðara gecynda is þæt heo bið wilnigende,
 oðer þæt hio bið irsiende, pridde þæt hio bið gesceadwis. Twa
 225 þara gecynda habbað netenu swa same swa men; oðer þara is
 wilnung, oðer is irsung. Ac se mon ana hæfð oferþungen ealle þa
 eorðlican gesceafta mid geðeahte ond mid andgite. Forþam seo
 gesceadwisnes sceal wealdan ægðer ge þære wilnunga ge þæs
 yrres, forþam hio is synderlic cræft þære saule. Swa ðu gesceope
 230 þa saule þæt hio sceolde calne weg hwearfian on hire selfre, swa swa
 eall þes rodor hwerfð, oððe swa swa hweol onhwerfð, smeagende
 ymb hire sceoppend, oððe ymbe hi selfe, oððe ymbe þas eorðlican

gesceafta. Þonne hio þonne ymbe hire scippend smeað, þonne
 bið hio ofer hire selfre; ac þonne hio ymbe hi selfe smeað, þonne
 235 bið hio on hire selfre; ond under hire selfre hio bið þonne, ðonne
 hio lufað þas eorðlican þing, ond þara wundrað. Hwæt þu, Drihten,
 forgeafe þam sawlum eard on hiofonum, ond him þær gist weorðlice
 gifa, ælcere be hire geearnunge; ond gedest þæt hi scinað swiðe
 beorhte, ond þeah swiðe mistlice birhtu, sume beorhtor sume
 240 unbyrhtor, swa swa steorran, ælc be his geearnunga. Hwæt þu,
 Drihten, gegæderast þa heofonlican sawla ond þa eorðlican lichoman,
 ond hi on ðisse worulde gemengest. Swa swa hi from þe hider
 comon, swa hi eac to þe hionan fundiað. Þu fyldest ðas eorðan mid
 mistlicum cynrenum netena, ond hi siððan aseowe mistlicum sæde
 245 treowa ond wyrta. Forgif nu, Drihten, urum modum þæt hi moton
 to þe astigan þurh þas earfoðu þisse worulde, ond of þissum bise-
 gum to þe cuman, ond openum eagum ures modes we moten geseon
 þone æpelan æwelme ealra goda; þæt eart ðu. Forgif us þonne hale
 eagan ures modes, þæt we hi þonne moton afæstnian on þe, ond
 250 todrif ðone mist þe nu hangað beforan ures modes eagum, ond
 onliht þa eagan mid ðinum leohte; forþam ðu eart sio birhtu ðaes
 soðan leohtes, ond þu eart sio sefte ræst soðfæstra, ond ðu gedest
 þæt hi ðe gesioð. Þu eart ealra þinga fruma ond ende. Ðu
 briest ealle þing buton geswince. Þu eart ægðer ge weg ge ladþeow,
 255 ge sio stow ðe se weg to ligð; ðe ealle men to fundiað.

34. AUGUSTINE'S *SOLILOQUIES*

This treatise, written by the most famous of the early Christian philosophic writers, deals with the nature of God and of the soul of man, and as it has certain affinities in matter and treatment with the *De Consolatione* of Boethius, must have possessed for King Alfred an equal interest. The internal evidence pointing to Alfred's authorship of the O.E. *Soliloquies* is as strong as that for his authorship of the O.E. *Boethius*; moreover it is extremely likely that he took in hand the former work soon after he had finished the latter, as the style and language of the two are much alike. The freedom of his treatment of the *Soliloquies* shows us that he had reached confidence in his powers as a popular expositor of Christian philosophy.

Alfred's preface is characteristic, with its concrete similes, reminding us of several other passages in his writings, e.g. the verse preface to Gregory's *Dialogues*. The spelling of the text, differing in many respects from that of other Alfredian texts, is partly due to the lateness of the MS., which was written at a date when exact knowledge of the old literary West Saxon spelling had been lost.

1. Alfred's Preface

Gaderode me þonne kigclas and stuþansceaftas and lohsceaftas
 ond hylfa to ælcum þara tola þe ic mid wircan cuðe, and bohtimbru
 and bolttimbru to ælcum þara weorca þe ic wyrcan cuðe, þa wliteg-
 ostan treowo be þam dele ðe ic aberan meihte. Ne com ic naþer mid
 5 anre byrðene ham, þe me ne lyste ealne þane wude ham brengan, gif
 ic hyne ealne aberan meihte. On ælcum treowe ¹ ic geseah hwæt-
 hwugu þæs þe ic æt ham beþorfte. Forþam ic lære ælcne ðara þe
 maga si ond manigne wæn hæbbe, þæt he menige to þam ilcan wuda
 þar ic ðas stuðansceaftas cearf, fetige hym þar ma, and gefeðrige hys
 10 wenas mid fegrum gerdum, þæt he mage windan manigne smicerne
 wah, and manig ænlic hus settan and fegerne tun timbrian þara, and
 þær murge and softe mid mæge oneardian ægðer ge wintras ge
 sumeras, swa swa ic nu gyt ne ² dyde. Ac se þe me lærde, þam se
 wudu licode, se mæg gedon þæt ic softor eardian (mæge), ægðer ge
 15 on þisum lænan stoclife be þis wæge ða hwile þe ic on þisse weorulde
 beo, ge eac on þam ecan ³ hame ðe he us gehaten hefð þurh Sanctus
 Augustinus and Sanctus Gregorius and Sanctus Ieronimus, and
 þurh manege oðre halie fædras; swa ic gelyfe eac þæt he gedo for
 heora ealra earnunge, ægðer ge þisne weig gelimfulran gedo þonne
 20 he ær þissum wes, ge hure mines modes eagan to þam ongelichte
 þæt ic mage rihtne weig aredian to þam ecan hame and to þære ⁴
 ecan are and to þære ecan reste, þe us gehaten is þurh þa halgan
 fæderas. Sie swa. Nis hit nan wundor þeah man swilc ontimber
 gewirce eac on þa(re ut)lade and eac on þære bytlinge; ac ælcne
 25 man lyst, siððan he ænig cotlyf on his hlafordes læne myd his
 fultume getimbred hæfð, þæt he hine mote hwilum þar on gerestan
 and huntigan and fuglian and fiscian, and his on gehwilce wisan
 to þere lænan tilian, ægþær ge on se ge on lande, oð þone fyrst
 þe he bocland and æce yrfe þurh his hlafordes miltse geearnige.
 30 Swa gedo se weliga gifola, ⁵ se ðe egðer wilt ge þissa lænena stoclifa ⁶
 ge þara ecena hama. Se ðe ægþer gescop and ægðeres wilt, forgife
 me þæt me to ægðrum onhagige, ge her nytwyrðe to beonne ge
 huru þider to cumanne.

¹ treowo MS.⁴ þam MS.² nu ne gyt MS.⁵ wilega gidfola MS.³ hecan MS.⁶ stoclife MS.

2. On Wisdom

Ic þe mæg tecan æac oðre bysne be þam wisdom. Geðenc nu
 35 hweðer awiht mani mann cynges ham sece, þer ðær he ðonne on
 tune byð, oððe hys gemot, oððe hys fird; oððe hweðer ðe ðince þæt
 hi æalle on anne weig þider¹ cumen? Ic wene þeah ðæt hi cumen on
 swiðe manige wegas; sume cumað swiðe feorran and habbað
 swiðe langne² weig and swiðe yfelne and swiðe earfoðferne; sume
 40 habbað swiðe langne and swiðe rihtne and swiðe godne; sume
 habbað swiðe scortne, and þeah wone and nearone and fuulne,
 sume habbað scortne and smeðne and rihtne, and þeah cumað
 æalle to anum hlaforde; sume æð, sume uneð, naðer ne hi þider¹
 gelice eaðe cumað, ne hi þer gelice eaðe ne beoð. Sume beoð
 45 on maran are and on maran eðnesse þonne sume, sume on læssan,
 sume fulneah buton, buton þæt an þæt he lufað. Swa hit bið
 æac be þam wisdom. Ælc þara þe hys wilnað and þe hys geornful
 byð, he hym mæg cuman to and on hys hyrede wunian and be
 lybban, þeah hi hym sume near sian, sum fyer. Swa swa ælces
 50 cynges ham³: beoð sume on bure, sume on healle, sume on odene,
 sume on carcerne; and lybbað þeah æalle be anes hlafordes are,
 swa swa æalle men lybbað under anre sunnan and be hyre leohte
 geseoð þæt þæt hy geseoð. Sume swiðe scarepe and swiðe swutele⁴
 lociað; sume unæaðe awiht geseoð. Sume beoð stæreblind and
 55 nyttiað þeah þære sunnan. Ac swa swa þeos gesewe(ne) sunne ures
 lichaman æagan onleoht, swa onliht se wisdom ures modes æagan,
 þæt ys, ure angyt; and swa swa þæs lichaman æagan halran⁵ beoð,
 swa hy mare gefoð þæs leohtes þære sunnan. Swa hyt byð æac be
 þæs modes æagan, þæt is andgit: swa swa þæt halre byð, swa hyt
 60 mare geseon mæg þære æcan sunnan, þæt is wysdom. Ælc man
 þæ hale æagan hæfð, ne þærf he nanes oðres ladtewes ne larewes þas
 sunnan to geseonne, butan þære halæ. Gyf he hale eagan hæfð,
 he mæg hym self hawian on ða sunnan. Gyf he ðonne unhale
 æagan hæfð, þonne beþearf he þæt hyne man lære þæt he locige
 65 ærest on þone wah,⁶ ðonne on gold and on seolfor; þonne he æaðe
 on þæt locian (mæg), on fyr, ærðam he ongean þa sunnan locie.
 Siððan he þonne þæt gelæornod hæbbe þæt his eagan nanwyht
 ðæt fyr ne onscyniað, hawie þonne on steorran and on monan, ðonne

¹ þeder MS.² længe MS.³ hama MS.⁴ swotele MS.⁵ halren MS.⁶ woh MS.

oðre sunnan scynan, ærðam he on hi selfe locige. And swa ylce
 70 be þære oðerre sunnan þe we ær ymbe specon, þæt is, wysdom. Se
 ðe hyne myd hys modes ægum geseon wile, he sceal of swiðe
 lytlum hyt ongyunnan, and þonne lytlum and lytlum stigan near and
 near stæpmelum, swilce he on sume hlædre stige, and wylle weorðan
 uppe on sumu(m) sæclife. Gyf he þonne æfre uppe on ðam clife
 75 wyrð, þonne mæg he locian egðer ge ofer þone warað ge ofer þa
 sæ, þe hym ðonne benioðan byð, ge æac ofer þæt land þe hym ær
 bufan wæs. Ac gyf unc swa pince, uto gebyddan unc hær dæg-
 langes and spurian to morgen furður æfter ðam ylcan þe wit ær
 spureden.

At the end of the O.E. translation are the following words: Hær endiað þa
 cwidas þe Ælfred kining alæs of þære bec þe we hatað on. . . .

35. ÆLFRIC

Learning in England, the decay of which King Alfred had deplored in the
 preface to his translation of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* (see above, No. 31), after two
 generations showed no improvement. This was a natural result of the general
 exhaustion and the slackness which came upon those of the great monasteries which
 survived the terrible devastation of the Danish wars in the latter half of the ninth
 century. In the strong reign of King Eadgar (regn. 958-975) a band of reformers,
 led by Dunstan, Bishop of Worcester, set to work to purge the old monasteries and
 reintroduce the strict Benedictine rule both there and in the numerous new houses
 which were founded by the king. The reformers were chiefly concerned with the
 moral and ecclesiastical discipline of the monastic communities as well as of the
 secular clergy, but they were equally determined to raise their intellectual level.
 Bishop Æthelwold, who had been a pupil of Dunstan at Glastonbury, took a leading
 part in the reform of learning and education, and he found in his own pupil the
 monk Ælfric a zealous and competent helper. Under the direct patronage of the
 West Saxon ealdorman Æthelweard and his son Æthelmær, Ælfric was successively
 abbot of the newly founded monasteries at Cernel, Dorsetshire, and Ensham, near
 Oxford. His work, nearly all of which seems to have come down to us in many
 MSS. and which forms a large part of the surviving Anglo-Saxon prose literature,
 consists for the main part of eighty homilies (*Homiliae Catholicae*), forty lives of
 saints, and translations of some books of the Old Testament. His aim being to
 interest as well as to instruct the less learned clergy and the laity, Ælfric writes
 clearly and fluently, with a large vocabulary, and there is a fervour, an easy swing
 and rush in his narrative and exhortation that cannot be paralleled in English prose
 for many centuries afterwards.

1. Preface to the Homilies

Ic, Ælfric, munuc and mæssepreost, swaþeah waccre þonne
 swilcum hadum gebyrige, wearð asend on Æþelredes dæge cyninges

fram Ælfeage biscope, Aðelwoldes æftergegan, to sumum mynstre
 þe is Cernel gehaten, þurh Æðelmæres bene ðæs þegenes; his
 5 gebyrd ond goodnys sind gehwær cuþe. Ða bearn me on mode, ic
 truwiges þurh Godes gife, þæt ic ðas boc of ledenum gereorde to
 engliscre spræce awende, na þurh gebylde micelre lare ac forþam
 þe ic geseah ond gehyrde mycel gedwyld on manegum engliscum
 10 bocum, þe ungelærede menn þurh heora bilewitnysse to miclum
 wisdomes tealdon. Ond me ofhreow þæt hi ne cuþon ne næfdon
 þa godspellican lare on heora gewritum, buton þam mannum anum
 ðe þæt leden cuðon, ond buton þam bocum ðe Ælfred cyning
 snoterlice awende of ledene on englisc; þa synd to hæbbenne. For
 þisum antimbre ic gedyrstlæhte, on Gode truwiende, þæt ic ðas
 15 gesetnysse undergann, ond eac forðam þe menn behofiað godre lare
 swiðost on þisum timan, þe is geendung þyssere worulde, ond beoð
 fela frecednyssa on mancynne ærðan þe se ende becume. . . .

Nu bidde ic ond halsige on Godes naman, gif hwa þas boc awritan
 wylle, þæt he hi geornlice gerihte be þære bysene, þy læs þe we
 20 þurh gymeleas writeras geleafrode beon. Mycel yfel deð se
 ðe leas writ, buton he hit gerihte, swylce he gebringes þa soðan
 lare to leasum gedwylde; forþi sceal gehwa gerihtlæcan þæt þæt
 he ær to woge gebigde, gif he on Godes dome unscyldig beon wile.

2. Preface to Lives of Saints

This preface, or rather introductory note, follows the Latin preface, in which Ælfric remarks, 'I do not promise however to write very many in this tongue, because it is not fitting that many should be translated into our language, lest peradventure the pearls of Christ be had in disrespect . . . Nor am I able in this translation to render everything word for word, but I have at any rate carefully endeavoured to give exact sense for sense, just as I find it in the holy writing, by means of such simple and obvious language as may profit them that hear it. It is to be further noted that I abridge the longer narratives of the Passions, not as regards the sense but in the language, in order that no tediousness may be inflicted on the fastidious, as might be the case if as much prolixity were used in our language as occurs in the Latin; and we know that brevity does not always deprave speech, but oftentimes makes it more charming.'¹

Ælfric gret eadmodlice Æðelwerd ealdorman, and ic secge þe,
 25 leof, þæt ic hæbbe nu gegaderod on þyssere bec þæra halgena þrowunga þe me to onhagode on englisc to awenden(n)e; forþan þe

¹ Translation taken from Skeat's *E.E.T.S. Edition*.

ðu, leof, swiðost and Æðelmær swylcera gewrita me bædon and of handum gelæhton, eowerne geleafan to getrymmenne mid þære gerecednysse þe ge on eowrum gereorde næfdon ær. Þu wast, leof,
 30 þæt we awendon on þam twam ærrum bocum þæra halgena þrowunga and lif þe Angelcynn mid freolsdagum wurþað. Nu gewearð us þæt we þas boc be þæra halgena ðrowungum and life gedihton þe mynstermenn mid heora þenungum betwux him wurðiað.

3. Ælfric's Translations of the Scriptures

With the exception of some fragments and some interlinear glosses, especially of the Psalter, no Anglo-Saxon translation of any part of the Bible before Ælfric is extant, though we know that partial versions were in existence. A translation for instance was made by Bede of a portion of the Gospel of St. John, but this has not survived. Ælfric undertook to translate the Pentateuch and some of the other Old Testament books, but as a matter of fact he has translated only selections from most of the books following *Genesis*, omitting whole chapters and condensing others. He writes an introduction to the Old and New Testaments in the form of an epistle to Sigferth, in which he gives a discursive account of each of the Old Testament books, with references to Jewish and Roman history.

A. From the Introduction to Old and New Testaments

Ælfric abbod gret freondlice Sigferð æt East-Healon. Ic secge
 35 þe to soþan þæt se bið swiðe wis se þe mid weorcum spricð, and se hæfð forðgang for Gode and for worulde, se þe mid godum weorcum hine sylfne geglengð, and þæt is swiðe geswutelod on halgum gesetnissum, þæt þa halgan wasas þe gode weorc beeodon, þæt hi wurðfulle wæron on þissere worulde and nu halige sindon on
 40 heofenan rices mirhðe, and heora gemynd þurhwunað nu a to worulde for heora anrædnisse and heora trywðe wið God. Þa gimeleasan men þe heora lif adrugon on ealre idelnisse and swa geendodon, heora gemynd is forgiten on halgum gewritum, buton þæt secgað þa ealdan gesetnissa heora yfelan dæda and þæt hig
 45 forðemde sindon. Þu bæde me foroft engliscra gewritena and ic þe ne getiðode ealles swa timlice, ærþam þe þu mid weorcum þæs gewilnolest æt me, þa þa þu me bæde for Godes lufon georne þæt ic þe æt ham æt þinum huse gespræce, and þu þa swiðe mændest, þa þa ic mid þe wæs, þæt þu mine gewrita begitan ne mihtest. Nu
 50 wille ic þæt þu hæbbe huru þis litle, nu þe wisdom gelicað and þu hine habban wilt, þæt þu ealles ne beo minra boca bedæled.

At the end of the Introduction occur the following words, which give us a glimpse into Ælfric's private life:

Pu woldest me laðian, þa þa ic wæs mid þe, þæt ic swiðor drunce swilce for blisse ofer minum gewunan; ac wite þu, leof man, þæt se þe oðerne neadað ofer his mihte to drincenne, þæt se mot aberan
 55 heora begra gilt, gif him ænig hearm of þam drenc becymð. Ure Hælend Crist on his halgan godspelle forbead þone oferdrenc eallum gelyfedum mannum: healde se þe wille his gesetnysse. And þa halgan lareowas æfter þam Hælende aledon þone unþeaw þurh heora lareowdon and tæhton þæt man drince, swa swa him ne
 60 derede, forþan þe se oferdrenc fordeð untwilice þæs mannes sawle and his gesundfulnysse, and unhæl becymð of þam drenc.

B. Preface to Genesis

Ælfric munuc gret Æðelwærd ealdormann eadmodlice. Pu bæde me, leof, þæt ic sceolde awendan of ledene on englisc þa boc Genesis; þa þuhte me hefigtime þe to tiðienne þæs, and þu cwæde
 65 þa þæt ic ne þorfte na mare awendan þære bec buton to Isaace Abrahames suna, forþam þe sum oðer man þe hæfde awend fram Isaace þa boc oð ende. Nu þincð me, leof, þæt þæt weorc is swiðe pleolic me oððe ænigum men to underginne,¹ forþan þe ic ondræde, gif sum dysig man þas boc ræt oððe rædan gehyrð, þæt
 70 he wille wenan þæt he mote lybban nu on þære niwan æ swa swa þa ealdan fæderas leofodon þa on þære tide ærþan þe seo ealde æ gesett wære, oððe swa swa men leofodon under Moyses æ. . . . Nu ys seo foresæde boc on manegum stowum swiðe nærolice gesett and þeah swiðe deoplice on þam gastlicum andgite, and heo is swa
 75 geendebyrd swa swa God silf hig gedihte þam writere Moise, and we durron na mare awritan on englisc þonne þæt liden hæfð, ne þa endebirdnisse awendan buton þam anum þæt þæt leden and þæt englisc nabbað na ane wisan on þære spræce fandunge. Æfre se þe awent oððe se þe tæcð of ledene on englisc, æfre he sceal gefa-
 80 dian hit swa þæt þæt englisc hæbbe his agene wisan, elles hit bið swiðe gedwolsum to rædenne þam þe þæs ledenes wisan ne can. . . . Ic cweðe nu þæt ic ne dearr ne ic nelle nane boc æfter þissere of ledene on englisc awendan, and ic bidde þe, leof ealdorman, þæt

¹ underbeginne MS.

þu me þæs na leng ne bidde, þi læs þe ic beo þe ungehirsum oððe
 85 leas, gif ic do. God þe sig milde a on ecnisse. Ic bidde nu on
 Godes naman, gif hwa þas boc awritan wylle, þæt he hig gerihte
 wel be þære bysne, forþan þe ic nah gewæld þeah þe hig hwa to
 woge bringe þurh lease writeras, and hit byð þonne his pleoh, na
 min. Mycel yfel deð se unwritere, gif he nele hys woh gerihtan.

C. Historical Parallels

Immediately after his translation of a portion of the Book of Judges there is an epilogue, which seems to be intended by Ælfric as an introduction to the Book of Kings.

90 . . . Nelle we secgan na swiðor be þisum, buton þæt se Israhel,
 þe we embe spræcon, mislice ferde, oð þæt hi fengon to ciningum,
 swa swa on cyninga bocum ys full cuð be þam. Þa romaniscan
 leoda wæron eac lange eallswa butan cynegum, ær þam þe cristen-
 dom wære, and hæfdon him consulas, þæt we cweðað rædboran.
 95 Se consul sceolde him eallum wisian and beon heora yldost to anes
 geares fyrste; feng þonne oðer to oðres geares firste to þam ylcan
 anwealde, and eode swa abutan be heora gebirdum and be heora
 gepingdum, oð þæt heora formanega¹ oft fengon to anwealde and
 wunodon him on sibbe swiðe anredlice and heold ælc oðerne on
 100 arwurðnisse. Swa hi hæfdon þa siððan Cesares ofer hig, þæt we
 cweðað caseras; þa beoð cyninga yldest, and hi mid heora wisdomes
 gewyldon þa æt nehstan ealne middaneard to heora anwealde. Hi
 hæfdon ælc dæge heora witenas gemot, and wæron gesette synder-
 lice to þam þa senatores, þæt synd þeodwitan, þæt dæghwamlice
 105 smeodon on anum sindrian huse embe ealles folces þearfe and heora
 ræd cyðdon þam casere, and him gewearð anes. Gif ænig leodscipe
 wæs ungewylde þam casere, þonne sende he him to swa fela eoroda,
 þe mihton gebigan þæt mennisc him to, oððe mid egsunge, þæt hig
 bugon to sibbe, oððe mid wige þæt hi wurdon gewylde. . . . On
 110 Englande eac oft wæron cyningas sigefæste þurh God, swa swa we
 secgan gehyrdon, swa swa wæs Ælfred cyning, þe oft gefeagt wið
 Denum, oð þæt he siges gewann and bewerde his leode. Swa gelice
 Æðelstan, þe wið Anlaf gefeagt and his fyrde ofsloh and aflimde
 hine sylfne; and he on sibbe wunode siððan mid his leode. Eadgar
 115 se æðela and se anræda cyning arærde Godes lof on his leode gehwær,

¹ formanega MS.

ealra cininga swiðost ofer Englaþeode, and him God gewilde his wiðerwinnan a, cyningas and eorlas, þæt hi comon him to buton ælcum gefeohte, friðes wilniende, him underþeodde to þam þe he wolde, and he wæs gewurðod wide geond land.

D. Concerning False Gods

At the end of the first millennium the Scandinavian peoples were only beginning to be converted to Christianity. Their beliefs and practices are often reprobated in the Anglo-Saxon homilies and laws of the period, the clergy perceiving in them a dangerous influence upon the minds of their English flocks. *Vide infra*, No. 54.

- I20 . . . Þas manfullan men þe we ymbe specað wæron getealde for ða mærostan godas þa on ðam dagum; and ða hæðenan wurðodon hy swyðe þurh deofles lare; ac se sunu wæs swaþeah swyðor on hæðenscype þonne se fæder wære; and he is geteald eac arwurðost ealra þæra goda þe þa hæðenan on ðam dagum for godas
- I25 hæfdon on heora gedwylde. And he hatte þor oðrum naman betwux sumum þeodum; ðone denisca leoda lufiað swyðost and on heora gedwylde weorðiað geornost. His sunu hatte Mars; se macode æfre gewinn and wrohte, and saca and wraca he styrede gelome. Dysne yrming æfter his forðsiðe wurðodon þa hæðenan
- I30 eac for healicne god, and swa oft swa hy fyrdedon oððe to gefeohte woldon, þonne offrodon hy heora lacon ær to weorðunge þissum gedwolgode, and hy gelyfdon þæt he miclum mihte heom fultumian on gefeohte, forðam þe he gefeoht and gewinn lufude on life. Sum man eac wæs gehaten Mercurius on life; se wæs swyðe
- I35 facenfull and ðeah full snotorwyrde, swicol on dædum and on leasbregdum; ðone macedon þa hæðenan be heora getæle eac heom to mæran gode and æt wega gelætum him lac offrodon oft and gelome þurh deofles lare, and to heagum beorgum him brohton oft mislice loflac. Des gedwolgod wæs arwurðe eac betwux eallum hæðenum
- I40 on ðam dagum, and he is Oðon gehaten oðrum naman on denisce wisan. Nu secgað sume þa denisce men on heora gedwylde þæt se Iouis wære, þe hy þor hatað, Mercuries sunu, þe hi Oðon namiað. . . .

36. WULFSTAN: *SERMO AD ANGLOS*

In one of the MSS. in which it occurs the following homily is entitled *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos, quando Dani maxime persecuti sunt eos, quod fuit anno millesimo*

XIII ab incarnatione Domini nostri Jesu Cristi. According to another MS., this attack took place in King Æthelred's reign. The author has with good reason been identified with Wulfstan, archbishop of York from 1003 to 1023, and bishop of Worcester during part of this period, and known to be the composer of homilies, over fifty of which have survived. In 1013 King Æthelred had fled to Rouen, leaving his country to the enemy (*vide* No. 26, l. 191). The terrible effects of the Danish exactions and harryings are often mentioned by Anglo-Saxon writers of this period, but nowhere else are the prevailing misery, moral breakdown, and impending dissolution of English society so powerfully portrayed as in this *Sermo*. The catalogue of vices, the warnings and exhortations to repentance are rendered still more impressive by the style in which the homily is written. A marked rhythm with diminishing or 'falling' stress, i.e. a strong stress followed by one, two or three weak stresses often combined with alliteration, was used by Ælfric in his *Lives of Saints*, and by other writers of homilies. The earliest example of this style of writing occurs in the annal for 959 of the Peterborough Chronicle. In the *Sermo ad Anglos* the stress-groups are so clearly marked and are so regular in length that it is possible to print most of the text in verse-lines.¹ Passages in the laws of Æthelred and of Cnut agree with corresponding passages in the *Sermo* almost word for word. We know from Wulfstan's own testimony that he drew up these laws in Latin, so that he may have also translated them into English.

Leofan men, gecnawað þæt soð is, ðeos woruld is on ofste, and hit nealæcð þam ende; and ðy hit is on worulde a swa leng swa wyrse, and swa hit sceal nyde ær Antecristes tocyme yfelian swyðe. Understandað eac georne þæt deofol þas þeode nu fela geara
 5 dwelode to swyðe, and þæt lytle getrywða wæron mid mannun, þeah hi wel spæcan; and unrihta to fela ricsode on lande; and næs a fela manna þe smeade ymbe þa bote swa georne swa man scolde; ac dæghwamlice man ihte yfel æfter oðrum and unriht rærde and unlaga manege ealles to wide gynd ealle þas þeode; and
 10 we eac for ðam habbað fela byrsta and bismra gebiden. And gyf we ænige bote gebidan sculan, þonne mote we þæs to Gode earnian bet þonne we ær ðison dydon; forðam mid miclan earnungan we geearnodon þa yrmða þe us on sittað, and mid swyðe miclan earnungan we þa bote motan æt Gode geræcan, gyf hit sceal
 15 heonanforð godiende wurðan. La hwæt, we witan ful georne þæt to myclan bryce sceal mycel bot nyde, and to miclum bryne wæter unlytel, gif man þæt fyr sceal to ahte acwæncan. And mycel is nydþearf manna gehwylcum þæt he Godes lage gyme heonanforð georne ond Godes gerihta mid rihte gelæste.
 20 On hæðenum þeodum ne dear man forhealdan lytel ne mycel

¹ See Appendix, No. II.

þæs þe gelagod is to gedwolgoda weorðunge; and we forhealdað æghwær Godes gerihta ealles to gelome. And ne dear man gewanian on hæðenum þeodum inne ne ute ænig þæra þinga þe gedwolgodan gebroht bið ond to lacum betæht bið; and we
 25 habbað Godes hus inne and ute clæne berypte. And Godes þeowas syndan mæpe and munde gewelhwær bedælde; and gedwolgoda þenan ne dear man misbeodan on ænige wisan mid hæþenum leodum swa swa man Godes þeowum nu deð to wide, þær Cristene scoldan Godes lage healdan and Godes þeowas griðian. Ac soð is þæt ic
 30 secge, þearf is þære bote, forþam Godes gerihta wanedan nu lange innan þysse þeode on æghwylcum ende, ond folclaga wyrseðan ealles to swyðe syððan Eadgar geendode; and halignessa syndon to griðlease wide, and Godes hus syndon to clæne berypte caldra gerihta and innan bestrypte ælcra gerisena; and godcunde hadas
 35 wæron nu lange swiðe forsewene,¹ and wydewan fornydde on unriht to ceorle and to mænige foryrmde and earme men beswicene and hreowlice besyrwde and ut of ðisum earde wide gesealde swyðe unforworhte fremdum to gewearde, and cradolcild geþeowode þurh wælhreowe unlaga for lytelre þyfðe, and freoriht fornumene and
 40 ðrælriht generwde and ælmesriht gewanode; and hrædest is to cweþenne, Godes laga laðe and lara forsewene. And ðæs we habbað ealle þurh Godes yrr bysmor gelome, gecnawe se ðe cunne, and se byrst wyrð gemæne, þeah man swa ne wene, ealre þisse þeode, butan God beorge.
 45 Forðam hit is on us eallum swutol and gesyne þæt we ær þysan oftor bræcan þonne we bettan, and ðy is þisse þeode fela onsæge. Ne dohte hit nu lange inne ne ute, ac wæs here and hunger, bryne and blodgyte on gewelhwylcon ende oft and gelome; and us stalu and cwalu, stric and steorfa, orfcwealm and uncoðu, hol and hete
 50 and rypera reaflic derede swyðe pearle, and us ungylda swyðe gedrehton, and us unwedera foroft weoldan unwæstma. Forðam on þisan earde wæs, swa hit þincan mæg, nu fela geara unrihta fela and tealte getrywða æghwær mid mannum. Ne bearh nu foroft gesib gesibban þe ma þe fremdan, ne fæder his bearne, ne hwilum
 55 bearn his agenum fæder, ne broðor oðrum. Ne ure ænig his lif ne fadode swa swa he scolde, ne gehadode regollice, ne læwede lahllice. Ne ænig wið oþerne getrywlice þohte swa rihte swa he scolde, ac

¹ forsawene MS.

mæst ælc swicode and oðrum derede wordes and dæde. And huru unrihtlice mæst ælc oþerne æftan heaweð mid scandlican onscytan ;
60 do mare gyf he mæge. Forðam her syn on lande ungetrywða micle for Gode and for worulde ; and eac her syn on earde on mistlice wisan hlafordswican manege ; and ealra mæst hlafordswice se bið on worulde, þæt man his hlafordes saule beswice. And ful mycel hlafordswice eac bið on worulde, þæt man his hlaford
65 of life forræde, oððon of lande lifigendne drife ; and ægðer is geworden on pisan earde : Eadwerd man forræde and syððan acwealde and æfter þam forbærnde, and Æþelred man dræfde ut of his earde. And godsibbas ond godbearn to fela man forspilde wide gynd þas leode ; and ealles to manege halige stowa wide forwurðan þurh
70 þæt þe man sume men ær þam gelogode, swa man na ne scolde gif man on Godes griðe mæðe witan wolde. And cristenes folces to fela man gesealde ut of þysan earde nu calle hwile ; and eal þæt is Gode lað, gelyfe se ðe wille. Eac we witan ful georne hwær seo yrmð gewearð, þæt fæder gesealde bearn wið weorðe and
75 bearn his modor, and broðor sealde oþerne, fremdum to gewearde ; and eal þæt syndon micle and egeslice dæda, understande se ðe wille. And gyt hit is mare and eac mænigfealdre þæt dereð þysse þeode ; mænige syndan forsworene and swyðe forlogene and wed synd tobrocene oft and gelome. And þæt is gesyne on
80 þisse þeode, þæt us Godes yrre hetelice on sit, gecnawe se ðe cunne. And la, hu mæg mare scamu þurh Godes yrre mannum gelimpan þonne us deð gelome for agenum gewyrhtum. Deah þræla hwylc hlaforde æthleape and of Cristendome to wicinge weorðe, and hit æfter þam eft geweorðe þæt wæpngewrixl weorðe gemæne þegene
85 and þræle, gyf þræl þæne þegen fullice afylle, licge ægylde ealre his mægðe ; and gyf se þegen þæne þræl þe he ær ahte fullice afylle, gylde þegengylde. Ful earhlice laga and scandlice nydgylde þurh Godes yrre us syn gemæne, understande se ðe cunne ; and fela ungelimpa gelimpð þysse þeode oft and gelome. Ne dohte hit nu
90 lange inne ne ute ; ac wæs here and hete on gewelhwylcum ende oft and gelome, and Engle nu lange eal sigelease and to swyðe geyrgde þurh Godes yrre, and flotmen swa strange þurh Godes þafunge þæt oft on gefeohte an feseð tyne, and hwilum læs, hwilum ma, eal for urum synnum. And oft þræl þæne þegen þe ær wæs
95 his hlaford cnyt swyðe fæste and wyrceð him to þræle þurh Godes yrre. Wala ðære yrmðe and wala þære woruldscame þe nu habbað

Engle eal þurh Godes yrre. Oft twegen sæmen oððe þry hwilum
drifað þa drafe cristenra manna fram sæ to sæ ut ðurh þas þeode
gewylede togædere, us eallum to woruldscome, gyf we on eornost
100 ænige cuðan oððon we woldan ariht understandan. Ac ealne
þæne bysmor þe we oft þoliað we gylðað mid weorðscype þam þe
us scendað; we him gylðað singallice, and hy us hynað dæghwam-
lice; hy hergiað and heawað, bændað and bismriað, rypað and
reafiað and to scipe lædað. And la, hwæt is ænig oðer on eallum
105 þam gelimpum butan Godes yrre ofer þas leode swytol and gesyne?
Nis eac nan wundor þeah us mislimpe, forðam we witan ful georne
þæt nu fela geara men na ne rohton foroft hwæt hy worhtan wordes
oððe dæde, ac wearð þes þeodscype, swa hit þincan mæg, swyðe
forsyngod þurh mænigfealde synna and ðurh fela misdæda, ðurh
110 morðdæda and ðurh mandæda, þurh gitsunga and ðurh gifernessa,
þurh stala and þurh strudunga, þurh mansylena and ðurh hæþena
unsida, þurh swicdomas and ðurh searocræftas, þurh lagbrycas and
ðurh æswicas, þurh mægræsas and ðurh manslihtas, þurh hadbrycas
and ðurh æwbrycas, þurh sibblegeru and ðurh mistlice forligru.
115 And eac syndan wide, swa we ær cwædan, þurh aðbrycas and ðurh
wedbrycas and ðurh mistlice leasunga forloren and forlogen ma
þonne scolde. And freolsbricas and fæstenbricas wide geworhte oft
and gelome. And eac her syn on earde Godes wiðersacan, apos-
tatan abroðene and cyrichatan hetole and leodhatan grimme ealles
120 to manege, and oferhogan wide godcundra rihtlaga and cristenra
þeawa, and hocorwyrde dysige æghwær on þeode, oftost on þa þing
þe swiðost to Godes lage gebyriað mid rihte. And þy is nu gewor-
den wide and side to ful yfelan gewunan þæt menn swyðor scamað
nu for godan dædan þonne for misdædan; forðam to oft man mid
125 hocere gode dæda hyrweð and godfyrhte lehtreð ealles to swyðe,
and swyðost man tæleð and mid olle gegreteð ealles to gelome þa ðe
riht lufiað and Godes ege habbað be ænigum dæle. And ðurh þæt
þe man swa deð, þæt man eal hyrweð þæt man scolde herian, and
to forð læðað¹ þæt man scolde lufian, þurh þæt man gebringeð ealles
130 manege on yfelan geðance and on undæde, swa þæt hy ne scamað
na, þeah hy syngian swyðe and wið God sylfne forwyrcean hi mid
ealle; ac for idelan onscytan hy scamað þæt hy betan heora mis-
dæda swa swa bēc tæcan; gelice þam dwaesan þe for heora prytan
lewe nellað beorgan ær hy na ne magan, þeah hy eall willan. . . .

¹ laðet MS.

135 Ac la, on Godes naman utan don swa us neod is, beorgan us
sylfum swa we geornost magan, þe læs we ætgædere ealle forweorðan.
And utan don swa us þearf is, gebugan to rihte and be suman dæle
unriht forlætan, and betan swyðe georne þæt we ær braecan. And
utan God lufian and Godes lagum fyligean, and gelæstan swyðe
140 georne þæt þæt we behetan þa we fulluht underfengan, oððon þa þe
æt fulluhte ure forespecan wæron. And utan word and weorc
rihtlice fadian, and ure ingeðanc clænsian georne, and að and wedd
wærlice healdan, and sume getrywða habban us betweenan butan
uncræftan. And utan gelome understandan þone miclan dom þe
145 we ealle to sculan, and beorgan us georne wið þone weallendan
bryne helle wites, and geearnian us þa maerða and ða myrhða þe
God hæfð gegearwod þam ðe his willan on worulde gewyrcað.
God ure helpe. Amen.

III. INSTITUTIONS

A. LAW

37. LAWS OF A.-S. KINGS

The greater number of the A.-S. laws have fortunately survived and bear the names of about a dozen kings, beginning with those of Kent: Æthelberht, Hlothhere, Eadric, and Wihtred, during the seventh century. The laws of Wessex were first promulgated by Ine (regn. 688-725) and incorporated two centuries later by Alfred in his redaction. Cnut's laws, written in both English and Latin, were thoroughly English, Christian, and even strongly ecclesiastical in spirit. Later laws often repeat earlier ones in the same or slightly altered language. The earliest laws date from pre-Christian times; they make hardly any mention of ecclesiastical matters and have no moral colouring. Beginning with those of Wihtred the laws show more and more the influence of the king's bishops in the royal councils.

The study of this ample material has given us a great deal of knowledge of the fabric of A.-S. society and institutions, which is supplemented by the mass of charters which have also survived. The language of the earliest laws, though largely modernised, still retains numerous archaisms, and some of the technical terms have not always the same meaning as in the later laws.

The sections in the following extracts are not necessarily consecutive, marks of omission having been dispensed with for typographical reasons.

1. Æthelberht

Dis syndon þa domas þe Æðelbirht cyning asette on Agustinus dæge.

Godes feoh and ciricean XIIgylde. Biscopes feoh XIgylde. Preostes feoh IXgylde. Diacones feoh VIgylde. Cleroces feoh 5 IIIgylde. Ciricfrið IIgylde. Mæthlfriþ IIgylde.

Gif cyning his leode to him gehateþ, and him mon þær yfel gedo, I Ibote and cyninge L scillinga.

Gif cyning æt mannes ham drincæþ, and ðaer man lyswæs hwæt gedo, twibote gebete.

10 Gif frigman cyninge stele, IXgylde forgyld.

Gif in cyninges tune man mannann ofslea, L scill' gebete.

Gif cyninges ambihtsmið oppe laadrinc mannan ofsleð, meduman leodgelde forgelde.

Cyninges mundbyrd L scillinga.

15 Gif bana of lande gewiteþ, ða magas healfne leod forgelden.

Gif eare of weorð aslagen, XII scill' gebete.

Gif eare þirel weorðeþ, III scill' gebete.

Gif muð oppe eage woh weorðeþ, XII scill' gebete.

Æt þam feower toðum fyrestum, æt gehwylcum VI scillingas ;

20 se toþ se þanne bi standeþ : IIII scill' ; se þe ðonne bi ðam standeþ :

III scill' ; ond þonne siþþan gehwylc scilling.

Gif man operne mid fyste in naso slæhð, III scill'.

2. Hlothhere and Eadric

Dis syndon þa domas ðe Hloþhære and Eadric Cantwara cyningas asetton. Hloþhære and Eadric Cantwara cyningas ecton þa æ, þa
25 ðe heora aldoras ær geworhton, ðyssum domum þe hyr efter sægeþ.

Gif ceorl acwyle be libbendum wife and bearne, riht is þæt hit, þæt bearn, medder folgige, and him mon an his fædering-magum wilsumne berigean geselle, his feoh to healdenne, oþ þæt he X wintra sie.

30 Gif man mannan an oþres flette manswara hateþ, oððe hine mid bismærwordum grete, scilling agelde þam þe þæt flet age, and VI scill' þam þe he þæt word to gecwæde, and cyninge XII scill' forgelde.

Gif man oþrum steop asette ðær mæn drincen, buton scylde,
35 an eald riht agelde scill' þam þe þæt flet age, and VI scill' þam þe man þone steap aset, and cyninge XII scill'.

Gif Cantwara ænig in Lundenwic feoh gebycge, hæbbe him þonne twegen oððe ðreo unfacne ceorlas to gewitnesse oþpe cyninges wigerefan. Gif hit man eft æt þam mæn in Cænt ætfo, þonne
40 tæme he to wic to cyngæs sele to þam mæn ðe him sealde, gif he þane wite and æt þam teame gebrengan mæge. Gif he þæt ne mæge, gekyþe ðanne in wiofode mid his gewitena anum oþpe cyninges wigerefan, þæt he þæt feoh undeornunga his cuþan ceape in wic gebohte ; and him man þanne his weorð agefe. Gif he þanne þæt
45 ne mæge gecyþan mid rihtre canne, læte þanne an, and se agend to fo.

3. Wihtred

Dis synd Wihttrædes domas Cantwara cyninges.

Ðam mildestan cyninge Cantwara Wihttræde rixiendum þe fiftan
wintra his rices, þy niguðan gebanne, sextan dæge Rugernes, in
50 þære stowe þy hatte Berghamstyd, ðær wæs gesamnad eadigra
geþeahtendlic ymcyme: ðær wæs Birhtwald, Bretone heah-
biscop, and se ær næmda cyning; eac þan Hrofesceastre
biscop—se ilca Gybmund wæs haten—andward wæs; and cwæð
ælc had ciricean ðære mægðe anmodlice mid þy hersuman folcy.
65 Þær ða eadigan fundon mid ealra gemedum ðas domas and Cant-
wara rihtum þeawum æcton, swa hit hyr efter segeþ and cwyþ.

Gif bescoren man steorleas gange him an gestliðnesse, gefe him
man ænes; and þæt ne geweorðe buton he leafnesse habbe, þæt
hine man læng feormige.

60 Gif man his mæn an wiofode freols gefe, se sie folcfry; freolsgefa
age his erfe ænde wergeld and munde þære hina, sie ofer mearce ðær
he wille.

Gif ceorl buton wifes wisdomes deoflum gelde, he sie ealra æhtan
scyldig and healsfange. Gif butwu deoflum geldaþ, sion hio
65 healsfange scyldigo and ealra æhtan.

Biscope's word and cyninges sie unlægne buton aþe.

Mynstres aldor hine cænne in preostes canne.

Gif feorran cumen man oþþe fræmde buton wege gange and he
þonne nawðer ne hryme ne he horn ne blawe, for ðeof he bið to
70 profianne: oþþe to sleanne oþþe to alysenne.

4. Ine

Ic Ine, mid Godes gife Wesseaxna kyning, mid geðeahte and mid
lare Cenredes mines fæder and Heddes mines biscepes and Eorcen-
woldes mines biscepes, mid eallum minum ealdormonnum and
þæm ieldstan witum minre ðeode and eac micelre gesomnunge
75 Godes ðeowa, wæs smeagende be ðære hælo urra sawla and be ðam
stapole ures rices, þætte ryht æw and ryhte cynedomas ðurh ure folc
gefæstnode and getrymede wæron, þætte nænig ealdormonna ne us
undergeðeodedra æfter þam wære awendende ðas ure domas.

Ærest we bebeodað þætte Godes ðeowas hiora ryhtregol on
80 ryht healdan.

Gif hwa gefeohte on cyninges huse, sie he scyldig ealles his ierfes, and sie on cyninges dome hwæðer he lif age þe nage.

Deofas we hatað oð VII men; from VII hloð oð XXXV; siððan bið here.

85 Se að sceal bion healf be huslgengum.

Cyninges geneat, gif his wer bið twelfhund scill', he mot swerian for syxtig hida, gif he bið huslgengea.

Gif wilisc mon hæbbe hide londes, his wer bið CXX scill'; gif he þonne healfes hæbbe, LXXX scill'; gif he nænig hæbbe, LX go scillinga.

Gif ceorl and his wif bearn hæbben gemæne, and fere se ceorl forð, hæbbe sio modor hire bearn and fede; agife hire mon VI scill' to fostre, cu on sumera, oxan on wintra; healden þa mægas þone frumstol, oð ðæt hit gewintred sie.

95 Ceorles worðig sceal beon wintres and sumeres betyned; gif he bið untyned, and recð his neahgebures ceap in on his agen geat, nah he æt þam ceape nan wuht; adrife hine ut and ðolie æfwerdlan.

Gif ceorlas gærstun hæbben gemænne oððe oþer gedalland to tynanne, and hæbben sume getyned hiora dæl, sume naebben, and 100 etten hiora gemænan æceras oððe gærs, gan þa þonne, þe ðæt geat agan, and gebete þam oðrum, þe hiora dæl getynedne hæbben þone æfwerdlan þe ðær gedon sie; abidden him æt þam ceape swylc ryht swylce hit kyn sie.

Gif mon afelle on wuda wel monega treowa, and wyrð eft 105 undierne, forgielde III treowu, ælc mid XXX scill'; ne ðearf he hiora ma geldan, wære hiora swa fela swa hiora wære; forþon sio æsc bið melda, nalles ðeof.

Gif ceorl ceap forstilð and bireð in to his ærne, and befehð þær inne mon, þonne bið se his dæl synnig butan þam wife anum, 110 forðon hio sceal hire ealdre hieran; gif hio dear mid aðe gecyðan þæt hio þæs forstolenan ne on bite, nime hire ðriddan sceat.

Oxan horn bið X pæninga weorð.

Gif gesiðcund mon fare, þonne mot he habban his gerefan mid him and his smið and his cildfestrans.

5. Ælfred

In the preface to his collection of laws Alfred appears, not as an innovator, as he was in other matters, but as a respector and preserver of older laws. He even retains the preface of his ancestor Ine to the earlier West Saxon code. Alfred

prefaces the laws with copious extracts translated from the Mosaic law recorded in the books of Genesis (chaps. xx.-xxviii.) and Exodus, and from the Acts of the Apostles, followed by an account of ecclesiastical laws. As he remarks that the harsh laws of earlier times must be tempered by the humaner teaching of Christ, it would seem that while the letter of the older laws was often kept, in order to inspire fear in would-be wrong-doers, the royal judges were expected to interpret them in a gentler spirit.

115 . . . Ic ða Ælfred cyning þas togædere gegaderode anda writan het, monege þara þe ure foregengan heoldon, ða ðe me licodon ; and manege þara þe me ne licodon ic awearp mid minra witenas geðeahte, and on oðre wisan bebead to healdanne. Forðam ic ne dorste geðristlæcan þara minra awuht fela on gewrit settan, forðam me
120 wæs uncuð hwæt þæs ðam lican wolde ðe æfter us wæren. Ac ða ðe ic gemette awðer oððe on Ines dæge, mines mæges, oððe on Offan Mercna cyninges oððe on Æpelbryhtes, þe ærest fulluhte onfeng on Angelcynne, þa ðe me ryhtoste ðuhton, ic þa heron gegaderode, and þa oðre forlet.

125 Ic ða Ælfred Westseaxna cyning eallum minum witum þas geeowde, and hie ða cwædon þæt him þæt licode eallum to healdanne. . . . Geo wæs goldðeofe and stodðeofe and beoðeofe, and manig witu maran ðonne oþru ; nu sint eal gelic buton manðeofe : CXX scill. Gif sweordhwita oðres monnes wæpn to feormunge
130 onfo, oððe smið monnes andweorc, hie hit gesund begen agifan, swa hit hwæðer hiora ær onfenge, buton hiora hwæðer ær þingode, þæt he hit angylde healdan ne ðorfte.

Gif hund mon toslite oððe abite, æt forman misdæde geselle VI scill., gif he him mete selle ; æt æfteran cerre XII scill., æt ðriðdan
135 XXX scill. Gif æt ðissa misdæda hwelcere se hund losige, ga ðeos bot hwæðre forð. Gif se hund ma misdæda gewyrce, and he hine hæbbe, bete be fullan were swa dolgbote swa he wyrce.

Eac is ciepemonnum gereht : ða men ðe hie up mid him læden, gebrengen beforan kyninges gerefan on folcgemote, and gerecce hu
140 manige þara sien ; and hie nimen þa men mid him þe hie mægen eft to folcgemote to ryhte brengan ; and þonne him ðearf sie ma manna up mid him to habbanne on heora fore, gecyðe symle, swa oft swa him ðearf sie, in gemotes gewitnesse cyninges gerefan.

Gif mon wille of boldgetale in oðer boldgetæl hlaford secan, do
145 ðæt mid ðæs ealdormonnes gewitnesse þe he ær in his scire folgode. Gif he hit butan his gewitnesse do, geselle se þe hine to men feormie

CXX scill' to wite ; dæle he hwæðre ðæt, healf cyninge in ða scire ðe he ær folgode, healf in þa ðe he on cymð. Cyninges burgbryce bið CXX scill' ; ærcebiscepes hundnigontig scill' ; oðres biscepes
 150 and ealdormonnes LX scill' ; twelfhyndes monnes XXX scill' ; syxhyndes monnes XV scill' ; ceorles edorbryce V scill'.

Se mon se ðe bocland hæbbe, and him his mægas læfden, þonne setton we þæt he hit ne moste sellan of his mægburge, gif þær bið gewrit oððe gewitnes, ðæt hit ðara manna forbod wære þe hit on
 155 fruman gestrindon and þara þe hit him sealdon, þæt he swa ne mote ; and þæt þonne on cyninges and on biscepes gewitnesse gerecce beforan his mægum.

6. Eadweard son of Alfred

Eadweard cyning byt ðam gerefum eallum ðæt ge deman swa rihte domas swa ge rihtoste cunnon, and hit on ðære dombec
 160 stande. Ne wandiað for nanum ðingum folcriht to gerecceanne ; and ðæt gehwile spræc habbe andagan, hwænne heo gelæst sy, þæt ge ðonne gereccan.

And ic wille ðæt gehwile man hæbbe his geteaman ; and nan man ne ceapige butan porte, ac hæbbe þæs portgerefan gewitnesse
 165 oððe oþera ungeligenra manna, ðe man gelyfan mæge. And gif hwa butan porte ceapige, ðonne sy he cyninges oferhyrnesse scyldig ; and gange se team þeah forð, oð þæt man wite hwær he oðstande.

7. Æthelstan

Ic Æðelstan cyningc, mid geþeahhte Wulfhelmes arcebiscepes and eac minra oþerra biscopa, cyþe þam gerefan to gehwylcere
 170 byrig and eow bidde on Godes naman and on ealra his haligra and eac be minum freondscipe þæt ge ærest of minum agenum gode agifan þa teoþunga, ægþer ge on cwicum ceape ge on þæs gears eorðwæstmum, swa man rihtost mæge oððe gemetan oððe getellan oððe awegan ; and þa biscopas þonne þæt ylce don on heora agenum
 175 gode, and mine ealdormen and mine gerefan þæt sylfe.

Se ðe yrfe befo, nemne him mon V men his neahgebura, and begite ðara V ænne, ðæt him mid swerige þæt he hit on folcryht him to teo ; and se þe hit him geagnian wille, nemne him mon X men, and begite þara twegen and sylle þone að, þæt hit on his

180 æhte geboren wære, buton þam rimaðe; and stonde þes cyreað ofer XX peninga.

Be myneterum. We cwædon þæt an mynet sy ofer eall ðæs cynges anweald; and nan mon ne mynetige buton port. And gif se mynetera ful wurðe, slea mon of þa hond ðe he ðæt ful mid
185 worhte, and sette up on ða mynetsmiððan; and gif hit þonne tyhtle sy, and he ladian wille, ðonne ga he to þam hatum isene and ladige þa hond, mid ðe mon tyhð ðæt he þæt facen mid worhte; and gif he on þam ordale ful wurðe, do mon þæt ilce, swa hit ær beforan cwæð.

190 On Cantwarabyrig VII myneteras: IIII ðæs cynges and II þæs biscopes, I ðæs abbodes; to Hrofeceastre: II cynges and I þæs biscopes; to Lundenbyrig VIII; to Wintaceastre VI; to Læwe II; to Hæstingaceastre I; oþer to Cisseceastre; to Hamtune II; to Wærham II; to Execeastre II; to Scaftesbyrig II; elles
195 to þam oþrum burgum I.

Gif hwa ordales weddige, ðonne cume he þrim nihtum ær to þam mæssepreoste þe hit halgian scyle, ond fede hine sylfne mid hlafe ond mid wætre and sealte ond wyrtum, ær he to gan scyle, ond gestonde him mæssan þæra þreora daga ælcne, ond offrige to
200 ond ga to husle ðy dæge þe he to ðam ordale gan scyle, ond swerige ðonne þone að, þæt he sy mid folcryhte unscyldig ðære tihtlan, ær he to þam ordale ga. Ond gif hit sy wæter, ðæt he gedufe oþre healfe elne on þam rape; gif hit sy ysenordal, beon ðreo niht ær mon þa hond undo.

8. Cnut

205 Dis is seo gerædnys þe Cnut ciningc, ealles Englalondes ciningc and Dena cining mid his witena geþeahhte gerædde, Gode to lofe and him sylfum to cynescipe and to þearfe; and þæt wæs on ðære halgan middewintres tide on Winceastre.

Ðæt is þonne ærest, þæt hi ofer ealle oþre þingc ænne God
210 æfre woldan lufian and wurðian and ænne Cristendom anrædlice healdan, and Cnut cingc lufian mid rihtan getrywþan.

Ðis syndon þa gerihta þe se cingc ah ofer ealle men on Wessexan: þæt is mundbryce and hamsoce, forsteal and flymena fyrmðe, and fyrdwite, butan hwæne he furðor gemæðian wylle, and he him ðæs
215 weorðscipes geunne.

And on Myrcean he ah, eall swa her beforan awriten is, ofer ealle men. And on Dena lage he ah fihhtwita and fyrdwita, griðbryce and hamsocne, butan he hwæne furðor gemæðian wylle.

And hæbbe man þriwa on geare burhgemot and tuwa scirgemot, 220 butan hit oftor sig. And þær beo on þære scire bisceop and se ealdorman, and þær ægþer tæcan ge Godes riht ge worulдриht.

Ðis is þonne seo lihtingc þe ic wylle eallon folce gebeorgan, þe hig ær þyson mid gedrehte wæran ealles to swyðe. Ðæt is þonne ærest, þæt ic bebeode eallum minan gerefan þæt hi on minan 225 agenan me rihtlice tilian and me mid þam feormian, and þæt him nan man ne þearf to feormfultume na þingc syllan, butan he sylf wylle.

And gif hwa cwydeleas of þysum life gewite, si hit þurh his gymeleaste, si hit þurh færligne deað, þonne ne teo se hlaford na 230 mare on his æhte butan his rihtan heregeata. Ac beo be his dihte seo æht gescyft swyðe rihte wife and cildum and nehmagum, ælcum be þære mæðe þe him to gebyrige.

And beon þa heregeata swa fundene swa hit mæðlic si : eorles swa ðær to gebyrige, þæt syndon VIII hors, IV gesadelode and IIII 235 unsadelode, and IIII helmas and IIII byrnan and VIII spera and eall swa fela scylda and IIII swurd and twa hund mances goldes. And syððan cingces þegnes þe him nyhste syndan : IIII hors, II gesadelode and II unsadelode, and II swurd and IIII spera and swa feala scylda and helm and byrnan and L mances goldes. And 240 medemra þegna : hors and his geræda and his wæpn, oððe his healsfang on Wessexan ; and on Myrcean II pund and on Eastenglan II pund. And cingces þegnes heregeata inne mid Denum þe his socne hæbbe : IIII pund. And gif he to þam cingce furðor cyððe hæbbe : II hors, I gesadelod and oðer unsadelod, and swurd and 245 II spera and II scyldas and L mances goldes. And se ðe læsse hæbbe, and læsse maga sy : II pund.

And ic læte riht, peah hwa his spere sette to oðres mannes huses duru, and he þider in ærende hæbbe, oððon gif mon oðer wæpn gedreohlice lece, þær hig stille mihton beon gif hi moston, and 250 hwylc man ðonne þæt wæpn gelæcce and hwylcne hearm þærmid gewyrce, þonne is þæt riht þæt se ðe þone hearm geworhte, þæt se þone hearm gebete. And se ðe þæt wæpn age, hine geladige, gif he durre, þæt hit næfre næs naðer ne his gewill ne his geweald ne his ræd ne his gewitnes ; þonne is þæt Godes riht þæt he beo clæne.

255. . . And gif hwylc man forstolen þinge ham to his cotan bringe and he arasod wurðe, riht is þæt he hæbbe þæt he æfter eode. And butan hit under þæs wifes cæglocan gebroht wære, si heo clæne. Ac þære cægean heo sceal weardian, þæt is hyre hordernes cæge and hyre cyste cæge and hyre tægan; gif hit under þyssa ænigum geb-
 260 roht byð, þonne bið heo scyldig. And ne mæg nan wif hyre bondan forbeodan þæt he ne mote in to his cotan gelogian þæt þæt he wylle.

38. TRIAL BY ORDEAL: OATHS

The ordeal is of very ancient origin; it was found by the Christian missionaries existing among the Germanic tribes as a method of settling disputes. It was freed from grosser characteristics and adopted by the Church. There is no evidence of its occurrence among the early Scandinavians. There were various kinds of ordeal: by fire, boiling water, cold water, hot iron, food, etc. The ritual was most solemn and elaborate and numerous forms of exorcisms, adjurations and benedictions have survived, both in Latin and Old English. The A.-S. ones were of Frankish type.

1. Ordeal Ritual

And of þam ordale we bebeodað Godes bebodum and þæs arcebiscepes and ealra biscopa þæt nan man ne cume innon þære ciricean, siððan man þæt fyr in byrð, þe man þæt ordal mid hætan sceal, buton se mæssepreost and se ðe þær to gan sceal. And beo
 5 þær gemeten nygon fet of þam stacan to þære mearce be þæs mannes fotan þe þær to gæð. And gif hit þonne wæter sy, hæte man hit, oð hit hleape to wylme; and sy þæt alfæt isen oððe æren, leaden oððe læmen. And gif hit anfeald tyhle sy, dufe seo hand æfter þam stane oð þa wriste, and gif hit þryfeald sy, oð þæne
 10 elbogan. And þonne þæt ordal gearu sy, þonne gan twegen menn inn of ægðre healfe, and beon hig anræde þæt hit swa hat sy swa we ær cwædon. And gan inn emfela manna of ægðre healfe and standen on twa healfe þæs ordales andlang þære cyricean; and þa beon ealle fæstende. . . . And sprenges se mæssepreost halig-
 15 wæter ofer hig ealle, and heora ælc abyrige þæs haligwæteres, and sylle heom eallum cyssan boc and Cristes rode tacn. And na bete nan man þæt fyr na læng þonne man þa halgunge onginne; ac licge þæt isen uppan þam gledan oð þæt þa æftemestan coll(ectum); lecge hit man syððan uppan þam stapelan. And ne sy þær nan
 20 oðer spæc inne buton þæt hig biddan God ælmihtig georne þæt he

þæt soðeste geswytelie. Et bibat accusatus aquam benedictam, et inde conspergatur manus eius, qua iudicium portare debet, et sic adeat. Novem pedes mensurati distinguantur in ter ternos: in primo signo iuxta stacam teneat pedem suum dextrum, in secundo
 25 sinistrum; inde transferat dextrum pedem in tertium signum cum ferrum proicitur et ad sanctum altare festinat. And ga he to, and inseglige man þa hand, and sece man ofer þæne þriddan dæg, swa hwæðer swa heo beo ful swa clæne binnan þam insegle. And se þe þas lage abrece, beo þæt ordal on him forad, and gilde þam cyninge
 30 CXX scillinga to wite.

2. Forms of Oaths

Oaths played a very important part in the administration of justice among the Anglo-Saxons. The value of a man's oath, whether in his own exculpation or in a suit against another, was directly related to his wergild. Thus the oath of a royal *geneat* or of a *pegn* with a wergild of 1200 shillings was worth sixty hides, while that of a *twelfhynde man* was equal to the combined swearing power of six *ceorls*. A false oath was punished by the Church as well as by the king's magistrates; moreover a communicant's oath had more weight than that of a non-communicant; see No. 35, ll. 85, 87. In a law-suit each party would produce 'oath-helpers' to support his own statement on oath, see No. 48, ll. 25, 33, 35.

Ðus man sceal swerigean hyldaðas. 'On ðone Drihten, þe ðes haligdom is fore halig, ic wille beon N. hold and getriwe, and eal lufian ðæt he lufað and eal ascunian ðæt he ascunað, æfter Godes rihte and æfter woroldgerysnum, and næfre willes ne gewealdes,
 35 wordes ne weorces owiht don þæs him laðre bið, wið þam ðe he me healde, swa ic earnian wille, and eall þæt læste þæt uncer formæl wæs, þa ic to him gebeah and his willan geceas.'

Ðæs að, þe his æhte bryideð. 'On ðone Drihten, ne teo ic N. ne for hete ne for hole ne for unrihtre feohgyrnesse, ne ic nan soðre
 40 nat, bute swa min secga me sæde and ic sylf to soðe talige, ðæt he mines orfes þeof wære.'

Ðæs oðres að, þæt he is unscyldig. 'On ðone Drihten, ic eom unscyldig ægðer ge dæde ge dihtes æt þære tihtlan ðe N. me tihð.'

His geferan að, þe him mid standað. 'On ðone Drihten, se að is
 45 clæne and unmæne, ðe N. swor.'

Að gif man afindeð his æhte, syððan he hit geboht hafeð, unhal. 'On ælmihtiges Godes naman, ðu me behete hal and clæne þæt ðæt ðu me sealdest, and fulle ware wið æfterspræce, on ða gewitnesse ðe unc ða mid wæs: N.'

50 **Hu se sceal swerigean ðe mid oðre on gewitnesse standeð.** 'On ælmihtiges Godes naman, swa ic her N. on soðre gewitnesse stande, unabeden and ungeboht to, swa ic hit minum egum oferseah and minum earum oferhyrde, þæt þæt ic him mid secge.'

Að, þæt he nyste ne fuul ne facen. 'On ælmihtiges Godes
55 naman, nyste ic on ðam ðingum þe ðu ymbe specst ful ne facn, ne wac ne wom, to ðære dæigtide ðe ic hit ðe sealde, ac hit ægðer wæs ge hal ge clæne butan ælcon facne.'

3. Declaration in a Land-suit

There is a noticeable rhythm in this passage, no doubt to enhance its solemnity.

Hit becwæð and becwæl se ðe hit ahte mid fullan folcrihte, swa swa hit his ylðran mid feo and mid feore¹ begeatan and letan and
60 læfdan ðam to gewearde ðe hy wel uðan. And swa ic hit hæbbe, swa hit se sealde ðe to syllanne ahte, unbryde and unforboden. And ic agnian wylle to agenre æhte ðæt ðæt ic hæbbe and næfre ðe myntan ne plot ne ploh, ne turf ne toft, ne furh ne fotmæl, ne land ne læse, ne fersc ne mersc, ne ruh ne rum, wudes ne feldes, landes
65 ne strandes, wealdes ne wæteres; butan ðæt læste ða hwile ðe ic libbe; forðam nis æni man on life ðe æfre gehyrde ðæt man cwydde oððon crafode hine on hundrede oððon ahwar on gemote, on ceapstowe oþþe on cyricware, ða hwile þe he lifde; unsac he wæs on life; beo on legere swa swa he mote. Do swa ic lære: beoðe be
70 þinum and læt me be minum; ne gyrne ic ðines, ne læðes ne landes, ne sace ne socne; ne ðu mines ne ðearft, ne mynte ic ðe nan ðing.

B. LAND TENURE

39. CHARGES, DUES, RIGHTS, DUTIES

The following are extracts from the document entitled *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, in which much varied information is given concerning the management of farms and their personnel.

Degenes iagu. Degenlagu is þæt he sy his bocrihtes wyrðe and þæt he ðreo ðinc of his lande do: fyrdfæreld and burhbote and brycgeweorc. Eac of manegum landum mare landriht arist to cyninges gebanne; swilce is deorhege to cyninges hame and scorp

¹ feore rihte begeatan *MS.*

5 to friðscipe and and sǣweard and heafodweard and fyrdweard,
 ælmesfeoh and cyricsceat and mænige oðere mistlice ðingc.

Geneates riht. Geneatriht is mistlic, be ðam ðe on lande
 stænt : on sumon he sceal landgafol syllan and gærsswyn on geare,
 and ridan and auerian and lade lædan, wyrcan and hlaford feormian,
 10 ripan and mawan, deorhege heawan and sæte haldan, bytlian and
 burh hegegian, nigefaran to tune feccan, cyricsceat syllan and
 ælmesfeoh, heafodwearde healdan and horswearde, ærendian fyr
 swa nyr, swa hwyder swa him mon to tæcð.

Kotsetlan riht. Kotsetlan riht be ðam ðe on lande stent : on
 15 sumon he sceal ælce Mondæge ofer geares fyrst his laforde wyrcan
 and ¹ III dagas ælcra wucan on hærfeſt. . . . Ne ðearf he landgafol
 syllan. Him gebyriað V æceras to habbanne ; mare, gyf hit on
 lande ðeaw sy ; and to lytel hit bið, beo hit a læsse ; forðan his
 weorc sceal beon oftræde. Sylle his heorðpænig on halgan Ðunres-
 20 dæg, eal swa ælcan frigea men gebyrð, and werige his hlafordes
 inland, gif man beode, æt sǣwearde and æt cyninges deorhege and
 æt swilcan ðingan swilc his mæð sy, and sylle his cyricsceat to
 Martinus mæssan.

Gebures gerihte. Geburgerihtas syn mislice : gehwar hy syn
 25 hefige, gehwar eac medeme. On sumen lande is þæt he sceal
 wyrcan to wicweorce II dagas swilc weorc swilc him man tæcð, ofer
 geares fyrst ælcra wucan, and on hærfeſt III dagas to wicweorce
 and of Candelmæsse oð Eastran III ; gif he aferað, ne ðearf he
 wyrcan ða hwile ðe his hors ute bið. He sceal syllan on Michaelæs
 30 mæssedæg X gafolpænig and on Martinus mæssedæg XXIII systra
 beres and II henfugelas, on Eastran an geong sceap oððe II pænig.
 And he sceal licgan of Martinus mæssan oð Eastran æt hlafordes
 falde, swa oft swa him to begæð. And of ðam timan ðe man
 ærest ereð oð Martinus mæssan he sceal ælcra wucan erian I æcer
 35 and ræcan sylf þæt sæd on hlafordes berne, toeacan ðam III
 æceras to bene and II to gærsyrðe ; gyf he maran gærses beðyrfe,
 ðonne earnige ðæs, swa him man ðafige. His gauolyrðe III æceras
 erige and sawe of his agnum berne, and sylle his heorðpænig, and
 twegen and twegen fedan ænne headorhund. And ælc gebur
 40 sylle VI hlafas ðam inswane ðonne he his heorde to mæstene drife.

On ðam sylfum lande ðe ðeos ræden on stænt, gebure gebyrð

þæt him man to landsetene sylle II oxan and I cu and VI sceap,
and VII æceras gesawene on his gyrde landes. Forðige ofer þæt
gear ealle gerihtu ðe him to gebyrigean; and sylle him man tol to
45 his weorce and andlaman to his huse. Ðonne him forðsið geby-
rige, gyme his hlaford ðæs he læfe.

Ðeos landlagu stænt on suman lande; gehwar hit is, swa ic ær
cwæð, hefigre, gehwar eac leohtre; forðam ealle landsida ne syn
gelice. . . . Hede se ðe scire healde þæt he wite a hwæt eald land-
50 ræden sy and hwæt ðeode ðeaw. . . . Landlaga syn mistlice, swa ic
ær beforan sæde. Ne sette we na ðas gerihtu ofer ealle ðeoda, ðe we
ær beforan ymbe spræcon; ac we cyðað hwæt ðeaw is ðær ðær us
cuð is. Gyf we selre geleorniað, þæt we willað georne lufian and
healdan be ðære ðeode ðeawe ðe we ðanne on wuniað. Forðam
55 laga sceal on leode luflice leornian, lof se ðe on lande sylf nele
leosian.

40. DUTIES OF A REEVE

The position of a 'reeve,' *i.e.* steward of a large estate, was clearly no sinecure, and he had to 'know his job.' These 'duties' are a continuation of the *Rectitudines*, and the writer was doubtless himself a *gerefa*. He wrote probably in the early part of the eleventh century.

Be gesceadwisan gerefan. Se (ge)sceadwis(a) gerefa sceal ægðer
witan ge hlafordes landriht ge folces gerihtu, be ðam ðe hit of
ealddagum witan geræddan, and ælcra tilðan timan ðe to tune
belimpð; forðam on manegum landum tilð bið redre ðonne on
5 oðrum: ge yrðe tima hrædra, ge mæda rædran, ge winterdun eac
swa, ge gehwilec oðer tilð. Hede se ðe scire healde þæt he friðige
and forðige ælce be ðam ðe hit selest sy; and be ðam he eac mot
ðe hine weder wisað. He sceal snotorlice smecgean and georne
ðurhsmugan ealle ða ðing ðe hlaforde magan to ræde. Gyf he wel
10 aginnan wile, ne mæg he sleac beon ne to oferhydig; ac he mot
ægðer witan ge læsse ge mare, ge betere ge mætre ðæs ðe to tune
belimpð, ge on tune ge on dune, ge on wuda ge on wætere, ge on
felda ge on falde, ge inne ge ute. Forðam to soðe ic secge: ofer-
hogie he oððe forgyme ða ðing to beganne and to bewitanne, ðe to
15 scipene oððe to odene belimpað, sona hit wyrð on berne þæt to
ðam belimpeð. Ac ic lære þæt he do swa ic ær cwæð: gyme
ægðer ge ðæs selran ge þæs sāmran, þæt naðor ne misfare, gyf he
wealdan mæge, ne corn ne sceaf, ne flæsc ne flotsmeru, ne cyse ne

cyslyb, ne nan ðæra ðinga ðe æfre to note mæge. Swa sceal god
 20 scyrman his hlafordes healdan, do ymbe his agen swa swa he wylle.
 A swa he gecneordra, swa bið he weorðra, gyf he wið witan hafað
 his wisan gemæne. Symle he sceal his hyrmen scyrpan mid
 manunge to hlafordes neode and him eac leanian be ðam ðe hy
 earnian. Ne læte he næfre his hyrmen hyne oferwealdan, ac wille
 25 he ælcne mid hlafordes creadfe and mid folcrihte: selre him is
 æfre of folgoðe ðonne on, gyf hine magan wyldan ða ðe he scolde
 wealdan; ne bið hit hlaforde ræd þæt he þæt ðafige. Æfre he
 mæg findan on ðam he mæg nyt beon and ða nytte don ðe him
 fylstan scylan; huru is mæst neod þæt he asece hu he yrðe mæge
 30 fyrme geforðian, ðonne ðæs tima sy.

He mæg in Maio and Iunio on sumera fealgian, myxendingcan
 ut dragan, lochyrdla tilian, sceap scyran, bytlian, botettan, tynan,
 tymbrian, wudian, weodian, faldian, fiscwer and mylne macian;
 on hærfeste ripan, in Agosto and Septembri and Octobri mawan,
 35 wad spittan, fela tilða ham gæderian, ðacian, ðecgan and fald
 weoxian, scipena behweorfan and hlosan eac swa, ær to tune to
 stið winter cume, and eac yrðe georne forðian. On wintra erian and
 in miclum gefyrstum timber cleofan, orceard ræran and mænige
 inweorc wyrcean, ðerhsan, wudu cleofan, hryðeran styllan, swyn
 40 stigian, on odene cylne macian, ofn and aste, and fela ðinga sceal
 to tune, ge eac henna hrost. On længtene eregian and impian,
 beana sawan, wingearð settan, dician, deorhege heawan and raðe
 æfter ðam, gif hit mot gewiderian, mederan settan, linsed sawan,
 wadsæd eac swa, wyr(t)un plantian, and fela ðinga, ic eal geteallan
 45 ne mæg, þæt god scirman began sceal. A he mæg findan hwæt
 he mæg on byrig betan—ne ðearf he na unnyt beon, ðonne he ðær
 binnan bið: oððe hus godian, rihtan and weoxian and grep hegian,
 dicsceard betan, hegas godian, weod wyrtwalian, betweox husan
 bricgian, beoddian, bencian, horsan styllan, flor feormian, oððe
 50 sumes sum ðing ðe to nytte mæge.

He sceal fela tola to tune tilian and fela andlomena to husan
 habban: æcse, adsan, bil, byrse, scafan, sage, cimbiren, tighoc,
 næfebor, mattuc, ippingiren, scear, culter and eac gadiren, siðe,
 sicol, weodhoc, spade, scofle, wadspitel, bærwan, besman, bytel,
 55 race, geafle, hlædre, horscamb and sceara, fyrtange, wæipundern,
 and fela towtola: flexlinan, spinle, reol, gearnwinda, stodlan,
 lorgas, presse, pihten, timplean, wifte, wefle, wulcamb, cip, amb,

crancstæf, sceaðele, seamsticcan, sceara, nædle, slic. And gif he
 smeawyrhtan hæfð, ðam he sceal to tolan fylstan: mylewerde,
 60 sutere, leadgotan and oðre wyrhtan ælc weorc sylf wisað, hwæt
 him to gebyreð; nis ænig man þæt atellan mæge ða tol ealle ðe
 man habban sceal. Man sceal habban wængewædu, sulhgesidu,
 egeðgetigu, and fela ðinga ðe ic nu genæmnian ne can, ge eac mete,
 awel and to odene fligel and andlamena fela: hwer, lead, cytel,
 65 hlædel, pannan, crocca, brandiren, dexas, stelmelas, cyfa, cyflas,
 cyrne, cysfæt, ceodan, wilian, windlas, systras, syfa, sædleap,
 hriddel, hersyfe, tæmespilan, fanna, trogas, æscena, hyfa, hunig-
 binna, beorbydene, bæðfæt, beodas, butas, bleða, melas, cuppan,
 seohhan, candelstafas, sealtfæt, sticfodder, piperhorn, cyste, myder-
 70 can, bearmteage, hlydan, sceamelas, stolas, læflas, leohtfæt, blacern,
 cyllan, sapbox, camb, yrsebinne, fodderhec, fyrgebeorh, melu-
 hudern, ælhyde, ofnrace, mexscofle.

Hit is earfoðe eall to gesecganne þæt se beðencan sceal ðe scire
 healt. Ne sceolde he nan ðing forgyman ðe æfre to note mehte: ne
 75 furðum musfellan ne þæt git læsse is, to hæpsan pinn. Fela sceal to
 holdan hames gerefan and to gemetfæstan manna hyrde. Ic gecende
 be ðam ðe ic cuðe; se ðe bet cunne, gecyðe his mare.

41. RANK AND WERGILD

Every man literally 'had his price,' from the king downwards. The principle of compensation was a characteristic of early society. The Anglo-Saxon laws are largely concerned with wergild.

Hit wæs hwilum on Engla lagum þæt leod and lagu for be
 geþincðum; and þa wæron leodwitan weorðscipes wyrðe, ælc be
 his mæðe, eorl and ceorl, þegen and þeoden. And gif ceorl geþeah
 þæt he hæfde fullice fif hida agenes landes, cirican and kycenan,
 5 bellhus and burhgeat, setl and sundernote on cynges healle, þonne
 wæs he þanonforð þegenrihtes weorðe. And gif þegen geþeah
 þæt he þenode cynges and his radstefne rad on his hirede, gif se
 þonne hæfde þegen, þe him fligde, þe to cinges utware fif hida
 hæfde and on cinges sele his hlaforde þenode and þriwa mid his
 10 ærende gefore to cinge, se moste syððan mid his foraðe his hlaforð
 aspelian æt mistlicon neodan and his onspæce geræcan mid rihte,
 swa hwær swa he sceolde. And se þe swa geþogenne forwyrhtan
 næfde, swore for sylfne æfter his rihte oððe his þolode. And gif

þegen geþeah þæt he wearð to eorle, þonne wæs he syððan eorl-
 15 rihtes weorðe. And gif massere geþeah þæt he ferde þrige ofer
 widsæ be his agenum cræfte, se wæs þonne syððan þegenrihtes
 weorðe. . . .

Cynges wergild is inne mid Englum on folcriht XXX þusend
 þrymsa; XV þusend ðrymsa byð þæs weres and XV þusend þæs
 20 cynedomes; se wer gebyreð þam magum and seo cynebot þam
 leodum.

Arcebisces and æpelinges wergild is XV þusend þrymsa,
 bisces and ealdormannes VIII þusend ðrymsa. Holdes and
 cyninges heahgerefan IIII þusend ðrimsa. Mæsseþegnes and
 25 woruldþegnes II þusend þrimsa. Ceorles wergild is CC and LXVI
 þrimsa; þæt bið II hund scillinga be Myrcna lage.

And gif wilisc man geþeo þæt he hæbbe hiwisc landes and mæge
 cyninges gafol forðbringan, þonne bið his wergild CXX scillinga.
 And gif he ne geþeo buton to healfre hide, þonne si his wer LXXX
 30 scillinga. And gif he ænig land næbbe and þeah freoh sy, forgilde
 hine man mid LXX scillinga.

And gif ceorlisc man geþeo þæt he hæbbe V hida landes to cynges
 utware, and hine man ofslea, forgilde man hine mid twam þusend
 þrimsa. And þeah he geþeo þæt he hæbbe helm and byrnan and
 35 golde fæted sweord, gif he þæt land nafað, he bið ceorl swaþeah.
 And gif his sunu and his suna sunu þæt geþeoð þæt hi swa micel
 landes habban, siððan bið se ofsprinc gesiðcundes cynnes be twam
 þusendum. And gif hi þæt nabbað, ne to ðam geþeon ne magon,
 gilde man cirlice.

C. WILLS AND CHARTERS

What scholars refer to as the 'Anglo-Saxon Charters' are documents of a more or less official character, closely related to the social life of our ancestors. These documents, many hundreds of which have been preserved, furnish rich material for the student of our early institutions. Their number is the more remarkable when we consider that in former times agreements were in far the largest number of cases oral, depending for their observance on public knowledge as well as on the evidence of witnesses and the memory of individuals. The A.-S. charters may conveniently be divided into (a) informal, chiefly wills and benefactions, and (b) formal or official, almost exclusively connected with the ownership of land. Whereas the wills are always simple in language and written entirely in English, the land charters, which form the vast majority of the surviving A.-S. charters are mostly written in Latin, and show the influence of continental chancelleries so far as the stereotyped legal phrasing is concerned.

Owing to the great number of land charters which have been preserved, the laws and customs relating to the tenure and inheritance of land are better known to us than any other side of A.-S. life. Incidentally much light is also thrown on the social customs of our forefathers. It should be noted that many of the surviving A.-S. land charters are late copies; some are spurious or of doubtful authenticity. A scholarly edition of all the charters is greatly to be desired.

42. KING ALFRED'S WILL

In a preamble the king recounts the agreements made between himself and his brothers Æthelberht and Æthelred for the disposal of their joint and private estates, which finally all came into the possession of Alfred as survivor. He then tells us how, when dispute arose as to his kinsmen's share, the Witenagemot declared him sole legatee of the estates and possessed of full powers of disposal. Next follows the will itself, bequeathing his landed and personal estate. Finally, after saying that he had burned his previous wills and deeds of gift, he gives instructions to his heirs concerning the future disposal of his estate.

The will was perhaps made soon after the conclusion of the pact with Guthrum in A.D. 878, when Alfred had leisure to review the changes brought about in his private affairs by the terrible struggle with the Danes. He himself says he had lost both kinsmen and property. This important document shows us the king as a practical clear-headed man with a strong sense of justice.

Ic Ælfred cingc mid Godes gife ond mid geþeahtunge Æþeredes
 ercebisceopes ond ealra Westseaxena witena gewitnesse, smeade
 ymbe minre sawle þearfe ond ymbe min yrfe þæt me God ond mine
 yldran forgeafon, ond ymbe þæt yrfe þæt Aðulf cingc min fæder us
 5 þrim gebroðrum becwæð, Æþelbolde ond Æþerede ond me, ond
 swylc ure swylce lengest wære, þæt se fenge to eallum. Ac hit
 gelamp þæt Æþelbold gefor, ond wyt Æþered mid ealra ¹ West-
 seaxena witena gewitnesse uncerne dæl oðfæstan Æþelbyrhte cingce
 uncrum mæge on þa gerædene þe he hit eft gedyde unc swa gewylde
 10 swa hit þa wæs þa wit hit him oðfæstan. Ond he þa swa dyde, ge
 þæt yrfe ge þæt he mid uncre gemanan begeat, ond þæt he sylf
 gestrynde. Ða hit swa gelamp þæt Æþered to feng, þa bæd ic
 hine beforan urum witum eallum þæt wyt þæt yrfe gedældon, ond
 he me ageafe minne dæl. Ða sæde he me þæt he naht eaðe ne
 15 mihte todælan, forþon he hæfde ful oft ær on gefangen; ond he
 cwæð, þæs þe he on uncrum gemanan gebruce ond gestrynde æfter
 his dæge he nanum menn sel ne uðe þonne me; ond ic þæs þa
 wæs wel geþafa. Ac hit gelamp þæt we ealle on hæðenum folce

¹ ealre MS.

gebrocude wæron ; þa spræce wyt ymbe uncre bearn þæt hy sumre
20 are beþorftan, sælde unc on þam brocum swa unc sælde : þa wæron
we on gemote æt Swinbeorgum. Þa gecwædon wit on Westseaxena
witena gewitnesse þæt swaðer uncer leng wære, þæt he geuðe oðres
bearnum þara landa þe wyt sylfe begeaton ond þara land(a) þe unc
Aðulf cingc forgeaf be Æðelbolde lifendum, butan þam þe he us
25 þrim gebroðrum gecwæð. Ond þæs uncer ægðer oþrum his wedd
sealde, swaðer uncer leng lifede, þæt se fenge ægþer ge to lande ge
to madmum ond to eallum his æhtum butan þam dæle þe uncer
gehwæðer his bearnum becwæð. Ac hit gelamp þæt Æðered cingc
gefor ; þa ne cydde me nan mann nan yrfege writ ne nane gewit-
30 nesse þæt hit ænig oðer wære butan swa wit¹ on gewitnesse ær
gecwædon. Þa gehyrde we nu manegu yrfegeflitu, nu þa lædde ic
Aþulfes cinges yrfege writ on ure gemot æt Langandene, ond hit
man arædde beforan eallum Westseaxena witum. Þa hit aræd
wæs, þa bæd ic hy ealle for minre lufan, ond him min wedd
35 bead þæt ic hyra næfre nænne ne oncude forþon þe hy on riht
spræcon, ond þæt hyra nan ne wandode, ne for minan lufan ne for
minum ege, þæt hy þæt folcriht arehton, þylæs ænig man cweðe
þæt ic mine mægchild, oððe ylðran oððe gingran, mid wo forðemde.
Ond hy þa ealle to rihte gerehton, ond cwædon þæt hy nan rihtre
40 riht geþencan ne mihtan ne on þam yrfege write gehyran : ' Nu hit
eall agan is þæron oð þine hand, þonne þu hit becweðe ond sylle
swa gesibre handa swa fremdre, swaðer þe leofre sy.' Ond hi ealle
me þæs hyra wedd sealdon ond hyra handsetene þæt be hyra life hit
nænig man næfre ne onwende on nane oðre wisan butan swa swa ic
45 hit sylf gecweðe æt þam nyhstan dæge.

Ic Ælfred Westseaxena cingc mid Godes gyfe ond mid þisse gewit-
nesse gecweðe hu ic ymbe min yrfe wille æfter minum dæge. Ærest
ic an Eadwearde minum ylðran suna þæs landes æt Strætneat on
Triconscire, ond Heortigtunes, ond þa bocland ealle þe Leofheah
50 hylt, ond þæt land æt Carumtune ond æt Cyllfantune ond æt Burn-
hamme ond æt Wedmor ; ond ic eom fyrmdig to þam hiwum æt
Ceodre þæt hy hine ceosan on þa gerad þe we ær gecweden hæfdon,
mid þam lande æt Ciwtune ond þam þe þærto hyrað. Ond ic him
an þæs landes æt Cantuctune ond æt Bedewindan ond æt Pefesigge
55 ond Hysseburnan ond æt Suttune ond æt Leodridan ond æt Awel-
tune. Ond ealle þa bocland þe ic on Cent hæbbe ond æt þam

¹ hit MS.

nyðeran Hysseburnan ond æt Cyseldene, agyfe man in to Wintan-
 ceastre on þa gerad þe hit min fæder ær gecwæð, ond þæt min
 sundorfeoh þæt ic Ecgulfe oðfæste on þam neoðeran Hysseburnan.
 60 Ond þam gingran minan suna þæt land æt Eaderingtune ond þæt æt
 Dene ond þæt æt Meone ond æt Ambresbyrig ond æt Deone ond
 æt Sturemynster ond æt Gifle ond æt Crucern ond æt Hwitancyrican
 ond æt Axanmuðan ond æt Branecescumbe ond æt Columtune ond
 æt Twyfyrde ond æt Mylenburnan ond æt Exanmynster ond æt
 65 Suðeswyrðe ond æt Liwtune ond þa land þe þærto hyran, þæt synd
 ealle þe ic on Wealcynne hæbbe butan Triconscire. Ond minre
 yldstan dehter þæne ham æt Welewe, ond þære medemestan æt
 Clearan ond æt Cendefer, ond þære gingestan þone ham æt Welig
 ond æt Æsctune ond æt Cippenhamme. Ond Æðelme mines brøðer
 70 suna þone ham æt Ealdingburnan ond æt Cumtune ond æt Crun-
 dellan ond æt Beadingum ond æt Beadingahamme ond æt Burnham
 ond æt Þunresfelda ond æt Æscengum. Ond Apelwolde mines
 brøðor suna þone ham æt Godelmingum ond æt Gyldeforda ond
 æt Stæningum. Ond Osferðe minum mæge þone ham æt Beccanlea
 75 ond æt Hryðeranfelda ond æt Diccelingum ond æt Suðtune ond
 æt Lullingmynster ond æt Angemæringum ond æt Felhhamme,
 ond þa land þe þærto hyran. Ond Ealhswiðe þone ham æt Lamb-
 burnan ond æt Waneting ond æt Eðandune.

Ond minum twam sunum an þusend punda, ægðorum fif hund
 80 punda; ond minre yldstan dehter ond þære medemestan ond þære
 gingstan ond Ealhswiðe, him feowrum feower hund punda, ælcum
 an hund punda. Ond minra ealdormanna ælcum an hund mang-
 cusa; ond Æpelme ond Aðelwolde ond Osferðe eac swa; ond
 Æþerede caldormenn an sweord on hundteontigum mancum;
 85 ond þam mannum þe me folgiað, þe ic nu on Eastertidum feoh
 sealde, twa hund punda agyfe man him ond dæle man him betweoh,
 ælcum swa him to gebyrian wille æfter þære wisan þe ic him nu
 dælde. Ond þam ercebisceope C mancusa ond Esne bisceope ond
 Wærferðe bisceope, ond þam æt Scireburnan. Eac swa gedæle for
 90 me ond for minne fæder ond for þa frynd þe he fore þingode ond
 ic fore þingie, twa hund punda, fiftig mæssepreostum ofer eall min
 rice, fiftig earmum Godes þeowum, fiftig earmum þearfum, fiftig
 to þære cyrican þe ic æt reste; ond ic nat naht gewislice hwæðer
 þæs feos swa micel is, ne ic nat þeah his mare sy, butan swa ic
 95 wene. Gyf hit mare sy, beo hit him eallum gemæne þe ic feoh

becweden hæbbe; ond ic wille þæt mine ealdormenn ond mine þenigmenn þær ealle mid syndan ond þis þus gedælan.

Ðonne hæfde ic ær on oðre wisan awriten ymbe min yrfe, þa ic hæfde mare feoh ond ma maga, ond hæfde monegum mannum þa
 100 gewritu oðfæst, ond on þas ylcan gewitnesse hy wæron awritene; þonne hæbbe ic nu forbærned þa ealdan þe ic geahsian mihte. Gif hyra hwylc funden bið, ne forstent þæt naht; forþam ic wille þæt hit nu þus sy mid Godes fultume. Ond ic wille, þa menn þe þa land habbað, þa word gelæstan þe on mines fæder yrfege write
 105 standað swa swa hy fyrrest magon. Ond ic wylle gif ic ænigum menn ænig feoh unleanod hæbbe, þæt mine magas þæt huru geleanian. Ond ic wylle, þa menn þe ic mine bocland becweden hæbbe, þæt hy hit ne asyllan of minum cynne ofer heora dæg; ac ic wille (ofer) hyra dæg þæt hit gange on þa nyhstan hand me,
 110 butan hyra hwylc bearn hæbbe; þonne is me leofast þæt hit gange on þæt strynged on ða wæpnedhealfe, þa hwile þe ænig þæs wyrðe sy. Min yldra fæder hæfde gecweden his land on þa sperehealfe, næs on þa spinhealfe. Ðonne gif ic gesealde ænigre wifhanda þæt he gestrynde, þonne forgyldan mine magas, gif¹ hy hit be þan
 115 libbendan habban wyllan. Gif hit elles sy, gange hit ofer hyra dæg swa swa we ær gecweden hæfdon. Forþon ic cweðe þæt hi hit gyldan, forþon hy foð to minum, þe ic syllan mot swa wifhanda swa wæpnedhanda, swaðer ic wylle.

Ond ic bidde on Godes naman ond on his haligra þæt minra
 120 maga nan ne yrfewearda ne geswence nan nænig cyrelif þara þe ic fore geald ond me Westseaxena witan to rihte gerehton, þæt ic hi mote lætan swa freo swa þeowe, swaðer ic wille; ac ic for Godes lufan ond for minre sawle þearfe wylle þæt hy syn heora freolses wyrðe ond hyra cyres; ond ic on Godes lifendes naman beode
 125 þæt hy nan man ne brocie, ne mid feos manunge ne mid nænigum þingum, þæt hy ne motan ceosan swylcne mann swylce hy willan. Ond ic wylle þæt man agyfe þam hiwum æt Domrahamme hyra landbec ond hyra freols swylce hand to ceosenne swylce him leofast sy, for me ond for Ælflæde ond for þa frynd þe heo fore
 130 þingode ond ic fore þingie. Ond sec man eac on cwicum ceape ymbe minre sawle þearfe swa hit beon mæge, ond swa hit eac gerysne sy ond swa ge me forgyfan wyllan.

¹ magas ond gif MS.

43. ABBA'S WILL

Nothing further is known of this Abba, but he was evidently a well-to-do farmer. His will was written in or near A.D. 835, and is in the Kentish dialect.

Ic Abba geroefa cyððe ond writan hate hu min willa is þæt mon ymb min ærfe gedoe æfter minum dæge.

Ærest ymb min lond þe ic hæbbe ond me God lah, ond ic æt minum hlafordum begeat, is min willa gif me God bearnes unnan
 5 wille, ðæt hit foe to londe æfter me ond his bruce mid minum gemeccan; ond sioððan swæ forð min cynn ða hwile þe God wille ðæt ðeara ænig sie þe londes weorðe sie ond land gehaldan cunne. Gif me ðonne gifeðe sie ðæt ic bearn begeotan ne mege, þonne is min willa þæt hit hæbbe min wiif ða hwile ðe hia hit mid clennisse
 10 gehaldan wile. Ond min broðar Alchhere hire fultume ond þæt lond hire nytt gedoe. Ond him man selle an half swulung an Ciollandene to habbanne ond to brucanne, wið ðan ðe he ðy geornliocar hire ðearfa bega ond bewiotige; ond mon selle him to ðem londe IIII oxan ond II cy ond L scepa ond ænne horn. Gif min
 15 wiif ðonne hia nylle mid clennisse swæ gehaldan, ond hire liofre sie oðer hemed to niomanne, ðonne foen mine megas to ðem londe ond hire agefen hire agen; gif hire ðonne liofre sie an mynster to ganganne oðða suð to faranne, ðonne agefen hie twægen mine megas Alchhere ond Æðelwold hire twa ðusenda ond fon him to
 20 ðem londe, ond agefe mon to Liminge L eawa ond V cy fore hie; ond mon selle to Folcanstane in mid minum lice X oxan ond X cy ond C eawa ond C swina, ond higum ansundran D pend' wið ðan ðe min wiif þær benuge innganges swæ mid minum lice swæ sioððan yferran dogre, swæ hwæðer swæ hire liofre sie. Gif higan ðonne
 25 oððe hlaford þæt nylle hire mynsterlifes geunnan, oðða hia siolf nylle, ond hire oðer ðing liofre sie, þonne agefe mon ten hund pend' inn mid minum lice me wið legerstowe, ond higum ansundran fif hund pend' fore mine sawle. Ond ic bidde ond bebeode swælc monn se ðæt min lond hebbe, ðæt he ælce gere agefe ðem higum
 30 æt Folcanstane L ambra maltes ond VI ambra gruta ond III wega spices ond ceses ond CCC hlafa ond an hriðr ond VI scep; ond swælc monn se ðe to minum ærfe foe, ðonne gedele he ælcum messepreoste Linnan Cent mancus goldes ond ælcum Godes ðiowe pend' ond to Sct. Petre min wærgeld twa ðusenda. Ond Freoðo-
 35 mund foe to minum sweorde ond agefe ðeræt feower ðusenda, ond

him mon forgefe ðeran ðreotene hund pending(a). Ond gif mine
 broðar ærfeweard gestrionen ðe londes weorðe sie, þonne ann ic
 ðem londes; gif hie ne gestrionen oðða him sylfum ælles hwæt
 sele, æfter hiora dege ann ic his Freoðomunde, gif he ðonne lifes
 40 bið. Gif him elles hwæt sæleð, ðonne ann ic his minra swæstarsuna
 swælcum se hit geðian wile, ond him gifeðe bið. Ond gif þæt
 gesele þæt min cynn to ðan clane gewite ðæt ðer ðeara nan ne sie
 ðe londes weorðe sie, þonne foe se hlaford to ond ða higon æt
 Kristes cirican, ond hit minum gaste nytt gedoen. An ðas redenne
 45 ic hit ðider selle, ðe se monn se ðe Kristes cirican hlaford sie, sie¹
 min ond minra erfewarda forespreoca ond mundbora ond an his
 hlaforddome we bian moten.

Ic Ciolnoð mid Godes gefe ærcebiscop ðis write ond ðeafie, ond
 mid Cristes rode tacne hit festniæ.

50 Ic Beagmund pr. ðis ðeafie ond write.

The names of 13 other witnesses, including Abba himself, next follow. Finally
 Heregyth, Abba's wife, burdens the estate with an annual charge for the benefit of
 Christ Church, Canterbury:

Heregyð hafað ðas wisan binemned ofer hire deg ond ofer Abban
 ðæm higum et Cristes cirican of ðæm londe et Cealflocan; ðæt is
 ðonne ðritig ombra alað, ond ðreo hund hlafa; ðeara bið fiftig
 hwhitehlafa; an weg spices ond ceses, an ald hriðr, feower weðras,
 55 an suin oððe sex weðras, sex gosfuglas, ten hennfuglas, ðritig
 teapera gif hit wintres deg sie, sester fulne huniges, sester fulne
 butran, sester fulne saltes. Ond Heregyð bibeadeð ðem mannum
 ðe efter hire to londe foen, on Godes noman ðæt hie ful gere witen
 ðæt hie ðiss gelesten ðe on ðissem gewrite binemned is ðem higum
 60 to Cristes cirican, ond ðæt sie simle to higna blodlese ymb twelf
 monað agefen; ond se mann se to londe foe agefe hire erfehonda
 XIII pund pendinga; ond hio forgifeð fiftene pund for ðy ðe mon
 ðas feorme ðy soel gelæste.

44. BISHOP ÆLFWOLD'S BENEFACTIONS

Ælfwold was bishop of Crediton (Devon) from A.D. 988 to about A.D. 1012.

Þis is Alfwoldes bisceopes cwyde, þæt is ðet he geann þæs landes
 æt Sandforda in to þam mynstre in to Crydiantune him to saul-

¹ se MS.

sceatte mid mete ond mid mannum, swa hit stent butan witeþeo-
 wum mannum. Ond anes hiwscypes he geann Godrice þær of ond
 5 an sylhðe oxna. Ond he geann his hlaforde feower horsa, twa
 gesadelode ond twa unsadelode, ond feower scyldas ond IIII
 spera ond twegen helmas ond twa byrnan, ond L mancsa goldes
 þe Ælfnop him sceal æt Wudeleage, ond ænne scegð LXIIII-ære :
 he is eall gearo butan þam hanon ; he hine wolde fulgearwian his
 10 hlaforde to gerisnum gif him God uðe. Ond Ordulfe twegra boca :
 Hrabanum ond Martyrologium. Ond þam æþelinge XL mancsa
 goldes ond þæra wildra worfa æt Æscburnan lande ond twegra
 getelda. Ond Alfwolde munuce XX mancsa goldes ond anes
 horses, ond anes geteldes. Ond Byrhtmær preoste XX
 15 mancsa goldes ond anes horses. Ond his þrim magon Eadwolde
 ond Æþelnoðe ond Grimkytele hira ælcon XX mancsa goldes
 ond hira ælcon anes horses. Ond Wulf gare his mæge twegra
 wahryfta ond twegra setlhrægla ond þreo byrnan. Ond Godrice
 his aðume twegra byrnena, ond Eadwine mæssepreoste V
 20 mancsa goldes ond his kæppan ; ond Leofsige mæssepreoste þæs
 mannes þe he him ær to let : Wunstan hatte ; ond Kenwolde helm
 ond byrnan ; ond Boian anes horses ; ond Mælpatrike V mancsa
 goldes ; ond Leofwine Polgan V mancsa goldes ; ond Ælfgare
 writere an pund penega : he lænde Tune ond his gewysternon ;
 25 gehealdon hi hine. Ond Eadgyfe his swyster an strichrægl ond I
 hrighchrægl ond I set(l)hrægl ; ond Ælflæde offestran V mancsa
 penega ond Spilan III mancsa goldes ond LX penega ; ond Leof-
 wine Polgan ond Mælpatrike ond Byrhsige hira þreora ælcon an
 hors. Ond ælcon hiredmen his onrid þe he alæned hæfde ; ond
 30 his hirednihton eallon V pund to gedale, ælcon be þam þe his mæð
 wære. Ond in to Crydiantune þreo peningbec, mæsseboc ond
 bletsungboc ond pistelboc, ond an mæssereaf, ond on ælcon bis-
 ceophame ælcon men freot þe witeþeow wære oðþe he mid his feo
 gebohte. Ond in to Wiltune calic ond disc on CXX mancsa goldes
 35 butan þrim mancsum ; ond burþenon his beddreaf.

Ond pises is to gewitnesse Wulf gar Ælfgares sunu ond Godric
 be Crydian, ond Eadwine mæssepreost, ond Alfwold munuc, ond
 Bryhtmær preost.

45. ROYAL GRANT TO ÆTHELNOTH

The Latin part of this charter records a sale of land by the Crown ; then follows an endorsement in English by the purchaser and his wife disposing of the land after their death. Coenwulf the Mercian king, after ruthlessly devastating Kent, put his brother Cuthred on the throne in 798. Cuthred died in 806.

In nomine altithroni qui solus regat ac gubernat omnia omnipotenter in æuum ego Cuðredus rex Cantuariorum cum consensu Coenuulf regis Merciae, et his testibus quorum infra nomina tenentur adscripta, dabo Æðelnoðo præfecto meo fidelissimo in prouincia
5 Cantiae terram trium aratrorum in loco qui dicitur æt Hegyðeðorne pro competenti pecunia, id est tria milia denariorum. Nunc itaque prædicta terra in potestate illius sit donata cum rectis terminibus, et iure hereditario firmiter fixa permaneat seu etiam ab omnium
10 sæcularium seruitiis intus uel foras libera perseuerat, sine aliquo grauidine et lesione maiorum minorumue causarum, ut habeat libertatem commutandi uel donandi in uita sua, et post eius obitum teneat facultatem relinquendi cuicumque uolueris.

Nullus regum aut episcoporum uel principum præsentium uel futurorum ista sit contemnere ausus ; sin autem red(d)at rationem
15 coram Domino et coram angelis eius in die reuelationis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Amen.

Ego Coenuulf rex Merciae hanc donationem consensiendo subscribo.

Ego Cuðred rex Cantiae hanc donationem meam signo Sanctae
20 Crucis Christi firmabo et subscribo.

Here follow the names of twenty-two witnesses, including the two archbishops and eleven bishops. Next comes the endorsement by the purchaser and his wife :

Æthelnoð se gerefa to Eastorege and Gænbург his wif aræddan hiora erfe beforan Wulfrede arcebiscope and Æðelhune his mæsseprioste and Esne cyninges thegne. Swæ hueðer hiora suæ leng lifes were foe to londe and to alre æhte ; gif hio bearn hæbbe,
25 ðonne foe ðæt ofer hiora bæga dagas to londe and to æhte. Gif hio ðonne bearn næbbe and Wulfred archibiscop lifes sie, ðonne foe he to ðæm londe and hit forgelde and ðæt wiorð gedæle fore hiora gastas suæ ælmeslice and suæ rehtlice suæ he him seolfa on his wisdomes geleornie. And ða sprece nænig mon uferran dogor
30 on nænge oðre halfe oncærrende sie nymne suæ þis gewrit hafað.

Æthelnoth and Gænbург witness this endorsement, together with Wulfred, Esne, Æthelhun and two others. Then come the words:—

- 31 Pisses londes aran ðrie sulong æt Hægeðeðorne; and gif hiora oðrum oththe bæm siðð forgelimpe, biscop that lond gebycge suæ hie ðonne geweorðe.

46. AN AGREEMENT ABOUT LAND

The Eadwald mentioned hereunder has not been identified with certainty. Æthelmod was a Kentish ealdorman under King Æthelwulf. The charter is written in the Kentish dialect and its date is between the years A.D. 860 and 870.

- Dis is geðinge Eadwaldes Osheringes ond Cyneðryðe Eðelmodes lafe aldormonnes ymbe ðet lond et Cert ðe hire Eðelmod hire hlabard salde. Wes hit becueden Osbearte his broðar suna, gif he Cyneðryðe oferlifde ond siððan nennigra meihanda ma ðes cynnes ac
5 hia hit atuge yfter hira dege swe hit him boem rehtlicast ond elmestlicast were. ðonne hebfað Eadweald ond Cyne ðas wisan ðus fundene mid hira friandum: gib Eadwald leng lifige ðonne Cyneðryð, geselle et ðem londe et Cert X ðusenda; gif he gewite er ðonne hia, his barna sue hwelc sue lifes sie agefe ðet feoh ond atee,
10 sue hit soelest sie for ða (ðe) hit begetan. Nis Eðelmode enig meghond neor ðes cynnes ðanne Eadwald—his modar (wes) his broðar dohtar; mest cyn ðet he ðet lond hebbe ond his beorn yfter him ond sue ateon sue him nytlicas ðynce for ða ðe hit mid reohte begetan.

Names of witnesses follow.

47. LAND BOUNDARIES

This is the English endorsement to a grant in Latin by King Eadmund in A.D. 944 to Bishop Ælfric of lands at Badby, Dodford, and Everdon, in Northants. The topographical terms are of great value and interest for English place-name study.

- Dis sint þa landgemæra ond se embegang þara landa to Baddanbyrig ond to Doddanforda ond to Eferdune. Ðæt is þonne ærest æt Baddanbyrg westeweardre ond norðeweardre æt þam lytlan toclofenan beorge; þonne on gerihte of ðam beorge norð to
5 Weargedune betweox þa lytlan twegen beorgas; þæt þær norð andlang ðære lytlan dic æt þæs grafes ende oð ða smalan ðornas; ðonne of ðam þornum up on ða lytlan dune middewearde;

þonne of ðære dune east on Foxhulle eastewardre. Þonne geuðe ic
 Ælfwine ond Beorhtulfe þæs leas ond þæs hammes be norðan þære
 10 lytlan dic; ðonne lið ðæt gemære on gerihte of Foxhulle norðe-
 wardre on þone holan weg æt Hindehlypan; þonne of Hindehlypan
 on þone wylle æt þam lea ufewardan; of ðam wylle on ðæt heorot-
 sol; of ðam heorotsole norð on gerihte on ðone beorg; þonne of
 ðam beorge on gerihte to ðam lea; þæt forð be lea on wiðigwylles
 15 heafud; of ðam wylle norð on gerihte on ða ðornehtan dune
 toemnes þam geate æt þære ealdan byrg; þæt fram ðam geate on
 gerihte east to mæropytte; þonne of ðam pytte on gerihte to ðam
 stane æt þam wylle wið norðan Mæresdæl; þonne suð on gerihte
 ondlang Wætlingastræt on þone weg to Weoduninga gemære;
 20 þonne west ondlang weges on ðone lytlan beorg ðær se stoc stod;
 ðæt þonan suðrihte on ðone ealdan mylier þær þa welegas standað;
 ðæt west ondlang burnan oð hit cymð þær Bliðe ut scyt; þæt
 ondlang Bliðan oð ða stanbricgge; þæt east of ðære bricgge ondlang
 dic oð ðone hæþenan byrgels; of þam byrgelse forð norð be wyr-
 25 truman oð ðæs heges ende be Weoduninga gemære; þæt þonan
 ondlang gemæres on gerihte to ðam stocce on eastewardan þam
 lea; of ðam stocce suðrihte on þære stræt; ondlang stræt to þære
 fyrh ðe scyt suðrihte to þære miclan stræt æt þæs wylles heafde æt
 Snocescumbes gemære; þæt west ondlang stræt on ðone æsc; þæt
 30 fram ðam æsce ondlang stræt betweox þa twegen leas on ða ealdan
 sealtstræt oð ðone steort; fram þam steorte ondlang þæs fulan
 broces oð Bliðan. Ðonne is þæt land æt Snocescumbe healf þæs
 cinges, healf uncer Brentinges; buton me God geunne ond min
 hlaford þæt he his me geunnan wille. Þonne gæþ sio mearc forð
 35 ondlang Bliðan west oð ðæt seo lacu ut scyt on Bliðan wiðufan
 stanbricgge; þæt norð ondlang lace oð ða dic; þonne ondlang
 dic oð ðone weg þe scyt to Fealuweslea on þam slade; þæt on
 Fealuweslea þær Ælfric biscep redan het to þære ealdan dic;
 ondlang dic to ðam wege þe scyt up to ðam hricgge; ondlang
 40 hricgges to þam wege þe scyt fram Fealuweslea to Baddanby ane
 lytle hwile; þonne of ðære apuldre þe stent wið westan þam wege
 þurh þone lea to þam miclan hæslwride; of þam hæslwride
 adun on þa blacan rixa; of þam rixun on þa lytlan hecggan
 æt þam wege þe scyt fram Baddanby to Cearwyllun; ondlang
 45 weges oð ðone broc þe scyt to Fealuweslea to þam forða; ðæt
 west æfre ondlang broces oð ðone weg þe scyt to Stæferture wið

suðan þa ealdan burh æt Baddanbyrg; þæt west ondlang weges
oð toemnes þære micelan dic oð westewearde þa burh; ondlang
ðære dic ond be þære byrg westewardre norð oð ðone tobrocenan
50 beorg ðe þær is toclofen, on norðwardre ond on westewardre
Baddanbyrg.

Acta est hæc præfata¹ donatio anno ab incarnatione Domini
nostri Jesu Christi DCCCCXLIIII, indictione II.

Then follow the names of witnesses beginning with King Eadmund, his
brother Eadred, and his mother Eadgifu.

48. MEMORIAL TO KING EADWEARD

The petitioner, whose name is unknown, relates the circumstances under which
he came into possession of some land at Fonthill, Wilts., and asks the king to ratify
the proceedings. The king is Eadward, Alfred's eldest son and successor, who
reigned from A.D. 901 to 924. The memorial, which besides throwing light on A.-S.
legal proceedings gives us a rare glimpse of court life, is written in the simple style
of a letter, and is quite free from any Latin influence, as indeed are most of the
A.-S. portions of the charters.

Leof, ic ðe cyððe hu hit wæs ymb ðæt lond æt Funtial, ða fif
hida ðe Æðelm Higa ymb spycð. Ða Helmstan ða undæde gedyde
ðæt he Æðeredes belt forstæl, ða ongon Higa him specan sona on
mid oðran onspecendan, ond wolde him oðflitan ðæt lond. Ða
5 sohte he me ond bæd me ðæt ic him wære forespeca, forðon ic his
hæfde ær onfongen æt biscopes honda ær he ða undæde gedyde.
Ða spæc ic him fore ond ðingade him to Ælfrede cinge. Ða, God
forfelde his saule, ða lyfde he ðæt he moste beon ryhtes wyrðe for
mi(n)re for(e)spæce ond ryhtrace wið Æðelm ymb ðæt lond. Ða
10 het he hie seman; ða wæs ic ðara monna sum ðe ðær to genemned
wæran, ond Wihtbord ond Ælfric—wæs ða hrælðen—ond Byrthelm
ond Wulfhun ðes blaca æt Sumortune ond Strica ond Ubba ond ma
monna ðonne ic nu genemnan mæge. Ða reahte heora ægðer his
spell; ða ðuhte us eallan ðæt Helmstan moste gan forð mid ðon
15 bocon ond geagnigean him ðæt lond, ðæt he hit hæfde swa Æðeldryð
hit Osulfe on æht gesealde wið gemedan feo, ond heo cwæð to Osulfe
ðæt heo hit ahte him wel to syllanne, forðon hit wæs hire morgengifu
ða heo æ(re)st to Aðulfe com. Ond Helmstan ðis eal on ðon aðe
befeng. Ond Ælfred cing ða Osulfe his hondsetene sealde, ða he

¹ *præfacta MS.*

20 ðæt lond æt Æðeldryðe bohte, ðæt hit swa stondan moste, ond
 Eadweard his ond Æðelnað his ond Deormod his ond ælces ðara
 monna ðe mon ða habban wolde. Ða we hie æt Weardoran nu
 semdan, ða bær mon ða boc forð ond rædde hie; ða stod seo hond-
 seten eal ðær on. Ða ðuhte us eallan ðe æt ðære some wæran ðæt
 25 Helmstan wære aðe ðæs ðe near. Ða næs Æðelm na fullice geðafa
 ær we eodan in to cinge ond sædan eall hu we hit reahtan ond be
 hwy we hit reahtan; ond Æðelm stod sylf ðær inne mid; ond cing
 stod—ðwoh his honda—æt Weardoran innan ðon bure. Ða he
 ðæt gedon hæfde, ða ascade he Æðelm hwy hit him ryht ne ðuhte
 30 ðæt we him gereiht hæfdan; cwæð ðæt he nan ryhtre geðencan ne
 meahte ðonne he ðone að agifan moste gif he meahte. Ða cwæð ic
 ðæt he wolde cunnigan, ond bæd ðone cing ðæt he hit andagade;
 ond he swa¹ dyde. Ond he gelædde ða to ðon andagan ðone
 að be full(an ond) bæd me ðæt ic him fultemade, ond cwæð ðæt
 35 him wære leofre ðæt he (ðæt lond me se)alde ðonne se að
 forburste oððe hit æfr . . . æde. Ða cwæð ic ðæt ic him
 wolde fylstan to ryhte ond næfre to nanan wo, on þa gerade²
 ðe he his me uðe; ond he me ðæt on wedde gesealde. Ond we
 ridan ða to ðon andagan; ic, ond Wihtbord rad mid me, ond
 40 Byrthelm rad ðider mid Æðelme. Ond we gehyrdan ealle ðæt he
 ðone að be ful(l)an ageaf. Ða we cwædan ealle ðæt hit wære geen-
 dodu spæc, ða se dom wæs gefylled. Ond leof, hwonne bið engu
 spæc geendedu gif mon ne mæg nowðer ne mid feo ne mid aðe³
 geendigan? Oððe gif mon ælcne dom wile onwendan ðe Ælfred
 45 cing gesette, hwonne habbe we ðonne gemotad? Ond he me ða
 boc ða ageaf, swa he me on ðon wedde ær geseald hæfde, sona swa se
 að agifen wæs. Ond ic him gehet ðæt he moste ðes londes brucan
 ða hwile ðe he lifde, gif he hine wolde butan bysmore gehealdan.
 Ða onufan ðæt ymb an oðer healf gear, nat ic hweðer ðe ymb tua,
 50 ða forstæl he ða unlædan oxan æt Funtial, ðe he mid ealle fore
 forwearð, ond draf to Cytlid; ond hine mon ðær æt aparade; ond
 his speremon ahredde ða sporwreclas. Ða he fleah, ða torypte
 hine an breber ofer nebb⁴; ða he ætsacan wolde, ða sæde him mon
 ðæt to tacne. Ða swæf Eanulf Penearding on—wæs gerefa—ða
 55 genom eal ðæt yrfe him on ðæt he ahte to Tyssebyrig. Ða ascade
 ic hine hwy he swa dyde, ða cwæð he ðæt he wære ðeof. Ond mon

¹ he ða swa *MS.*
² gerada *MS.*
³ aða *MS.*
⁴ ðæt nebb *MS.*

gerehte ðæt yrfe cinge, forðon he wæs cinges mon. Ond Ordlaf feng to his londe; forðon hit wæs his læn ðæt he on sæt; he ne meahste na his forwyrcean. Ond tu hine hete ða flyman. Ða
 60 gesohte he ðines fæder lic ond brohte insigle to me, ond ic wæs æt Cippanhomme mit te. Ða ageaf ic ðæt insigle ðe, ond ðu him forgeafe his eard ond ða are ðe he get on gebogen hæfð. Ond ic feng to minan londe ond sealde hit ðon biscope ða on ðine gewitnesse ond ðinra weotena, ða fif hida, wið ðon londe æt Lidgeard wið fif
 65 hidan. Ond biscop ond ealhiwan forgeafan me ða feower; ond an was teoðinglond. Ðonne, leof, is me micel neodðearf ðæt hit mote stondan swa hit nu gedon is ond gefyrn wæs. Gif hit elles hwæt bið, ðonne sceal ic ond wylle beon gehealden on ðon ðe ðe to ælmesan ryht ðincð.

The Endorsement

70 Ond Æðelm Higa eode of ðam geflite ða cing wæs æt Worgemynster on Ordlafes gewitnesse ond on Osferðes ond on Oddan ond on Wihtbordes ond on Ælfstanes ðys blierian ond on Æðelnoðes.

49. HISTORY OF CERTAIN LANDS

Kemble, who first published this document, says of it, 'It relates how certain lands at Send and Sunbury, in Middlesex, came into the hands of Archbishop Dunstan, and by what series of events their ancient owners became divested of their property. The light which it incidentally throws upon the Anglo-Saxon forms of law, and the state of society, is very great; and it may be considered one of the most instructive monuments which we possess.' Kemble further says, 'In addition to several interesting examples of what may be called the symbolism of the Anglo-Saxon law, this charter contains the only evidence of escheat for suicide in the Anglo-Saxon period.' The document was written after A.D. 962.

Se fruma wæs ðæt mon forstæl ænne wiman æt Icceslea Ælfsige Byrhsiges suna; Ðurwif hatte se wimman. Ða befeng Ælfsige ðone mann æt Wulfstane Wulfgares fader. Ða tymde Wulfstan hine to Æðelstane æt Sunnanbyrig. Ða cende he tem; let ðone
 5 forberstan, forbeh ðone andagen. Æfter ðam bæd Ælfsige ægifies his mannes and he hine agef and forgeald him mid twam pundum. Ða bæd Byrhferð ealdormann Æpelstan hys wer for ðam tembyrste. Ða cwæð Æpelstan ðæt he næfde him to sylla(n)ne. Ða cleopode Eadweard Æpelstanes broðor and cwæð, 'Ic hæbbe Sunnan-

10 burges boc ðe uncre ylðran me læfdon; læt me ðæt land to
 handa, ic agife þinne wer þam cyng. Ða cwæð Æðelstan ðæt
 him leofre wære ðæt hit to fyre oððe flode gewurde ðonne he hit
 æfre gebide. Ða cwæð Eadweard 'Hit is wyrse ðæt uncer naðor
 hit næbbe.' Ða wæs ða swa, and forbead Byrhferð ðæt land
 15 Æðelstane; and he offerde and gebeh under Wulf gare æt Norð-
 healum. Binnan ðam wendum gewyrda gewat¹ Eadred cyng, and
 feng Eadwig to rice, and wende Æðelstan hine eft in to Sunnanbyrg,
 ungebetra þinga. Ða geahsode ðæt Eadwig cyng and gesealde ðæt
 land Byrn rice, and he feng to and wearp Æðelstan ut. Gemang
 20 ðam getidde ðæt Myrce gecuran Eadgar to cyng and him anweald
 gesealdan ealra cyneriht. Ða gesohte Æðelstan Eadgar cyng and
 bæd domes; ða æt demdon him Myrcna witan land, buton he his
 wer agulde ðam cyng swa he oðrum ær sceolde; ða næfde he
 hwanon, ne he hit Eadwearde his bræðer geðafian nolde. Ða
 25 gesealde se cyng and gebecte ðæt land Æðelstane ealdormenn to
 hæbbenne and to syllanne for life and for legere ðam him leofost
 wære. Æfter ðam getidde ðæt Ecgferð gebohte boc and land æt
 Æðelstane ealdormenn on cynges gewitnesse and his witenas, swa
 his gemedo wæron. Hæfde and breac oð his ende. Ða betæhte
 30 Ecgferð on halre tungan land and boc on cynges gewitnesse Dun-
 stane arcebisceope to mungenne his lafe and his bearne. Ða he
 geendod wæs, ða rad se bisceop to ðam cyng, myngude ðære munde
 and his gewitnesse. Ða cwæð se cyng him to andsware, 'Mine
 witan habbað ætræd Ecgferðe ealle his are þurh ðæt swyrd ðe
 35 him on hype hangode ða he adranc.' Nam ða se cyng ða are ðe
 he ahte, XX hyda æt Sendan, X æt Sunnanbyrg, and forgef
 Ælfhege ealdormenn. Ða bead se bisceop his wer ðam cyng.
 Ða cwæð se cyng, 'Ðæt mihte beon geboden him wið clænum
 legere, ac ic hæbbe ealle ða spæce to Ælfhege lætan.' Ðæs on
 40 syxtan gere gebohte se arcebisceop æt Ælfhege ealdormenn ðæt
 land æt Sendan mid XC pundum, and æt Sunnanbyrg mid CC
 mancussan goldes, unbecwedene and unforbodene wið ælcne mann
 to ðære dægtide, and he him swa ða land geagnian derr, swa him
 se sealde ðe to sylle(n)ne ahte, and hi ðam se cyng sealde, swa hi²
 45 him his witan gerehton.

¹ and gewat K.

² he K.

50. REMISSION OF PORT-DUES

Earle says of this charter, 'Æthilbald king of the Mercians remits to Milred, bishop of Worcester, the port-dues on two ships at Londontown hythe. An interesting specimen of eighth century English and our earliest example of a genuine charter wholly in Saxon.' Milred was appointed to the see of Worcester in A.D. 843. From the language of the document it is probable that it was a translation from the Latin.

In uses Dryhtnes noman hælendes Cristes ic Æðelbald Myrcna cingc wæs beden from þæm arfullan bisceope Milrede þæt ic him alefde and his þæm halegan hirede alle nedbade tuegra sceopa þe þær to limpende beoð, þeti ic him forgefe þa þæm eadgan Petre apostola aldormen in þæm mynstre þeowiað, þæt is geseted in Huicca mægðe in þære stowe þe mon hateð Weogernacester. Þære bene swyðe arfulre geðafunge ic wæs syllende for minre sawle læcedome, to ðon þæti for minum synnum hi heo geaðmedden þætte heo wæren gelomlice þingeras wið Dryhten. Swyðe lustfullice
10 þa forgeofende ic him alyfde alle nedbade tuegra sceopa, þa þe þær abædde beoð from þæm nedbaderum in Lundentunes hyðe. Ond næfre ic ne mine lastweardas ne ða nedbaderas geðristlæcen þat heo hit onwenden oððe þon wið gæn; gif heo þat nyllen, syn heo þonne amansumade from dælneomencge liceman and blodes usses
15 Drihtnes hælendes Cristes, and from alre neweste geleaf(f)ulra syn heo asceadene and asyndrade nymðe heo hit her mid þingonge bote gebeten.

† Ic Æthelbald cingc mine agene sylene trymmende ic heo wrat.

20 † Milred bisceop þære halegan rode tacen he her on gefæstnode.

† Inguwald bisceop geðafiende he hit wrat.

† Wilfrið bisceop he hit wrat.

† Alda cinges gefera he hit wrat.

51. ESCHEATED LAND

Nothing further is known of the obscure tragedy alluded to in this document. Æthelwold is the famous bishop of Winchester who introduced into England the strict Benedictine rule and vigorously reformed the Church with the support of King Eadgar (see No. 35, l. 3, note).

Her swutelað on þyssum gewrite þet Apelwold bisceop and Wulstan Ucea hwyrfdon landa on Eadgares cyninges and on his witena

gewytnesse. Se bisceop sealde Wulstane þet land æt Hwessingatune, and Wulstan sealde him þet land æt Jaceslea and æt Ægeles-
 5 wurðe. Ða sealde se bisceop þet land æt Jaceslea in to Þornige and
 þet æt Ægeleswyrðe in to buruh. And þet land æt Ægeleswyrðe
 headde an wyduwe and hire sune ær forwyr(h)t, forþan þe hi drifon
 (i)serne stacan on Ælsie Wulfstanes feder, and þet werð æreafe, and
 man teh þet morð forð of hire inclifan. Ða nam man þet wif and
 10 adrencte hi æt Lundene bricge, and hire sune ætberst and werð
 utlah and þet land eode þam kynge to handa, and se kyng hit
 forgeaf þa Ælsie, and Wulstan Ucea his sunu hit sealde eft
 Aðeluulde bisceope, swa swa hit her bufan sægð.

52. MANUMISSION OF THRALLS

A few records of such manumissions have survived. They are of a simple nature, reciting the names and villages of the thralls and the names of the witnesses. The manumissions were made either on a sick-bed or by will.

Þys sint þara manna naman ðe man freode for Ordgar æt Bradan-
 stane, ða he læg on adle, þæt ys : Cynsie fram Liwtune and Godcild
 of Lamburnan; and Leofric of Swurantune, Dola Wines suna,
 Eadsige of Cyricforda, and Ælfgyþ of boclande, and Smala of
 5 Ocmond tune, and wifman of Bradanstane and Byrhflæd of
 Trefmeutune and Ælfled of Clymestune, on Wynstanes gewytnysse
 mæssepreostes, and on Wulsies, æt Lamburnan, and on eallra þara
 hiredpreosta, and Ælfgyð of Swurantune; and þær his to gewit-
 nysse Cynsie preost and Goda preost and Ælfric preost, ðe þis
 10 gewryt wrat. Þis wæs æt Borslea gedon for Ordgar.

IV. FOLK-LORE AND HEATHEN SURVIVALS

53. A.-S. CHARMS

Under the title 'charms' we include those formulas for incantations, exorcisms, spells, and like practices which, arising in human society long before the Christian era, indeed long before the earliest recorded history, have persisted among uncivilised peoples and in a more or less attenuated form among the uneducated class of even civilised countries.

The A.-S. charms which have survived have for the most part been Christianised, but some of them have in considerable measure retained their original Teutonic pagan form, *e.g.* the mention of the god Woden, and of the elves and dwarfs of the old mythology. In several charms the details of procedure, *e.g.*, the gathering and decoction of plants, throwing earth, etc., are pagan, while the invocations are Christian. Latin phrases and sentences are often used. In not a few charms occur strings of meaningless words, reminding us of the formulas used in children's games for 'counting out.' A very interesting survival of early Germanic charms is the so-called 'epic' narrative passages in some of the charms, *e.g.*, in §§ 2, 3, 5, 6. Similar passages occur in the Sanskrit Veda, as well as in old Scandinavian, Old High German, and modern Slavonic charms.

The versification of the metrical parts of the charms is generally of the traditional alliterating kind, but is more carelessly constructed than in the literary poems.

1. *Æcerbot*

A ritual for blessing fields and exorcising evil influences from them.

Her ys seo bot hu ðu meaht þine æceras betan, gif hi nellaþ wel
wexan oþþe þær hwilc ungedefe þing on gedon bið on dry oððe on
lyblace.

Genim þonne on niht, ær hyt dagige, feower tyrf on feower
5 healfa þæs landes and gemearca hu hy ær stodon. Nim þonne ele
and hunig and beorman and ælces feos meolc þe on þæm lande sy,
and ælces treowcynnes dæl, þe on þæm lande sy gewexen, butan
heardan beaman, and ælcra namcuþre wyrte dæl, butan glappan

anon; and do þonne haligwæter ðær on, and drype þonne þriwa
 10 on þone staðol þara turfa and cweþe þonne ðas word: Crescite
 wexe, et multiplicamini and gemænigfealda, et replete and gefylle,
 terram þas eorðan. In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti sitis
 benedicti. And paternoster swa oft swa þæt oðer. And bere
 sippan ða turf to circean, and mæssepreost asinge feower mæssan
 15 ofer þan turfon, and wende man þæt grene to ðan weofode, and
 sippan gebringe man þa turf þær hi ær wæron, ær sunnan setlgange.
 And hæbbe him gæworht of cwicbeame feower Cristes mælo and
 awrite on ælcon ende Mattheus and Marcus, Lucas and Iohannes.
 Lege þæt Cristes mæl on þone pyt neopeweardne; cweðe ðonne:
 20 Crux Mattheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux sanctus Iohannes.
 Nim ðonne þa turf and sete ðær ufon on and cweðe ðonne nigon
 siþon þas word: Crescite, and swa oft paternoster, and wende þe
 þonne eastweard and onlut nigon siðon eadmodlice and cweð ðonne
 þas word:

- 25 Eastweard ic stande, arena ic me bidde,
 bidde ic ðone mæran domine, bidde ðone miclan drihten,
 bidde ic ðone haligan heofonrices weard;
 eorðan ic bidde and upheofon,
 and ða soðan sancta Marian,
 30 and heofones meaht and heahreced,
 þæt ic mote þis gealdor mid gife Drihtnes
 toðum ontynan, þurh trumne geþanc
 aweccan þas wæstmas us to woruldnytte,
 gefyllan þas foldan mid fæste geleafan,
 35 wlitigian þas wancturf; swa se witega cwæð
 þæt se hæfde are on eorþrice, se þe ælmyssan
 dælde domlice Drihtnes þances.

Wende þe þonne þriwa¹ sunganges, astrece þe þonne on andlang
 and arim þær letanias; and cweð þonne: Sanctus, sanctus,
 40 sanctus, oþ ende. Sing þonne benedicite aþenedon earmon and
 magnificat and paternoster þriwa¹ and bebeod hit Criste and
 Sancta Marian and þære halgan rode to lofe and to weorþinga,
 and þam to are þe þæt land age, and eallon þam þe him underðeodde
 synt. ðonne þæt eall sie gedon, þonne nime man uncuð sæd æt

45 ælmesmannum, and selle him twa swylc, swylce man æt him nime.
 And gegaderie ealle his sulhgeteogo togædere; borige þonne on
 þam beame stor and finol and gehalgode sapan and gehalgod sealt.
 Nim þonne þæt sæd, sete on þæs sules bodig, cweð þonne :

Erce, Erce, Erce, eorþan modor,
 50 geunne þe se alwalda ece drihten
 æcera wexendra and wridendra,
 æcniendra and elniendra,
 sceafta henpes¹ (and) scirwæstma,²
 and þære bradan (yrþe) berewæstma,
 55 and þære hwitan (yrþe) hwætewæstma,
 and ealra (yrþe) eorþan wæstma.
 Geunne him ece Drihten
 and his halige, þe on heofonum synt,
 þæt hys yrþ si gefriþod wið ealra feonda gehwæne,
 60 and heo si geborgen wið ealra bealwa gehwylc,
 þara lyblaca, geond land sawen.
 Nu ic bidde ðone Waldend, se ðe ðas woruld gesceop,
 þæt ne sy nan to þæs cwidol wif ne to þæs cræftig man,
 þæt awendan ne mæge word þus gecwedene.
 65 Þonne man þa sulh forð drife and þa forman furh onsceote.
 Cweð þonne :

Hal wes þu, folde, fira modor,
 beo þu growende on Godes fæþme,
 fodre gefylled firum to nytte.

70 Nim þonne ælces cynnes melo, and abacæ innnewerdre handa
 bradnæ hlaf, and gecned hine mid meolce and mid haligwætere,
 and læge under þa forman furh. Cweþ þonne :

Ful æcer fodres fira cinne,
 beorhtblowende, þu gebletsod weorþ
 75 þæs haligan noman, þe ðas heofon gesceop
 and ðas eorþan, þe we on lifiaþ.
 Se God, se þas grundas geworhte, geunne us growende gife,
 þæt us corna gehwylc cume to nytte.

Cweð þonne priwa³ Crescite, in nomine patris, sitis benedicti.
 80 Amen and paternoster priwa.

¹ hen se *MS.*² scire wæstma *MS.*³ iii *MS.*

2. Wið Færstice

A charm 'to relieve a sudden stitch'

Feferfuige and seo reade netele, ðe þurh ærn inwyxð, and wegbrade; wyll in buteran.

Hlude wæran hy, la hlude, ða hy ofer þone hlæw ridan;
wæran anmode, ða hy ofer land ridan.

85 Scyld ðu ðe nu, þu ðysne nið genesan mote.

Ut, lytel spere, gif her inne sie.

Stod under linde, under leohtum scylde,
þær ða mihtigan wif hyra mægen beræddon,
and hy gyllende garas sændan;

90 Ic him oðerne eft wille sændan,
fleogende flan¹ forane togeanes.

Ut, lytel spere, gif hit her inne sy.

Sæt smið, sloh seax lytel,

. iserna wund swiðe.

95 Ut, lytel spere, gif her inne sy.

Syx smiðas sætan, wælspera worhtan.

Ut, spere, næs in, spere.

Gif her inne sy ise(r)nes dæl,
hægtessan geweorc, hit sceal gemyltan.

100 Gif ðu wære on fell scoten, oððe wære on flæsc scoten,

oððe wære on blod scoten, (oððe wære on ban scoten),²

oððe wære on lið scoten, næfre ne sy ðin lif atæsed.

Gif hit wære esa gescot, oððe hit wære ylfa gescot,

oððe hit wære hægtessan gescot, nu ic wille ðin helpen.

105 Þis ðe to bote esa gescotes, ðis ðe to bote ylfa gescotes,

ðis ðe to bote hægtessan gescotes; ic ðin wille helpen.

Fleoh þær³ on fyrgen, (seo þa flane sende);⁴

heafde⁵ hal westu, helpe ðin Drihten.

¹ flanne MS.

² Missing words supplied by Grendon.

³ fled þr MS.

⁴ Words supplied by Grimm.

⁵ hæfde MS.

3. Wið Dweorh

‘Against the dwarf.’ Dwarfs belonged to the race of elves, and lived in caves and fissures in rocks.

Man sceal niman VII lytle oflætan, swylce man mid ofrað, and
 110 writan þas naman on ælcra oflætan: Maximianus, Malchus,
 Johannes, Martinianus, Dionisius, Constantinus, Serafion. Þænne
 eft þæt galdor þæt her æfter cweð, man sceal singan, ærest on þæt
 wynstre eare, þænne on þæt swiðre eare, þænne ufan þæs mannes
 moldan. And ga þænne an mædenman to, and ho hit on his sweoran
 115 and do man swa þry dagas; him bið sona sel.

Her com in gangan inspiderwiht,
 hæfde him his haman on handa;
 cwæð þæt þu his hæncgest wære.
 Legeþ he ¹ his teage an sweoran.

120 Ongunnan him of þæm lande liðan; sona swa hy of þæm lande
 coman, þa ongunnan him þa colian. Þa com in gangan deores
 sweostar; þa geændade heo and aðas swor ðæt næfre þis ðæm
 adlegan derian ne moste,

oððe þe þis galdor ongalan cupe.

125 Amen, fiat.

4. Wið Ælfadle

‘Against elf-sickness’ or nightmare. In the Germanic, Slavonic, and Celtic mythologies the minor supernatural beings who lived in the woods, the streams, the air and the underworld, correspond to the Naiads, Dryads, Fauns, etc., of Greek mythology. They might be helpful to man but were resentful if offended. The belief in such beings is still widely spread in central and eastern Europe.

Gang on Þunresæfen, þonne sunne on setle sie, þær þu wite
 elenan standan; sing þonne benedicite and paternoster and letania,
 and sting þin seax on þa wyrte; læt stician þær on; gang þe
 aweg. Gang eft to, þonne dæg and niht furpum scade. On þam
 130 ilcan uhte gang ærest to ciricean and þe gesena and Gode þe bebeod.
 Gang þonne swigende, and þeah þe hwæthwega egeslices ongean

¹ *Em Schlutter*; lege þe MS.

cume, oþþe man, ne cweþ þu him ænig word to, ær þu cume to
 þære wyrte þe þu on æfen ær gemearcdest. Sing þonne benedicite
 and paternoster and letania, adelf þa wyr, læt stician þæt seax
 135 þær on. Gang eft swa þu raþost mæge to ciricean and lege under
 weofod mid þam seaxe; læt licgean, oþþæt sunne uppe sie. Awæsc
 sipþan, do to drence and bisceopwyr and Cristes mæles ragu;
 awyl þriwa on meolcum, geot þriwa haligwæter on, sing on pater-
 noster and credan and gloria in excelsis Deo, and sing on hine
 140 letania; and hine eac ymbwrit mid sweorde on feower healfa on
 cruce and drince þone drenc sipþan. Him biþ sona sel.

5. Wið Ymbe

‘For the swarming of bees.’

Nim eorþan, oferweorp mid þinre handa under þinum swiþran
 fet, and cweð:

45 Fo ic under fot; ic funde hit.¹
 Hwæt, eorðe mæg wið ealra wihta gehwilce,
 and wið andan and wið æminde,
 and wið þa micelan mannes tungan.

And wiþ(u)an forweorp² ofer greot, þonne hi swirman, and cweð:

50 Sitte ge, sigewif, sigað to eorþan,
 næfre ge wilde to wuda fleogan.
 Be(o) ge swa gemindige mines godes,
 swa bið manna gehwilc metes and eþeles.

6. Nigon Wyrta Galdor

‘An incantation of the Nine Plants.’ This is one of the longest and most
 interesting of all the A.-S. ‘charms,’ as it retains more of its heathen origin than
 any of the others, in spite of an attempt to christianise it. The four ‘epic’ pas-
 sages are particularly to be noted. Plant-worship is of very ancient origin, and
 even to this day many plants, both cultivated and wild, are credited by the ignorant
 with magic as well as healing properties. This incantation is to be used in dressing
 a wound.

Gemyne ðu, mucgwyrt, hwæt þu ameldodest,
 hwæt þu renadest æt Regenmelde.

¹ funde ic hit MS.

² After tungan the MS. has and wið on forweorp.

- 155 Una þu hattest, yldost wyrta.
 Ðu miht wið þry and wið þritig,
 þu miht wið attre and wið onflyge,
 þu miht wiþ þam laþan ðe geond land færð.
 Ond þu, wegbrade, wyrta modor,
 160 eastan openo, innan mihtigu.
 Ofer ðe cræto curran, ofer ðe cwene reodan,
 ofer ðe bryde bryodedon, ofer þe fearras fnærdon.
 Eallum þu þon wiðstode, and wiðstunedest;
 swa ðu wiðstonde attre and onflyge,
 165 and þæm laðan þe geond lond fereð.
 Stime hatte¹ þeos wyrta, heo on stane geweoð.
 Stond(eð) heo wið attre, stunað heo (wið) wærce.
 Stiðe heo hatte, wiðstunað heo attre,
 wreceð heo wraðan, weorpeð ut attor.
 170 Þis is seo wyrta, seo wið wrym gefeaht;
 þeos mæg wið attre, heo mæg wið onflyge,
 heo mæg wið ðam laþan ðe geond lond fereð.
 Fleoh þu nu, attorlaðe, seo læsse ða maran,
 seo mare þa læssan, oððæt him beigra bot sy.
 175 Gemyne þu, mægðe, hwæt þu ameldodest,
 hwæt ðu geændadest æt Alorforda;
 þæt næfre for gefloge feorh ne gesealde,
 syþðan him mon mægðan to mete gegyrede.
 Þis is seo wyrta ðe wergulu hatte;
 180 ðas onsænde seolh ofer sæs hrygc,
 ondan attres oþres to bote,
 ðas nigon ongan wið nigon attrum.
 Wrym com snican, toslat he man;
 ða genam Woden nigon wuldortanas,
 185 sloh ða þa næddran, þæt heo on nigon tofleah.
 Þær geændade æppel and attor,
 þæt heo næfre ne wolde on hus bugan.
 Fille and finule, felamihtigu twa,
 þa wryte gesceop witig Drihten,
 190 halig on heofonum, þa he hongode.
 Sette and sænde on seofon worulde

¹hætte MS.

- earmum and eadigum eallum to bote.
 Stond(eþ) heo wið wærce, stunað heo wið attre,
 seo mæg wið þry and wið þritig,
 195 wið feondes hond and wið færbregde,¹
 wið malscrunge manra ² wihta.
- Nu magon þas nigon wyrta wið nygon wuldorgeflogenum,
 wið nigon attrum and wið nygon onflygum,
 wið ðy readan attre, wið ðy rudlan ³ attre,
 200 wið ðy hwitan attre, wið ðy wedenan attre,
 wið ðy geolwan attre, wið ðy grenan attre,
 wið ðy wonnan attre, wið ðy wedenan attre,
 wið ðy brunan attre, wið ðy basewan attre ;
 wið wyrngeblæd, wið wætergeblæd,
 205 wið þorngelæd, wið þystelgeblæd,⁴
 wið ysgeblæd, wið attorgeblæd ;
 gif ænig attor cume eastan fleogan,
 oððe ænig norðan cume,
 oððe ænig westan, ofer werðeode,
 210 Crist stod ofer adle ængan cundes.
- Ic ana wat ea rinnende,
 and þa nygon nædran behealdað ;
 motan ealle weoda nu wirtum aspringan,
 sæs toslupan, eal sealtwæter,
 215 ðonne ic þis attor of ðe geblawe.

Mugcwyr, wegbrade þe eastan open sy, lombescyrse, attorlaðan, mageðan, netelan, wudusuræppel, fille and finul, ealde sapan ; gewyrc ða wyrta to duste, mænge wiþ þa sapan and wiþ þæs æpples gor. Wyrce slypan of wætere and of axsan, genim finol, wyl on 220 þære slyppan and beþe mid æggemang, þonne he þa sealfe on do, ge ær ge æfter. Sing þæt galdor on ælcra þara wyrta þriwa ær he hy wyrce, and on þone æppel ealswa ; and singe þon men in þone muð and in þa earan buta and on ða wunde þæt ilce gealdor, ær he þa sealfe on do.

¹for wið færbregde the MS. has wið þæs hond wið frea begde.

²minra MS.

³runlan MS.

⁴þysgeblæd MS.

54. A.-S. LAWS AGAINST MAGIC, HEATHENISM, AND WITCHCRAFT

In the Introduction to his edition of the *A.-S. Charms* F. Grendon says, 'The attitude assumed by mediæval Church and State towards magic in general and charms in particular is reflected in the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings, in the sermons of the period, and in the penitential enactments of the Church.'

1. Magic

And we lærað þæt preosta gehwile cristendom geornlice arære and ælcne hæðendom mid ealle adwæsce; and forbeode wilweorðunga and licwigunga and hwata and galdra and manweorðunga and þa gemearr þe man drið on mislicum gewigungum and on 5 friðsplotum and on ellenum and eac on oðrum mislicum treowum and on stanum and on manegum mislicum gedwimerum þe men on dreogað fela þæs þe hi na ne scoldon.

Gif wif drycraeft and galdor and unlibban wyrce, fæste XII monað, oððe III æfæstenu oððe XL nihta, gewite hu mycel seo 10 fyren sig.

Nis na soðlice alyfed nanum cristenum men þæt he idele hwatunga bega, swa hæðene doð: þæt is, þæt hig gelyfon on sunnan and on monan . . . and secon tida hwatunga hyra þing to begynnanne, ne wyrta gaderunge mid nanum galdre, butan mid pater- 15 noster and mid credan, oððe mid sumon gebede þe to Gode bel mpe.

2. Heathenism

And we forbeodað eornostlice ælcne hæðenscipe. Hæðenscipe byð, þæt man deofolgyld weorðige, þæt is þæt man weorðige hæðene godas and sunnan oððe monan, fyr oððe flod, wæterwyllas oððe stanas oððe æniges cynnes wudutreuwa, oððe wiccecræft 20 lufige, oððe morðweorc gefremme on ænige wisan, oððe on blote oððe on fyrhte, oððe swylcra gedwimera ænig þingc dreoge.

And gif hwa cristendom wyrde oððe hæþendom weorþige . . . gylde swa wæ. swa wite.

Gif þonne æni man agiten wurðe, þæt ænigne hæðenscipe heonan- 25 forð dreoge oððe on blot oððe on firhte oððe ænig wiccecræft lufige, oððe idola wurðinge . . . gilde X healfmearc.

And we lærað þæt man geswice freolsdagum hæðenra leoda and deofles gamena.

Treowwurþunga and stanwurþunga and þone deofles cræft þær
30 man þa cild þurh þa eorðan tihð . . .

Wifman beo þæs ylcan wyrðe gif heo tilað hire cilde mid ænigum wiccecræfte, oððe æt wega gelæton þurh þa eorðan tihð. Eala, þæt ys mycel hæðenscype.

Gif hwylc man his ælmessan gehate oððe bringe to hwylcon
35 wylle oððe to stane oððe to treowe oððe to ænigum oðrum gesceaftum butan on Godes naman to Godes cyrican, fæste III gear.

Gif friðgeard sy on hwæs lande abuton stan oððe treow oððe wille oððe swilces ænige fleard, þonne gilde se ðe hit worhte lahsliht.

3. Witchcraft

Ða fæmnan þe gewuniað onfon gealdorcræftigan and scinlæcan
40 and wiccan, ne læt þu ða libban.

Swa hwylc man swa corn bærne on þære stowe þær man dead wære lyfigendum mannum to hæle, and on his huse: fæste V winter.

Wif gif heo set hire dohtor ofer hus oððe on ofen for þam ðe heo wylle hig feferadle gehælan: fæste heo VII winter. Gif hwa
45 drife stacan on ænigne man: fæste III gear. Gif hwa wiccige ymbe æniges mannes lufe and him on æte sylle oððe on drince oððe on æniges cynnes gealdorcræftum, þæt hyra lufu for þon þe mare beon scyle, gif hit læwede do, fæste healf gear.

55. DIALECT PASSAGES

For a short account of the Old English dialects see Notes, p. 422. Early Northumbrian is illustrated by *Cædmon's Hymn*, No. 17A and the *Leiden Riddle* No. 220; and Kentish by Selections Nos. 43, 46. The literary speech of King Alfred's day is found in the contemporary or nearly contemporary MS. of the earliest annals of the Winchester Chronicle, Parker MS. (see No. 25), in Alfred's translation of *Orosius* in the Lauderdale MS. text (see No. 32), and in the MS. Hatton 20 of his *Cura Pastoralis*. Numerous interlinear glosses of the Latin text of the Scriptures have survived, some of which have non-West-Saxon features.

A. Northumbrian

From the tenth-century O.E. gloss of the Latin text of St. Mark in the Lindisfarne MS. or 'Durham Book.' For convenience we print the Latin words in italics, followed by the English glosses in ordinary Roman type.

Et and uenerunt cuomon trans ofer fretum swira † ofer luh maris
ðæsæs in on regionem lond Gerasenorum gerasenorum. Et and
exeunti miððy eade ei him de of nauī scip statim recone occurrit
togægnes arn ei him de of monumentis byrgennum † of bendum
5 *homo mon in in spiritu gast in mundo unclæne qui seðe domicilium*
hus † lytelo by habebat hæfde in in monumentis byrgennum et and
neque ne catenis hracentegum iam huil † uutedlice quisquam ænig
monn eum hine poterat mæhte ligare gebinda quoniam forðon sepe
oftust † symle compedibus mið feotrum et and catenis mið hracente-
10 *gum uinctus gebunden wæs disrupisset toslat catenas ða hracengo*
et and compedes ða fattro comminuisset forbræc † toscænde et and
nemo nænig monn poterat mæhte eum hine domare temma † halda,
et and semper symle nocte næht ac and die dæge in in monumentis
byrgennum † in fæstnungum et and in montibus morum erat wæs,
15 *et and clamans cliopende et and concidens falletande † ðærscende se*
hine lapidibus to stanum. Uidens gesæh autem ða Ihesum ðone
hælend a longe fearre cucurrit to gearn et and adorauit worðade eum
hine, et and clamans clioppende uoce stefne magna miclo dicit cuoeð
Quid hwæt mihi me et and tibi ðe, Ihesu ðu hælend fili sunu Dei
20 *Godes summi ðæs heista; adiuro ic halsigo te ðec per ðerh Deum*
God ne me ne mec † ðu mec ne torqueas wuræcce. Dicebat cuoeð
enim forðon illi to him. Exi gaa, spirite ðu gaast in munde unclæne
ab from homine ðæm menn; et and interrogabat gefregn eum hine
quod huæt tibi ðe nomen to noma est is. Et and dicit cuoeð ei to
25 *him Legio here nomen to noma mihi me est is, quia forðon multi*
monig sumus we sindon. Et and depræcabatur biddende wæs †
bæd eum hine multum suiðe longa ne se ðætte hine ne expelleret
fordrife extra buta regionem ðæt lond. Erat wæs autem uutedlice
ibi ðer circa ymb montem ðone mor grex worn porcorum berga † swina
30 *magnus michil pascens foedende (Mark, ch. v).*

Et and uiderunt gesegon eos hia abeuntes geongende et and
cognouerunt ongeton multi monigo et and pedestres foeðemenn et
and de of omnibus allum ciuitatibus ceastrum concurrerunt efne
geurnun illuc ðider et and præuenerunt before gecuomon eos hia.
35 *Et and exiens eode uidit gesæh multam micelo turbam ðreat Ihesus*
se hælend, et and miseritus milsanðe est wæs super ofer eos hia quia
forðon erant weron sicut suelce oues scip non ne habentes hæfdon
pastorem hiorde et and coepit ongann docere læra illos hia multa feolo
† monigo. Et and cum miððy iam soðlice mora stando multa

40 monigo fieret wæs, *accesserunt* geneolecdon *discipuli* ðegnas eius his
dicentes cuoðende *Desertus* unbyed *est* is locus styd *hic* ðis *et* *ec*
iam soð *hora* *præteriiuit* tid is fore geead *†* tid eade, *dimitte* forlet
illos hia *†* ða *ut* ðætte *euntes* hia geonga in in *proximas* nesta uillas
gemæro *et* and *uicos* londo *emant* bycges *†* ceapas *sibi* him *cibos*
45 *metto* quos ða *manducent* ettes. *Et* and *respondens* geonduæarde
ait cuoð *illis* to ðæm *Date* selles *eis* him *manducare* eatta, *et* and
dixerunt cuoedon *ei* him *Euntes* miððy geeadon *emamus* bycge we
denariis mið penningum *ducentis* tuæm hundum *panes* hlafo *et* and
dabimus selle we *eis* him *manducare* to ettanne *†* to brucanne. *Et*
50 and *dicit* cuoð *eis* to him *Quot* hu monig *panes* hlafo *habetis* habbað
gie, *ite* gaað *et* and *uidete* geseað *et* and *cum* miððy *cognouissent*
oncneawn *†* ongeton *dicunt* cuoedon *Quinque* fif *et* and *duos* tuoege
pisces fiscas. *Et* and *præcipit* heht *illis* him *ut* þætte *accumbere*
gesniða *facerent* gedydon *omnes* alle *secundum* æfter *contubernia*
55 *super* ofer *uiride* groene fænum gers. *Et* and *discubuerunt* todældon
in in *partes* dalum *per* ðerh *centenos* hundrað *et* and *per* ðerh *quin-*
quagenos fiftigum. *Et* and *acceptis* miððy weron onfence *quinque*
fif *panibus* hlafo *et* and *duobus* tue *piscibus* fiscas *intuens* locade in
cælum heofne *benedixit* gebloedsade *et* and *fregit* gebrægç *panes* ða
60 hlafo *et* and *dedit* salde *discipulis* ðegnum *suis* his *ut* þætte *ponerent*
hia gesetta *ante* before *eos* hia *et* and *duos* tuoege *pisces* fises
diuisit dælde *omnibus* allum (Mark, ch. vi, 33).

Et and *cum* miððy *egrederetur* gefoerde *†* færende *de* of *templo*
temple *ait* cuoð *illi* him *unus* an *ex* of *discipulis* ðegnum *suis* his,
65 *Magister* la laruu *aspice* sceawig *†* gesih *quales* hulco *lapides* stanas
et and *quales* huulig *structuræ* timber. *Et* and *respondens* ondsuo-
rade *Iesus* se hælend *ait* cuoð *illi* him *†* ðæm, *Uide* gesih *has* ðas
omnes alle *magnas* miclo *ædificationes* gehrino *†* glencas, *non* ne *re-*
linquetur bið forleten *lapis* stan *super* ofer *lapidem* stane *qui* seðe
70 *non* destruat^r ne se tostrogden *†* ne bið toworpen. *Et* and *cum*
miððy *sederet* gesætt in on *montem* more *†* on dune *oliuarum* oele-
beama *contra* ongeægn *templum* temple *interrogabant* geascadon *†*
frugnon *eum* hine *separatim* suundorlice *Petrus* petrus *et* and
Iacobus iacobus *et* and *Iohannes* iohannes and *Andreas* andreas,
75 *Dic* sæge *nobis* us *quando* huoenne *ista* ðas *fient* biðon *et* and *quod*
huelc *signum* becon *erit* bið *quando* huoenne *†* ðonne *hæc* ðas *omnia*
alle *incipient* onginnað *consummari* to endanne *†* þætte hia se
geendado. *Et* and *respondens* onduearde *Iesus* se hælend *coepit*

ongann *dicere* cuoeða illis him, *Uidete* geseas gie *ne quis* þætte ne
 80 ænig *uos* iuih *seducat* gesuica, *multi* monigo *enim* forðon *uenient*
cymæs in on nomine noma meo minum *dicentes* hia cuoeðas *quia*
 þætte *Ego* ic sum am, *et and multos* menigo *seducent* hia gesuicas.
Et and cum miððy *audieritis* gie gehera *autem* uutedlice *bella* gefehto
et and opiniones woeno † mersungo *bellorum* ðara gefehto *ne ne*
 85 *timueritis* ondredas gie *oportet* is reht † hit sceal *enim* forðon *fieri*
wosa sed ah nondum ne ðaget *finis* ende bið (Mark, ch. xiii, 29).

Sic sua *et æc* uos gie *cum* miððy *uideritis* gie geseas *hæc* ðas *fieri*
wosa scitote wutað *quod* þætte *in proximo* unfearr † on neh *sit* sie
in on ostis durum. *Amen* soðlice *dico* ic cuoeðo *uobis* iuh *quoniam*
 90 þætte *non ne transibit* gelioreð *generatio* cneoreso *hæc* ðios *donec*
oððæt omnia alle *ista* ðas *fiant* hia geworðe † hia see. *Cælum* heofon
et and terra eorðo *transibunt* oferhlioras *uerba* wordo *autem* uutedlice
mea mino *non ne transibunt* oferhliorað † ne biðon gehliored. *De*
from die dæge *autem* ðonne illo ðæm uel † hora tid † huil *nemo* ne
 95 ænig *scit* wat *neque* ne *angeli* ða englas *in in cælo* heofne *neque* ne
filius ðe sunu *nisi* buta *pater* ðe fæder. *Uidete* geseað gie *uigilate*
wæccas et and orate gebiddas *nescitis* ne wuto gie *enim* forðon
quando hwoenne *tempus* ðio tid *sit* sie. *Sicut* suæ *homo* ðe monn
qui seðe *peregre* fearr † longwoege *profectus* gefoerde † ellðiodade
 100 *reliquit* forleort *domum* hus *suam* his *et and dedit* salde *seruis*
ðrællum suis his *potestatem* mæht † onwæld *cuiusque* eghwoelces
operis woerces *et and ianitori* ðæm doruorde *præcipiat* bebead *ut*
 ðætte *uigilet* gewæhte. *Uigilate* gewaccas *ergo* forðon *nescitis*
nuutogie enim forðon *quando* hwoenne *dominus* se hlaferd *domus*
 105 *huse* *ueniat* cymes *sero* on efrntid *an † media nocte* on middumnæht
an † galli cantu on uhte tid † on honcroed *an † mane* on æring *et and*
cum miððy *uenerit* gecymmnes *repente* feerlice *inueniat* gemitteð *uos*
iuih dormientes slepende (Mark, ch. xiii, 29).

B. Mercian

From the interlinear gloss of the Cotton MS., Vespasian Ar, generally called
 'The Vespasian Psalter.'

In in sua his *iustitia* rehtwisnis *iudicabit* doemeð *pauperes*
 110 ðearfan *huius* ðisses *populi* folces *et and saluos* hale *faciet* gedoeð
filios bern *pauperum* ðearfena *et and humiliabit* geeaðmodað *calum-*
niatorem hearmcweoðendra *et and permanebit* ðorhwunað *cum* mid

- sole sunnan et and ante ær lunam monan in in sæculum weoruld sæculi weorulde. Et and descendit astag sicut swe swe pluuiā regn*
 115 *in in uellus fleos et and sicut swe swe stillicidia dreapung stillantia dropetende super ofer terram eorðan. Orietur upeorneð in in diebus dægum eius his iustitia rehtwisnis et and abundantia genyhtsumnis pacis sibbe donec oð ðæt extollatur were upahefen luna mona. Et and dominabitur waldeð a from mari sæ usque oð ad mare sæ et and*
 120 *a flumine flode usque oð ad terminos gemæru orbis ymbhwyrftes terræ eorðan. Coram biforan illo him procident forðgað Æthiopes sigelheaswan et and inimici feond eius his terram eorðan lingent liciað. Reges cyningas Tharsis et and insulæ ealondes munera gefe offerent ofradun reges cyningas Arabum et Saba dona gefe adducent*
 125 *togelædað. Et and adorabunt weorðiað eum hine omnes alle reges cyningas terræ eorðan omnes alle gentes ðeode seruient ðeowað ei him. Quia forðon liberabit gefreode pauperem ðearfan a from potente ðæm mæhtgan et and inopem weðlan cui ðæm non ne erat wes adiutor fultum. Parcet spearað pauperi ðearfan et and inopi*
 130 *weðlan et and animas sawle pauperum ðearfena saluas hale faciet gedoeð. Ex of usuris westemsceattum et and iniquitate unrehtwisnisse liberabit gefreað animas sawle eorum heara et and præclarum berht nomen noma eorum heara coram biforan ipso him. Et and uiuet leofað et and dabitur bið sald ei him de of auro golde Arabiæ*
 135 *et and adorabunt weorðiað de of ipso him semper aa tota alne die deg benedicent bledsiað eum hine. Et and erit bið firmamentum trymenis in in terra eorðan in in summis heanissum montium munta super ofer extollitur bið upahefen super ofer Libanum Libanan munt fructus westem eius his et and florebut blowað de of*
 140 *ciuitate cestre sicut swe swe fænum heg terræ eorðan. Qui se habitat eardað in in adiutorio fultume altissimi ðes hestan in in protectione gescildnisse Dei Godes cæli heofenes comorabitur wunað. Dicet cwið Domino to dryhtne Susceptor ondfenga meus min es ðu earð et and refugium geberg meum min*
 145 *Deus God meus min sperabo ic gehyhtu in in eum hine. Quoniam forðon ipse he liberabit gefriað me mec de of laqueo girene uenantium huntiendra et and a from uerbo aspero worde. Scapulis mid gescyldrum suis his obumbrabit ofersceadwað tibi ðe et and sub under pinnis fiðrum eius his sperabis gehyhtes. Scuto mid scelde circum-*
 150 *dabit ymbseleð te ðec ueritas soðfestnis eius his non ne timebis ondredes ðu ðe a from timore ege nocturno næhtlicum. A from*

- sagitta strele uolante flegendum per ðorh diem deg a from negotio scire perambulante geondgongendum in in tenebris ðeostrum a from ruina hryre et and dæmonio diofle meridiano middeglicum. Cadent*
- 155 *fallað a from latere sidan tuo ðire mille ðusend et and decem ten milia ðusend a to dextris ðere swiðran tuis ðire tibi ðe autem soðlice non adpropriabit to ne geneolæceð. Uerum ah tamen hweðre oculis egum tuis ðinum considerabis ðu sceawas et and retributionem edlean peccatorum synfulra uidebis ðu gesist. Quoniam forðon tu ðu es*
- 160 *earð Domine dryhten spes hyht mea min. Altissimum hest posui settes refugium geberg tuum ðin. Non accedent to ne geniolæcað ad to te ðe mala yfel et and flagellum ðrea non ne adpropriabit geneolæceð tabernaculo getelde tuo ðinum. Quoniam forðon angelis englum suis his mandauit onbead de bi te ðe ut ðæt custodiant hie*
- 165 *hiolden te ðec in in omnibus allum uiis wegum tuis ðinum. In in manibus hondum portabunt beorað te ðec ne ne umquam æfre offendas otspurne ad to lapidem stane pedem fot tuum ðin. Super ofer aspidem nedran et and basiliscum fagwyrn ambulabis gonges et and conculcabis trides leonem leon et and draconem dracan*
- 170 *Quoniam forðon in in me mec sperauit gehyhte et and liberabo ic gefrigu eum hine protegam gescildu eum hine quoniam forðon cognouit ic oncneow nomen noman meum minne. Inuocabit geceð me me et and ego ic exaudiam geheru eum hine cum mid ipso hine sum ic eam in in tribulatione geswince. Eripiam ic genergu eum*
- 175 *hine et and glorificabo wuldriu eum hine. Longitudinem lengu dierum dæga adimplebo gefyllu eum hine et and ostendam oteowu illi him salutare hælu meum mine. . . .*
- Diligam ic lufiu te ðe Domine dryhten uirtus megen mea min. Domine dryhten firmamentum trymenis meum min et and refugium*
- 180 *geberg meum min et and liberator gefrigend meus min Deus God meus min adiutor fultum meus min sperabo ic gehyhtu in in eum hine protector gescildend meus min et and cornu horn salutis hælu meæ minre adiutor fultum meus min. Laudans hergende inuocabo ic gecegu Dominum dryhten et and ab from inimicis feondum meis*
- 185 *minum saluus hal ero ic biom. Circumdedederunt ymbaldon me me gemitus geamrunge mortis deaðes et and torrentes burnan iniquitatis unrehtwisnisse conturbauerunt gedroefdon me me. Dolores sar inferni helle circumdedederunt ymbaldon me me præuenerunt forecwomon me me laquei gerene mortis deaðes et and in in tribulatione*
- 190 *geswencednisse mea minre inuocaui ic gecede Dominum dryhten*

et and *ad* to *Deum* Gode *meum* minum *clamaui* ic cleopede *et* and
exaudiuit he geherde *de* of *templo* temple *sancto* ðæm halgan *suo*
his *uocem* stefne *meam* mine *et* and *clamor* cleopung *meus* min *in*
in *conspectu* gesihðe *eius* his *introiuit* ineode *in* in *ures* earan *eius*
195 his. *Et* and *commota* onstyred *est* wes *et* and *contremuit* cweceðe
terra eorðe *et* and *fundamenta* steaðelas *montium* munta *conturbata*
gedroefde *sunt* sind *et* and *commota* onstyrede *sunt* sind *quoniam*
forðon *iratus* eorre *est* is *eis* him *Deus* God. *Ascendit* astig *fumus*
rec in in *ira* eorre *eius* his *et* and *ignis* fyr a from *facie* onsiene *eius*
200 his *exardescit* born *carbones* colu *succensi* onelde *sunt* sind *ab* from
eo him *et* and *inclinavit* onhælde *cælos* heofenas *et* and *discendit*
ofdune stag *et* and *caligo* dimnis *sub* under *pedibus* fotum *eius* his.
Et and *ascendit* astag *super* ofer *cherubin* cerubim *et* and *uolauit*
fleg *super* ofer *pinnas* fiðru *uentorum* winda. *Et* and *posuit* sette
205 *tenebras* ðeostu *latibulum* heolstur *suum* his *in* in *circuitu* ymb-
hwyrfte *eius* his *tabernaculum* geteld *eius* his *tenebrosa* ðeostre *aqua*
weter *in* in *nubibus* wolcnum *æris* lyfte. *Præ* fore *fulgure* sciman
in in *conspectu* gesihðe *eius* his *nubes* wolcen *transierunt* leordon
grando hegel *et* and *carbones* colu *ignis* fyres. *Et* and *intonuit*
210 hleoðrað *de* of *cælo* heofene *Dominus* dryhten *et* and *altissimus* se
hehsta *dedit* salde *uocem* stefne *suam* his. *Misit* sende *sagittas*
strele *suas* his *et* and *dissipauit* tostencte *eos* hie *et* and *fulgura*
legite *multiplicauit* gemonigfaldade *et* and *conturbauit* gedroefde
eos hie. *Et* and *apparuerunt* oteawdon *fontes* wællan *aquarum*
215 wetra *et* and *reuelata* onwrigen *sunt* werun *fundamenta* steaðelas
orbis ymbhwyrfte *terræ* eorðan *ab* from *inreparatione* ðreange *tua*
ðinre *Domine* dryhten *ab* from *inspiratione* onoeðunge *spiritus*
gastes *iræ* earres *tua* ðines.

APPENDIX

I. ALFRED AS TRANSLATOR

A. Orosius

See No. 32, § 4. Latin text from K. Zangmeister's edition, Leipzig, 1889.

Alexander the Great

Nam fuis hostium copiis, Alexander exercitum ad urbem duxit. Et cum murum escendisset, vacuam civitatem ratus, solus introrsum desiluit, quem cum undique hostes circumdedissent incredibile dictu est, ut eum non multitudo hostium, non vis magna telorum terruerit, solus tot millia ceciderit ac fugarit. At ubi se obrui a circumfusa multitudine persensit, muri obice posteriora tutatus, contrarios eo usque sustinuit, donec perfractis muris exercitus omnis irrumperet. In eo prælio sagitta sub mamma trajectus, fixo genu eatenus pugnavit, donec eum, a quo vulneratus esset, occideret. Inde ad urbem quandam, cui Ambira rex præerat, pervenit. Sed in expugnatione civitatis magnam partem exercitus sagittis veneno illitis amisit : ac post herba per somnium sibi ostensa in potum sauciis data, cum reliquis subveniretur, urbem expugnavit et cepit.

Post Babyloniam rediit : ubi eum exterritarum totius orbis provinciarum legati opperibantur, hoc est, totius Africæ civitatum : sed et Hispanorum, Gallorum, plurimæ præterea partis Italiæ. Tantus timor in summo Oriente constituti ducis populos ultimi Occidentis invaserat, ut inde peregrinam toto mundo cerneret legationem, quo vix crederes pervenisse rumorem. Alexander vero apud Babyloniam, cum adhuc sanguinem sitiens ministri insidiis venenum potasset, interiit.

B. Boethius

See No. 33, § 4. Latin text from R. Peiper's edition, Leipzig, 1871.

1. Alfred's Idea of Kingship

Tum ego : Scis, inquam, ipsa minimum nobis ambitionem mortalium rerum fuisse dominatam. Sed materiam gerendis rebus optavimus, quo ne virtus tacita conseneskerit.

2. Ulysses and Circe

See No. 33, § 6.

Vela Neritii ducis
et vagas pelago rates
eurus appulit insulæ,
pulchra qua residens dea
solis edita semine
miscet hospitibus novis
tacta carmine pocula.
Quos ut in varios modos
vertit herbipotens manus,
hunc apri facies tegit,
ille marmaricus leo
dente crescit et unguibus.
Hic lupis super additus,
flere dum parat, ullulat.
Ille tigris ut indica
tectæ mitis obambulat.
Sed licet variis malis
numen Arcadis alitis
obsitum miserans ducem
peste solverit hospitis,

jam tamen mala remiges
ore pocula traxerant,
jam sues cerealia
glande pabula verterant,
et nihil manet integrum
voce corpore præditis,
sola mens stabilis super
monstra quæ patitur gemit.
O levem nimium manum
nec potentia gramina,
membra quæ valeant licet,
corda vertere non valent.
Intus est hominum vigor
arce conditus abdita.
Hæc venena potentius
detrachunt hominem sibi
dira quæ penitus meant
nec nocentia corpori
mentis ulcere sæviunt.

3. Expansion of a Poem

See No. 33, § 7.

O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas
terrarum cælique sator qui tempus ab ævo
ire jubes stabilisque manens das cuncta moveri,
quem non externæ pepulerunt fingere causæ
materiæ fluitantis opus, verum insita summi
forma boni livore carens tu cuncta superno
ducis ab exemplo : pulchrum pulcherrimus ipse
mundum mente gerens similique in imagine formans
perfectasque jubens perfectum absolvere partes.
Tu numeris elementa ligas, ut frigora flammis
arida convenient liquidis : ne purior ignis
evolet aut mersas deducant pondera terras.
Tu triplicis mediam naturæ cuncta moventem
connectens animam per consona membra resolvis.
Quæ cum secta duos motum glomeravit in orbes,
in semet reditura meat mentemque profundam

circuit et simili convertit imagine cælum.
 Tu causis animas paribus vitasque minores
 provehis et levibus sublimes curribus aptans
 in cælum terramque seris quas lege benigna
 ad te conversas reduci facis igne reverti.
 Da pater augustam menti conscendere sedem,
 da fontem lustrare boni, da luce reperta
 in te conspicuos animi defigere visus.
 Dissice terrenæ nebulas et pondera molis
 atque tuo splendore mica : tu namque serenum,
 tu requies tranquilla piis, te cernere finis
 principium vector dux semita terminus idem.

II. RHYTHMIC PROSE

The earliest example is the following passage from the *A.-S. Chronicle* referring to King Eadwig in annal 959 (Laud MS.). Strong stresses are marked ' , secondary stresses ` , but it is difficult to decide in some cases whether a syllable bears a secondary or a weak stress. We need not suppose that the accentuation was always that of ordinary speech.

On his dágum hit gódode géorne, and Gód him geúðe þæt he wúnode on síbbe þa hwíle þe he léofode ; and he dýde swa him þearf wæs, eárnnode þes géorne. He arerde Gódes lóf wíde and Gódes lāge lúfode and fólces fríð bétte swíðost þara cýninga þe ær him gewúrde be máнна gemýnde, and Gód him ec fýlste þæt cýningas and éorlas géorne him tó bûgon and wúrdon underþeódde ; éal he gewílde þét he sýlf wólde. He wearð wíde geond þeodland swíðe geweorðod for þám þe he weorðode Gódes naman géorne and Gódes lāge sméade óft and gelóme and Gódes lóf rærde wíde and síde and wíslice rædde óftost a símle for Góde and for wórule éall his þeode. Áne misdæde he dýde þeah to swíðe þæt he ælþeodige únsida lúfode and hæðene þeawas innan þyssan lānde gebróhte to fæste.

Ac Gód him geúnne þæt his gòða dæda swýðran weorðan þonne misdæda his sáwle to gescýldnesse on lāngsuman sýðe.

With this we may compare a passage from the *Sermo ad Anglos*, No. 36, ll. 29-44.

Ac sóð is þæt ic sécge, þearf is þære bóte, for þam Gódes geríhta wánedon nu lānge innan þysse þeode on æghwylcum énde, ond fólclāga wýrsedan éalles to swýðe syððan Éadgar geéndode, and hálignessa sýndon to gríðleāse wíde and Gódes hùs sýndon to clæne berýpte éaldra geríhta and innan bestrypte ælcra gerísena and gódcunde hádas wæron nu lānge swíðe forséwene, and wýdewan

fornýdde on únriht to céorle, and to mænige forýrmd e and éarme
 men beswícene and hréowlice besýrwde and út of ðisan éarde wíde
 geséalde swýðe unforwórhte frémðum to gewéalde and cráðolcild
 geþéowode þurh wælhreðwe únlaða for lýtelre þýfðe and fréorihht
 fornúmene and þrælríht genérwde and ælmesríht gewánode, and
 hrádest is to cwéþenne, Gódes lāða lāðe and lāra forséwene. And
 ðæs we habbað éalle þurh Gódes yðre býsmor (óft and) gelóme þeah
 mán swa ne wéne éalre þisse þéode bútan Gðð béorge.

See also pp. 122-124 of *A.-S. Verse Book*.

NOTES

I. HISTORICAL

THE A.-S. CHRONICLE

MSS. Besides some fragments of two others, there are six MSS. extant. Of these, four may be regarded as separate chronicles, each written in a particular monastery and embodying compilations made at different epochs from earlier sources as well as entries made by annalists living in the monastery itself. These four MSS. are:—

1. The Parker MS. (P), originally at Christ Church, Canterbury, now in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, formerly the property of Archbishop Parker. Up to the year 1001 this MS. is thought to represent the Winchester chronicle; the few entries after this date, ending 1070, were made at Canterbury.

2. The Laud MS. (L), in the Bodleian Library (Laud Miscell. 636), once in the possession of Archbishop Laud, containing the chronicle kept at Peterborough Abbey. The annals are continued until A.D. 1154.

3. The MS. of the Abingdon Chronicle (C), Cott. Tib. Bi, in the British Museum; the last annal is that for 1066.

4. The MS. of the so-called Worcester Chronicle (D), Cott. Tib. B4, in the British Museum.

The four chronicles represented by the above MSS. have been shown to have, for their entries up to the year 892, a common original, doubtless prepared by King Alfred's orders and possibly in its later entries composed by the king himself.

Editions. Benjamin Thorpe in 1861 published the *A.-S. Chronicle*, containing six complete texts; in 1865 Professor J. Earle published *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*. Earle's edition was revised by Charles Plummer, who published Vol. i. with text, appendices, and glossary in 1892, and Vol. ii. with introduction, notes, and index in 1899. Students of our early history and literature are greatly indebted to this edition, which is one of the most important contributions yet made by English scholars to Anglo-Saxon studies.

It should be noted that the identification of the numerous place-names in the *A.-S. Chronicle* is often a matter of much difficulty. Many are known with certainty, but in a considerable number of cases the exact locality denoted by an A.-S. name is not accurately known. Some of the modern place-names which have been suggested for names in the *Chronicle* are clearly impossible; see the article by A. Mawer in *Anglica* (Brandl-Festschrift) Palæstra No. 147/148, 1925.

The student is recommended while reading the extracts from the *A.-S. Chronicle* to refer to Oman's *England before the Norman Conquest* for a connected narrative of events; also to have a good map at hand.

25. WESSEX AND THE DANES

39. This annal is of an unusual character in that it gives an account of Cynewulf's reign and the manner of his death, which did not actually occur until the year 786. The dramatic incident here narrated may well have been celebrated in song, as was the battle of Maldon in later days.

Westseaxna wiotan buton Ham-tunscire is to be taken with **Cynewulf** and is the subject of *benamon* understood. This is the earliest mention of the king's council.

42. **Andred**: the great forest; see n. on l. 330 *infra*.

43. **Pryfetes flodan**. Privet is now the name of a village in Hants, some 25 m. N.E. of Portsmouth.

47. **geascode . . . wifcyppe**: 'learned that the king was in a lady's company at Merton with a small body-guard.' The instrumental dative without *mid* is often used to indicate accompaniment. *Merantun* cannot be identified with certainty.

49. **bur**: the residential part of the house. Close by was the hall, where perhaps the king's body-guard was resting.

51. **on pone æpeling**; *i.e.* Cyneheard.

54. **gebærum**: here 'screams' usually means 'behaviour,' 'gestures.'

60. **pegnas . . . beæftan wærun**: the main body of the king's retainers, who were at some distance from the house.

63. **on pære byrig**, 'at the mansion.' The name *burg* or *burh* was given to the buildings and courtyard surrounded by a wall and ditch, like the later Norman castle, but on a much less imposing scale. **pa gatu**, the main gate, leading into the courtyard.

66-72. **ond him cypdon . . . ofslaegene wærun**. In this passage the personal pronouns are confusing. Transl. 'and they (Cyneheard and his men) declared that there were kinsmen of theirs (the besiegers) with them, who refused to leave them (*i.e.* they had gone over to Cyneheard). Then they (Osric, Wiferth) replied that no man was dearer to them than their king, and they would never take service with his slayer; they however offered their kinsmen (inside) safe-conduct if they would come out; whereupon they (those inside) said that a similar offer had been made (by Cyneheard) to their comrades who were with the king, and added that they heeded the offer no more than did "your comrades who were slain with the king." The kinsmen of the besiegers who were inside and had taken service with Cyneheard meant that they scorned the offer of a safe-conduct just as the king's small body-guard had previously done. Once they had sworn loyalty to Cyneheard they would keep their oath.

75. **pæs aldormonnes**: Osric.

77. Previous to this entry and for a number of years afterwards the dates in the Parker MS. are two or three years in arrears. **Beorhtric**: king of Wessex.

Offan: king of Mercia.

78. **gerefa**: the royal executive officer on the lookout for smugglers. **Hæreðalande** (footnote) is, according to one view, the country of the Norwegian tribe, the Hørðar, living on the Hardanger fjord. The name may, however, be here used for a Scandinavian people from Jutland.

80. **mon** : apparently the Danes.
82. **Sceapige** : Sheppey, the large island close to the N. shore of Kent, in the Thames estuary.
84. **Carrum** : Carhampton, 4 m. W. of Watchet, on the N. coast of Somerset; see No. 42, l. 50, n.
86. **Westwalas** : the Britons of Cornwall.
89. **Hengestdune** : Hingston Down, on the W. side of the Tamar mouth.
90. **Hamtune** : Southampton.
93. **Port** : later called Portland, in Dorset. **Dornsætum** : the people of Dorset.
94. **ahton wælstowe gewæld**, lit. 'had the mastery of the slaughter-place,' the usual phrase for gaining a victory.
97. **Merscwarum**, 'the marsh-dwellers,' *i.e.* the people living in Romney Marsh. in the S. corner of Kent.
98. **Lindesse** : otherwise *Lindesig*, Lindsey, now the northern division of Lincolnshire. The name is thought by some scholars to be derived from *Lindon*, the pre-English name of Lincoln.
100. **Cwantawic** : probably a mistake for *Cantwarabyrig*, which is the reading of MS. C. *Cwantawic* was the name of a place on the coast of Normandy.
101. **Hrofesceastre** : Rochester.
102. **Carrum** : *vide supra*, l. 84 n.
106. **Pedridan** : the river Parrett, flowing into the Bristol Channel about 15 m. S. of Weston-super-Mare.
109. **Wicganbeorge** : perhaps Wembury, a village at the mouth of the Tamar near Plymouth.
110. **dux** is the Latin equivalent of *ealdormann*.
113. **feorpe healfhund** : an idiomatic phrase for 350, lit. 'fourth half hundred,' *i.e.* halfway through the fourth hundred.
116. **Suprige** : Surrey.
117. **Aclea** : according to W. H. Stevenson is not Ockley, Surrey.
118. **op pisne andweardne dæg** : These are the words of an annalist living a number of years later; *cf.* annal for 755, and note to l. 39 *supra*.
121. **Tenet** : Thanet, a district in the N.E. of Kent.
125. **gebocude**, 'conveyed by charter or deed' (*boc*). Possibly this may refer to privileges conferred on religious houses. Alfred, then a boy of seven, accompanied Æthelwulf on his travels; he had been sent to Rome two years previously, to be confirmed by the pope.
126. The annal goes on to record that Æthelwulf made a journey to Rome, where he stayed for a year. On his way home he married the daughter of Charles, King of the Franks.
127. **Sciraburnan** : Sherborne, Dorset.
128. **on his dæge** : *i.e.* of Æthelbyrht, the brother and successor of Æthelbald.
129. **Wintanceastre** : Winchester, the Wessex capital. **Bearrucscire** : Berkshire; *Bearruc* was originally, according to some authorities, the British name of a forest.
132. **genamon friþ** : This seems to be the first recorded instance of a peace treaty between the English and the Danes. The Danes never scrupled to break a truce if it suited them to do so.
138. The beginnings of Danish settlement in East Anglia and Northumbria are

seen to end in complete conquest and the expulsion of Christian culture. In later annals the names 'East Angles' and 'Northumbrians' refer to Danish colonists who helped their kinsmen from over the sea against the Anglo-Saxon kings.

gehorsude: The Danes owed much of their success in warfare to their use of horses, which they even brought with them over the Channel; *cf.* l. 328.

141. Eoforwicceastre: York. An intermediate form of the name is *Yorick*, now a surname.

142. þære þeode: the Northumbrian English.

143. ungecýndne, 'not of the (Northumbrian) royal line.'

148. þa cyningas begen: Osbryht and Ælla.

150. Snotengaham: Nottingham.

155. geweorce: The *geweorc*, so frequently mentioned in the record of the Danish campaigns, was a fort or fortified camp with a ditch and rampart.

160. þeodforda: Thetford, on the Norfolk bank of the Little Ouse, 14 m. N. of Bury St. Edmunds. **Eadmund cyning**: afterwards canonised as a martyr.

164. eorlas: In the *A.-S. Chronicle* the word *eorl* is at first used as the equivalent of the Danish *jarl*. In later times it replaced the English word *ealdormann*.

165. Englafelda: Englefield, Berks, a village 6 m. S.W. of Reading. After **sige nam** several MSS. have the words *and heora þær wearð ofer ofslegen þæs nama wæs Sidroc*.

167. Readingum: Reading was at this time according to Asser a royal villa or country seat.

171. Æscesdune: the downs near Compton, a village about 10 m. N. of Newbury, Berks. The exact site of the battlefield is not known.

172. Bahsecg and Halfdene were perhaps leaders of the Danish colonists in E. Anglia and Northumbria, while **þa eorlas** may refer to the invading Danes.

180. Basengum: Basing, N. Hants, close to Basingstoke.

183. Meretune: not identified with certainty. **hie wærun . . . sige ahton**, 'they (the Danes) were in two divisions, and they (the English) drove both of them back and had the advantage till late in the day.'

186. Heahmund: bishop of Sherborne, whose body was buried at Keynsham, near Bristol.

187. sumorlida: the swarm of Scandinavian freebooters on the Continent who each summer ravaged the coasts and river-valleys of neighbouring countries, returning in the autumn to their headquarters laden with booty.

189. Winburnan: Wimborne Minster, Dorset, 7 m. N. of Poole.

192. Wiltune: Wilton, at the confluence of the Nadder and the Avon, 2 or 3 m. above Salisbury.

197. an cyning: Bagsecg.

198. namon . . . friþ: Both English and Danes frequently found it convenient to call a halt in the fighting. Usually the Danes had to be bought off by the English, though this is not always stated in earlier annals of the *Chronicle*.

199. Lundenbyrig: London was a Mercian town at this period.

202. Turecesiege: Torksey, 10 m. N.W. of Lincoln, at the junction of Foss Dyke and the Trent.

204. Hreopedune: Repton on the Trent, 5 m. N.E. of Burton, was a royal Mercian borough.

208. **Angelcynnes scole**: The 'English school' at Rome is mentioned *anno* 816, when its house was burnt down. 'The schools were hostelrys for the reception of pilgrims' (Plummer).
215. **Tinan**: the Tyne.
216. **Peohtas and Stræcdwalas**: The Picts and the Welsh of Strathclyde were, like the Anglo-Saxons, Franks and other settled Christian populations, subject to the attacks of the vikings. There has been much diversity of opinion about the origin and ethnical affinities of the Picts, but there is reason for thinking that they settled in Scotland and the N. of Ireland before the Gaels, and that they belonged to the so-called 'Iberian' race. They were conquered by the Gaels in the middle of the ninth century, but retained their language and customs for more than four centuries afterwards.
218. **Grantebryce**: Cambridge.
222. **hiene bestæl . . . fierde**, 'eluded the English army; ' **fierde** is in the dative case, as it is a few lines later, on the analogy of the construction with *oðfaran*, *oðfleon* and other verbs meaning 'to escape; ' it is not a genitive, as Plummer thinks. **Werham**: Wareham, Dorset, on the W. side of Poole Harbour.
224. **on þam halgan beage**, 'on the sacred ring (or crown),' on which the Danes swore their most solemn oaths.
226. **to Escanceastre**: The escape of the Danes to Exeter is entered under this year in error.
228. **hiera tilgende**, 'self-supporting.' The Danish settlement was now complete.
231. **æt Swanawic**: An easterly gale would drive the ships on shore in Swanage Bay before they could get round Durlston Head.
236. **godne friþ**: The loss of their fleet reduced the Danes to sore straits, so on this occasion they 'kept a good truce.'
238. **tuelftan niht**: Epiphany, Jan. 6th.
239. **Cippanhamme**: Chippenham, 13 m. E.N.E. of Bath, on the Avon.
245. **XL monna**: completes the total of 840 men. After **heres** the other MSS. have the sentence *ond þar wæs se guðfana genumen þe hi hraefn heton*. The Latin chronicles give details of this wonderful 'Raven' banner.
247. **Æpelinga eigge**: Athelney, Somerset, almost midway between Taunton and Glastonbury, at the confluence of the Tone and the Parrett.
249. **Ecbryhtesstane** cannot be identified with certainty.
250. **Sealwyda**: Selwood, Somerset, close to Frome, some 15 m. S. of Bath.
251. **Wilsætān**: the men of Wiltshire.
253. **Eþandune**: is perhaps Edington, Wilts, near Bratton Castle. Alfred owned property in the neighbourhood; see No. 42 l. 78. **Iglea**: according to W. H. Stevenson was near Southleigh Wood in Warminster parish, on the W. border of Salisbury Plain, Wilts., but other identifications have been suggested.
255. **geweorc**: apparently at Chippenham.
259. **þritiga sum**, 'with twenty-nine others,' lit. 'one of thirty,' a common idiom.
260. **Alre**: Aller, near Longport, further up the Parrett than Athelney. **his se cyning þær onfeng**. *Onfon* takes either gen., dat. or accus.; with the gen. it means 'adopt,' 'stand sponsor for,' cf. l. 386, and No. 26, l. 26.

261. **crismslising**, 'the removal of the chrism.' 'Chrism,' the name of the consecrated oil with which the newborn child was anointed, seems to have been transferred to the linen shirt in which it was dressed, known later as the 'chrisom.' Guthrum's baptismal name was Æthelstan; see l. 307.

Wepmor :

Wedmore, N. Somerset, S. of the Axe, was a villa or country seat of the West Saxon kings; it is mentioned in Alfred's will, see No. 42, l. 51. For the terms of a later treaty between Alfred and Guthrum see No. 27, § 1.

264. This entry and those for the years up to 897 inclusive are one year in advance of the correct date. The numbers of the years have been corrected in our text.

Cirenceastre : Cirencester on the Churn, one of the sources of the Thames, had been an important Roman station.

267. Guthrum and his army founded a kingdom in E. Anglia and Essex, possibly by arrangement with Alfred. Guthrum seems to have remained loyal to his agreement; he died in 890; *cf.* l. 306.

269. **Fullanhomme** : Fulham, now part of West London.

Gend : Ghent.

271. **ufor** : lit. 'higher,' here seems to mean 'farther inland.' It must be remembered that the main body of the viking forces and their headquarters remained in Frankish territory, corresponding to modern Normandy, Flanders and the Netherlands. During the years 879-891 the vikings acquired a very strong position there, inflicting a succession of defeats on the armies of the Carolingian kings; and for this period England was, comparatively speaking, at peace. In 891, however, they suffered a defeat at the hands of the Emperor Arnulf and in the following year turned their attention again to England, where they arrived as a 'sumorlida.'

273. **Mæse** : the Maas or Meuse. The vikings went as far as Elsloo, a little below Maastricht.

279. **Scald** : the Escaut or Scheldt.

Cundop : Condé, a small town just inside the French border, not far from Valenciennes. The galleys of the vikings were of such shallow draught that they could be rowed or towed great distances up rivers. Probably by using wooden rollers their crews could even drag them over level ground.

281. **Sunnan** : the Somme.

Embenum : Amiens.

283. **east** : *i.e.* to Louvain, as we learn from other sources.

285. **hie peah** : the townsmen.

286. **hiera scipum** : Rochester would be reached from the Medway estuary.

289. **on Eastengle** : We have no reason to believe that Guthrum was concerned with these sea-fights and the breach of agreement noted at the end of this annal. Isolated piratical raids by the Danes continued during these years of comparative peace.

296. **east gelende** : *i.e.* to Louvain. This force took Rouen before winter set in.

297. **Sigene** : the Seine.

gesette . . . Lundenburg, 're-occupied' it.

300. **Æpelhede** : a Mercian noble, the husband of Alfred's famous daughter Æthelflæd.

301. **Paris** : The siege lasted a year, the vikings being bought off by Charles the Fat.

302. **Mæterne** : the Marne.

Cariei : Chézy-sur-Marne, a few miles below Château-Thierry.

303. **Ionan** : the Yonne, which flows into the Seine a few miles above Fontaine-

bleau. Plummer retains the reading of the Parker MS., *ond innan*, and translates 'sat there (at Chézy) and within Yonne.'

306. se norþerna cyning: As it is not certain whether Northumbria was included in Guthrum's dominions, *norþerna* may be used merely as a contrast with Alfred's territory.

308. ærest gesæt: This can hardly mean that he was the first of the vikings to found a permanent settlement in England, as such settlements on a small scale had been made over twenty years previously. But Guthrum seems to have been the first to found a kingdom.

309. Sant Laudan: St. Lô, some 12 m. from the mouth of the Vire, in the Manche Departement.

310. Brettum: the Bretons, usually considered to have been British Celts who fled from England during the Anglo-Saxon invasions in the fifth and sixth centuries.

315. Bægerum: the Bavarians, called *Bægware* by King Alfred in his *Orosius*; see No. 32, l. 12.

316. prie Scottas. In a long and valuable note on this passage Plummer shows by quotations from the Irish sagas and lives of saints that Irish monks used frequently to show their zeal for the faith by voluntarily seeking exile, often among the heathen Scandinavians. Bede also mentions them.

319. of priddan healfe hyde, 'of two and a half hides.'

323. Swifneh: Suibhne in Irish, the modern Sweeney, was a learned anchorite who lived and was buried at Clonmacnoise on the Shannon, famous in early Irish history for its churches and royal tombs.

325. se micla here. The historic defeat of the vikings by Arnulf on the Dyle in the neighbourhood of Mechlin diverted their energies to the west, with very serious consequences for the English.

326. Bunnan: Boulogne.

328. Limene: Lympne Harbour, 2 m. W. of Hythe, the *Portus Lemanis* of the Romans. Formerly a considerable river ran from about Hythe in the direction of Appledore, following approximately the line of the modern Military Canal. Plummer says that the clearing of the great forest 'has combined with the action of tides and storms in silting up harbours and blocking river mouths.'

330. Andred. This forest, named after the old British town Anderida, near Pevensey, covered the greater part of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, and Hampshire, but has now shrunk to the New Forest, and its outlying woods. In a grant by Ecgberht, king of Kent, made in the year 833, occur the words *et in silua ubi dicitur Andred centum uiginti plaustra ad coquendum sal*; cf. also a grant by Cnut *in silua Andredes wealde* (Stowe, Ch. 38).

336. Hæsten: 'the most famous of all the viking leaders of this age, whose name had been the terror of the Western Franks for thirty years, and whose ravages had extended even to the Mediterranean' (Oman).

337. Middeltune: Milton, near Sittingbourne, close to the N. coast of Kent, opposite the Isle of Sheppey. **Apuldre:** Appledore, on the Royal Military Canal, S. Kent, halfway between Rye and Ashford.

338. The order of events is confused in this long annal. **hie on þæm eastrice geweorc geworht.** The vikings had gone into winter quarters at Louvain after their defeat by Arnulf.

339. Norphymbre ond Eastengle. After the expulsion of Halfdene, who

founded the Danish kingdom of Northumbria (see line 214 *supra*), Cnut, otherwise known as Guthred, a Christian, reigned till 894, when he died. He was on friendly terms with Alfred, but his successor Sigferth was hostile. The East Anglians were at this time under King Eiric or Eohric, Guthrum's successor.

340. *apas geseald*: *i.e.* a solemn undertaking not to help the Danish invaders.

341. *ofer þa treowa*, 'in spite of their pledges.' *þa opre hergas*, the invading host.

342. *on heora healfe*, 'in concert with them.'

344. *þær he nieht . . . secan wolden*. We may translate 'at the nearest point where he might have a clear space (for manœuvring), with due allowance for fortified strongholds in the forest and in the marshes, so that he might be able to attack either Danish army should they resolve to come out in force.' The sense of the next few lines is not very clear, owing to the confused use of personal pronouns. They may mean either that the English sent patrols along the skirts of the forest, while reinforcements arrived daily, or that small parties of Danes slipped out along the forest edge, where there were no English troops, and parties were detailed by Alfred to pursue them.

347. *hloþum ond floccradum*: in small parties of probably from one to several dozens each.

348. *fierdleas*. It was impossible for Alfred to maintain larger forces than patrols round the skirts of the great forest. *hi mon eac . . . sohte*, either 'the English attacked them with other bands,' or else 'they (Alfred's army) were being daily joined by fresh arrivals.'

350. *hæfde se cyning . . . healdan scolden*. Alfred's scheme of national defence, doubtless elaborated in the interval of peace after 878, includes: (1) the *fierd* or territorial army, one half in the field, the other at home, each relieving the other at fixed intervals, and (2) the 'burgs' or boroughs, comprising the existing towns, large and small, walled and garrisoned, together with numbers of new fortresses or 'blockhouses.' After Alfred's death his son Eadward extended the system of forts until he completely subjugated the Danish parts of the country.

352. *butan . . . scolden*: 'not counting the garrisons of the boroughs.'

356. *on Eastseaxe*: *i.e.* to Benfleet, as we learn a little later.

358. *Fearnhamme*: Farnham in W. Surrey, 3 m. S.W. of Aldershot. *here-hypa*, 'the booty,' including cattle, sheep, and prisoners, would greatly encumber the Danes.

359. *buton ælcere forða*: *i.e.* they swam across.

360. *be Colne*. The Colne flows between Hertfordshire and Middlesex into the Thames between Egham and Staines. *iggað*: called Thorney, as Ethelwerd's chronicle informs us. The Danes made a practice of occupying islands in rivers (*iggað*), where they were usually safe from attack.

361. *lengest mete hæfdon*. The necessity of collecting, carrying, and guarding their food was a great handicap to the English forces. We are not told how the Danes obtained their supplies, which must have been an even more difficult problem, but doubtless food reached them by sea from their friends in East Anglia and Northumbria.

362. *gesetene, genotudne*: the early construction with the past participle and the auxiliary verb *habban*; *cf.* the French construction when the object precedes the verb.

368. *sum feowertig . . . norpsae*. It seems that forty ships were detached from the main fleet on its arrival off the mouth of the Exe and sent round Land's End to the N. coast of Devon, the intention of the Danes being to divert part of Alfred's forces.

Norpsæ would thus here mean the Bristol Channel.

374. *Beamfleote*: Benfleet on the S. coast of Essex, about 8 m. due W. of Southend, at the head of an inlet by the neck of the peninsula known as Canvey Island.

378. *wæs se micla here æt ham*. These words may refer to the ships rather than to the men of the main fleet, who may have gone away with Hæsten, leaving skeleton crews behind. This would account for the capture of the Danish ships, unable to get out to sea.

384. *eft ageaf*: probably later, when Hæsten departed from England, as Oman suggests.

386. *hiora onfangen*, 'received them as godsons.' Alfred had hoped to secure Hæsten's aid or at least neutrality on the arrival of the great Danish host at Appledore. It is quite likely that Hæsten and perhaps Guthrum consented to adopt the Christian faith with a view to exploiting in their own interests Alfred's eagerness for their conversion. The acceptance, at any rate in Guthrum's case, apart from political expediency, would bring with it other advantages. Both Danish leaders in giving hostages no doubt reckoned on Alfred's humane disposition in case of a breach of their agreement. They may have also counted on the certainty of Alfred's kind treatment of their women and children.

388. *eac swa*: *i.e.* Alfred gave Hæsten presents when he returned his wife and boys.

390. *cumpæder*, 'co-father,' from the Latin *compater*; in later times the word 'gossip' expressed this relationship.

391. *healdan sceolde*, 'had charge of.' *opre siþe*, 'on the second occasion.'

396. *hergas . . . begen*: Hæsten's army and 'the great host.' *Sceobyrig* Shoebury, Essex.

397. *foron . . . be Temese*: this Danish force was on horseback, as their horses afterwards served them for food at Buttington.

401. *þegnas . . . geweorcum wæron*: each *burg* was surrounded by an area of land granted to the king's thanes, whose numbers had been greatly increased by Alfred. These *burhwaru* or 'garrison-settlers' (Oman) were responsible for the defence of the *burg* and its outlying works; see Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest*, p. 468 ff.

403. *Sealwuda*: Selwood; *vide supra*, note on l. 250. *be norpan Temese . . . Sæfern*, *i.e.* in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire.

404. *Norðwealcynnes*: *i.e.* the Welsh north of the Bristol Channel, so-called in contrast to the 'West Welsh' in Cornwall; *cf.* l. 86 *supra*. The Welsh, who had long been at peace with the English, were equally interested in repelling the heathen invaders.

406. *Buttingtune*: Buttington, near the mouth of the Wye on the Severn estuary, not far from Chepstow. The Danish force had probably come here for provisions and reinforcements arriving by sea.

408. *þære e*, 'the river,' the Wye. *wip þone sciphære* may refer to the Danish force carried on the 40 ships mentioned earlier in this annal; or else it refers to the fleet off Exeter.

410. **þa opre . . . acwolen**, 'the rest (of the Danes' horses) had died from starvation.'

416. **to hiora geweorce**: *i.e.* at Shoebury.

419. **foron . . . nihtes**: in view of the destruction of the Danish ships at Benfleet and the demonstrated impossibility of success in Wessex, Hæsten may have thought it best to get well away from Alfred's reach and try his fortune in the north-west, where the vikings were raiding and already making settlements in Ireland.

þæt hie gedydon, 'and then they entrenched themselves'; *þæt* in the *Chronicle* often means 'until,' 'and then.'

420. **on anre westre ceastre**, 'in a deserted town'; **ceaster** is here clearly used in its original sense of a Roman town, or rather military station. In King Alfred's time some of the Roman towns in Britain may have been in fairly good preservation, with their walls still serviceable for purposes of defence.

Wirhealum: the Wirral, between the Dee and the Mersey. **Legaceaster**: the Roman Deva, the station of the twentieth legion, now Chester. It was repopulated by King Eadweard in 907.

427. **for se here of Wirheale**: we are not told why the Mercian force did not wait till the Danes were starved out in Chester, but no doubt the besiegers were also short of supplies.

434. **Meresig**: Mersea, an island of some 10 sq. miles close to the N. shore of the estuary of the Colne, 8 m. S.E. of Colchester. **se here**: the Northumbrian fleet.

436. **Cisseceastre**: Chichester.

440. **Lygan**: the Lea, which enters the Thames by Blackwall. In Alfred's time and for centuries afterwards a great marsh bordered the lower reaches of the Thames as well as of the Lea.

442. **bufan Lundenbyrig**: *i.e.* up the Lea, to threaten London and intercept its waterborne trade.

448. **þære eā**: the Lea.

450. **on twa healfe þære eas**: doubtless a considerable distance below the Danes. **geweorc**, 'embankments,' 'dams.' Henry of Huntingdon says that Alfred diverted the river into three channels.

453. **Cwatbrycge**: Bridgnorth in Shropshire on the Severn, 14 m. S.W. of Wolverhampton. It is to be noted that the Danes now avoided Wessex and entered Mercia, where the organisation for defence by Æthelred was not yet so far advanced.

463. **feohlease**, 'without means of subsistence,' 'hard up.' Some of the Scandinavian invaders settled down with their colonial kinsmen in East Anglia and Northumbria. The remainder, the more restless and less provident adventurers, returned to France to resume their attacks on the Frankish territories. Thus ended this three years' incident in the great movement of expansion of the Scandinavian race. Professor Oman is inclined to think that Alfred may have made a pact with the Danes to hasten their departure.

464. **næfde se here**, etc.: we seem here to recognise the words of Alfred himself.

465. **Godes ponces**, 'by the dispensation of God.'

466. **micle swīpor**, 'much more severely (than ever before).'

472. **Dorceceastre**: Dorchester in Oxfordshire, on the Thames, some 5 m. below

Wallingford, was a bishop's see from 886 to 1050. It has still a stately abbey church.

475. **pa hergas . . . Norðhymbrum** : apart from these raiding expeditions along the coast there would seem to have been comparative quiet in England for several years until Alfred's son Eadweard began his campaign for the subjugation of the Danelaw.

477. **æscum** : the Danish word *askr* is here anglicised.

481. **on fresisc** : the Frisians were noted for their seamanship.

485. **faran mid nigonum . . . scipa**, 'to meet them with nine of the new ships.' There is here the usual lax use of **hie**, but the sense is clear; **to** is here, as often, an adverb.

492. **ðara operra** : of the English.

493. **pæs deopes** : the deep-water channel of the river between the sand and mud-flats left by the ebb-tide.

495. **ahebbad** : the *h* is inserted to avoid 'hiatus' between two vowels.

499. **Friesa** : for his new navy Alfred had to hire Frisian expert mariners.

500. **geneat** : probably one of the new order of promoted burgers and farmers devised by the king to provide officers for the enlarged army. They ranked as thanes.

511. **oprum healfum . . . wintra** : *i.e.* 28½ years. The year of Alfred's death is disputed, but it was either 900 or 901.

26. THE SECOND SCANDINAVIAN INVASION

In the Parker MS. the battle of Maldon and Anlaf's main invasion are entered under the same date, an obvious error. At the same time it is very probable that Anlaf took part with other vikings in the raids of 991. The Parker MS. has no further entries till 1001, as the annal for 991 took up all the intervening space.

1. **Gypeswic** : Ipswich.

2. **Brihtnoð . . . Maldune** : the Parker MS. says that Bryhtnoth came 'with his fyrd' against the Danes, who were victorious.

3. **geald ærest gafol** : it has been pointed out by Plummer and by Freeman that payments to the Danes had been occasionally made in previous times by English kings, beginning with Alfred himself. For the actual terms of the treaty made by Æthelred with the vikings see No. 27, § 3. The sum paid is there given as 22,000 pounds.

5. **Siric**, who was archbishop of Canterbury, shares the odium of the tax with the ealdormen Æthelweard and Ælfric.

6. **Anlaf** : the famous adventurer Olaf Tryggvason, whose exploits are related in the saga bearing his name, was an exiled prince of the royal house of Norway, whose career resembled that of Hæsten, King Alfred's foe. On becoming king of Norway in 995 Olaf strenuously endeavoured to convert the Norwegians to the Christian faith.

Swegen : Sveinn the Danish prince, the future conqueror of England, generally known in English writings as Sweyn. A bitter foe of Christianity, with the help of the Swedish king he attacked, defeated, and slew Olaf in 1000. Sweyn also left England in this year in order to seize the Danish crown.

20. **underfengon**, 'accepted the terms.' **Hamtune** : Southampton.

23. **Anlafe cýninge** : he was not yet king of Norway. **Ælfeach** was martyred in 1012; see l. 140. He is generally known as St. Alphege.

24. **man gislade**: *i.e.* the English nominal hostages brought back the friendly Olaf.
25. **Andeferan**: Andover, Hants, some 19 m. N.E. of Salisbury.
26. **his onfeng**: there is evidence that Olaf had already been converted to Christianity. We are here reminded of Alfred's treatment of Guthrum and Hæsten.
45. **Cumerlande**: by destroying or carrying off the stock of the Scandinavian settlers in Cumberland King Æthelred wished to render difficult any attacks by the Danes from Ireland.
46. **ut abuton Legcestre**: *i.e.* coming from the south, they passed by the estuary of the Dee without calling at Chester.
48. **Mænige**: Man, then part of the dominions of Regnald, the Scandinavian 'king of the Isles.'
49. **Ricardes**: Richard the Good of Normandy.
54. **grið . . . gesætte**: *grið* is a Scandinavian word, used here in O.E. for the first time; *grið settan* seems to be the English translation of *grið setja*.
56. **ofsloh Leofsig Æfic**: Leofsig, ealdorman of Essex, killed Æfic while the latter was his guest, as we learn from the Abingdon Chronicle.
58. **seo hlæfdige . . . lande**: Emma of Normandy came over to marry King Æthelred, who had recently lost his wife Ælflæd. This marriage marks the beginning of Norman influence at the English court, afterwards so pronounced in the reign of Æthelred's son Edward the Confessor.
61. **ofslean . . . Bricius**: it is not certain what Danes were massacred in this 'pogrom'; it is probable that they were either the small minority residing in West Saxon and Mercian towns or men who, like Pallig, had been taken into the king's service. In any case the massacre is evidence of the state of panic into which the king and his counsellors had fallen. St. Brice's Day is Nov. 12th.
65. **frenciscan ceorl**: *ceorl* here is out of place and may be a mistake for *eorl*, as Plummer suggests.
66. **seo hlefdige . . . gerefan**: Emma seems to have been given the town of Exeter by Æthelred as a marriage portion.
69. **wið . . . weard**, 'in the direction of'; the two words form one preposition.
70. **teah forð**, 'continued.'
73. **brecan to spiwenne**, 'to retch.' Sweyn, who was now king of Denmark and overlord of most of Norway, was soon to see that the conquest of England was a possibility. The *moral* of the English, which had for so many generations withstood the Scandinavian assaults, was now going to pieces (*anræde næron*) thanks to the weakness of their king and leading men. Sweyn's campaign in England is described in the *Heimskringla*, a history of the Norwegian kings written in the early thirteenth century by the famous Snorri Sturluson.
84. **nyde moste**: a very early instance of the change of meaning of *moste* from 'might' to 'must.'
91. **of þrym hund . . . scegð**, 'from 310 hides of land one warship.' One hundred hides as the unit of assessment is the origin of the modern 'hundred' in county subdivision. We are reminded of King Charles the First's 'ship-money'; *scegð* is the anglicised form of the Scandinavian *skeið*.
94. **bec secgað**: perhaps a reference to earlier chronicles, as Plummer suggests.
103. **si Gode lof . . . stent**: London submitted to Sweyn in 1013, see l. 180.
106. **namon hit . . . to scipan weard**: apparently means that they took their booty (eastward) to their ships.

108. **Stane**: Staines on the Thames, 6 m. S.E. of Windsor.
117. **Hæstingas**: the district from which the town Hastings was named.
126. **Ælmer**: according to Florence of Worcester this traitor was an archdeacon, not the abbot of St. Augustine's monastery mentioned a couple of lines later; but the release of the latter by the Danes seems to fix the guilt on him.
127. **þe se arcebiscope . . . his life**: apparently means 'whose life Ælfheah had previously saved'; perhaps he had been detected already in treachery and had his life spared on the archbishop's intercession.
129. **Leofrune**: the MS. reading *Leofwine* is an error, as Plummer points out.
144. **Sæternes dæg**: the Saturday after Easter Day, also called *sunnanefen Octabas Paschæ* a few lines later.
147. **suðan**: *i.e.* from France.
148. **hustinga**: anglicised from the Scandinavian *husþing*. The scene of the martyrdom was Greenwich.
156. **Lifing**: see No. 28, l. 6, n.
160. **Gegnesbyrig**: Gainsborough. **Uhtred eorl**: Æthelred's viceroy of Northumbria. For the word *eorl*, see No. 25, n. on l. 164.
162. **Fifburhingan**: the districts of the five Danish Boroughs, *viz.* Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford (Lincs.), Derby.
163. **Wætlingastræte**, 'Watling Street.' This Roman road ran from London to Chester; see No. 47, l. 19, n.
166. **mid fulre fyrde**: The use of *fyrð* by the annalist instead of *here* seems to mean that Sweyn raised local levies.
175. **Wealingaforda**: on the Thames, 15 m. N.W. of Reading.
176. **Baðon**: Bath, the earlier name of which was Acmanchester.
179. **eall þeodscipe**: *i.e.* all England.
181. **bead þa Swegen**: 'Sweyn demanded'; in the *A.-S. Chronicle* *beodan* usually has the meaning of 'command,' 'demand' rather than 'offer.'
182. **þurcyl . . . Grenawic**: Thorkil, though he was friendly to King Æthelred, was obliged to make the Londoners provide pay and food for his 45 ships also.
184. **hi hergodan . . . hi woldon**: Thorkil clearly could not control his followers.
185. **mid þam flotam**: with Thorkil's ships.
187. **Burh**: Peterborough Abbey, where the chronicle represented by the Laud MS. was written.
190. **Wihthlande**: the Isle of Wight.
193. **geendode his dagas**: he died suddenly at Gainsborough. In the omitted passage we are told that on Sweyn's death the *witan* sent for King Æthelred, and on his return there was a general reconciliation between English factions.
196. **gewearð him . . . anes**, 'unanimously decided'; *cf.* No. 35, l. 106.
199. **mann þa hergode**: *i.e.* Æthelred's force destroyed the livestock and corn in order to starve out Cnut, as the Mercians had long before done against the Danes; *cf.* No. 25, l. 425.
202. **þet earme folc**, the people of the Lindsey district.
203. **let þær up gislas**, 'landed the hostages,' *i.e.* those brought away by Sweyn from the subjugated English N. of Watling Street.
204. According to two other MSS. their ears were also cut off.

205. **pe on Grenewic læg**, *i.e.* Thorkil's fleet, protecting London. Cnut had gone to Denmark to get additional forces from his brother Harald.
210. **Cosham** : 4½ m. N. of Portsmouth.
219. **Scs. Georgius mæssedæg** : April 23.
225. **dulfon . . . suðhealfe** : *i.e.* made a canal round by Southwark to circumvent the bridge, which had hitherto been a barrier to hostile fleets.
226. **bedicodon . . . uto**n : *i.e.* constructed an earth-wall and foss at some distance (out of bowshot) from the town wall on the N. side of the river.
230. **Peonnan** : perhaps Penselwood.
231. **Gillinga**, Gillingham, in the extreme N. of Dorset, near the Somerset border ; **wið here** means 'near, towards the army.'
232. **Sceorstane**, Sherston, Wilts., 6 m. W. of Malmesbury.
245. **Arwan** : the Orwell in Suffolk.
248. **Medewæge** : the Medway.
252. **ðæne cyng ongean**, 'to meet (*i.e.* to submit to) the king.'
253. **Ægelesforda**, Aylesford, Kent, 3 m. N.W. of Maidstone.
258. **Assandun**, Ashingdon, Essex, a few m. N. of Southend.
260. **Mægesæton** : a population dwelling on the borders of Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, descended from a tribe of the original Saxon settlers.
262. **gefeah**t, 'conquered.'
263. **Eadnoð** : bishop of Dorchester.
271. **Olanige** : The MS. D has here *æt Olanige wið Deorhyrste*, *i.e.* Deerhurst, a village on the Severn, 2 m. below Tewkesbury.
278. **forðferde . . . Eadmund** : he died at Oxford on Nov. 30th.
279. **ealdan fæder**, 'grandfather.' **Glæstingabyrig**, Glastonbury, Somerset.
280. **Abbandune** : Abingdon-on-Thames, Berks, formerly noted for its abbey, where one of the versions of the *A.-S. Chronicle* was written.
291. **Pefnesea** : Pevensey, Sussex.
294. **þære haran apuldran** : evidently a prominent landmark. Old trees were commonly mentioned in land charters ; *cf.* No. 47, l. 41.
311. **Beorhhamstede** : probably Bearsted, a few m. to the east of Maidstone, on the way from Hastings to London.
320. **Xpes (= Cristes) bec** : the Gospels.
327. **lett agan ut**, lit. 'caused to come out,' *i.e.* ascertained.
329. **gerihtæ**, 'dues.'
337. **belyfon** : is past ptcp.
338. **gewrita** : neuter nouns in late O.E. have their nom. and acc. pl. in *-a* instead of *-u* ; *cf.* *scipa*.
346. **Capum** : Cæn in Normandy.
352. **hu gedon mann**, 'what sort of man.'
360. **mære mynster** : Battle Abbey.
377. **Baius** : Bayeux in Normandy.
378. **to eacan**, 'supporting.'
380. **ond hine he sætte**, 'even him he put.'
382. **pe him sylf aht wære**, 'of substance.'

27. ANGLO-DANISH TREATIES

MS. Cambridge, Corpus Christi 383. Edition. F. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* ; see notes to *A.-S. Laws*, No. 37.

1. The MS. contains two texts of this pact, written in one hand about 1125 A.D.
4. **gingran**, 'descendants.'
13. to **swutulunge** . . . **bæc hæbbe**, 'to make clear that he is known to be a man of *bona fides*.' The expression 'to have a clean back' is in common use to this day in German.
23. **be þam þe syo dæd sy**, 'according to the measure of his offence.' gif
wiccan oððe wigleras: see No. 54.
30. **Anlaf**: see note on annal of the *A.-S. Chronicle*, No. 26, l. 6.
34. **Sigeric**: cf. No. 26, l. 5 n.
36. **læppan**: *i.e.* the S. and S.E. of England.
42. **unfriðscyp**, 'a ship belonging to a district not included in this pact'; **frið-byrig** has a meaning similarly limited.
45. **agenra friðmanna**, 'of King Æthelred's subjects belonging to the districts included in this pact.'
56. **hym sylf fifta**: must refer to the complainant.
59. **pundum**: *i.e.* in silver.
65. **fare seo** . . . **sylf to**, 'let the townsmen themselves take up the case.'
67. **heora nyhstan magas**: that is, the nearest kinsmen of the slain men.
68. **licge** . . . **unfriðe**, 'the (ealdorman and his) office shall not be protected by this pact.'
71. **man** . . . **weig læte**, 'shall be passed over,' 'shall not be taken into account.'
72. **underfon**, 'take over,' 'protect.'
78. **hit secge**, 'declare it (on oath).' **ne beo he** . . . **wyrðe**, 'he shall not be allowed to clear himself.'
79. **twa** . . . **punda**: the *Chronicle* gives the sum as 10,000 pounds (of silver).

28. CNUT'S MANIFESTO

MS. of the middle of the eleventh century, in the Great Gospel Book in York Minster library. *Edition.* F. Liebermann, *Gesetze der A.-S.* vol. i. p. 273.

1. **arcebiscopas**: Æthelnoth, one of Cnut's chaplains, was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1020; he died in 1038; for Lyfing see l. 6 *infra*.
2. **Purcyl**: the famous Danish commander who entered Æthelred's service and fought against Sweyn; he afterwards joined Cnut, was made Earl (jarl) of East Anglia, and finally banished by Cnut in 1021; see annals 1013, 1017, 1021.
twelfhynde: men with a wergild of 1200 shillings, *i.e.* thanes; **twyhynde** were men with a wergild of 200 shillings, *i.e.* ceorls.
4. **ic cyðe**: for the change from the third to the first person cf. the beginning of Alfred's preface to the *Cura Pastoralis*, No. 31.
6. **Lyfing**: elsewhere called Ælfstan, was archbishop of Canterbury from 1013 to 1020.
14. **forene forfangen**, 'taken measures.'
19. **ac** . . . **ahreddinge**: an infinitive such as *gelyfan*, meaning 'expect,' 'hope,' must be supplied.
34. **gerefum**: the king's local executive officers.
38. **scira biscope**: a 'shire bishop' is the same as a *leodbiscop*, *i.e.* a bishop contrasted with an archbishop.
39. **forene forlicge**, 'protect'; this meaning of *forlicgan* is unusual; the commoner word is *forstandan*.

42. **Eadgares**: the king who died in 975.

44. **deop . . . betanne**, 'requires full reparation.'

51. **nunnan** and **mynece nan**: both mean 'nun'; perhaps the words here denote a difference in rank.

58. For **mot** we should perhaps read *gemot*.

29. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR'S DECREE

MS. in Rochester Cathedral library, usually referred to as 'Textus Roffensis,' written circa 1120 A.D. Edition. F. Liebermann, *Gesetze*, vol. i. pp. 483-484.

12. **mid irene**, 'with the ordeal of iron'; see introd. note to No. 38.

17. **utlaga pingan**, cases or charges involving outlawry.'

II. LEARNING AND EDUCATION

30. GREGORY'S *DIALOGUES*

MSS. three in number, all written about the middle of the eleventh century:—

1. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 322 (C).

2. Cotton MS. Otho C 1, in the British Museum, unfinished, and damaged by fire; a carelessly made copy (O). This MS. contains the metrical preface.

3. Hatton 76, in the Bodleian (H).

Nos. 2 and 3 seem to have been written at Worcester or at any rate to have been at that see for a certain period (see Hecht). Edition by Hans Hecht in

Bibliothek der angels. Prosa, vol. v. 1900, in which the text of C and H is printed in full, with variants from O. MS. C. is followed in our selection.

1. **geofendum Criste**, 'by the gift of Christ,' not necessarily an imitation of the Latin absolute, as there is evidence of an absolute construction in Germanic languages.

5. **pas eorþlican ymbhigdo**: The translation was probably made while Wessex was still engaged in fighting the Danes; cf. l. 10, *þas eorþlican gedrefednesse*; cf. also the expressions used in the prefaces to the *Boethius* and the *Cura Pastoralis*.

7. **minum . . . freondum**: it is noticeable that Alfred uses the plural here; perhaps Werferth was aided in his task by the other learned men mentioned in the preface to the *Cura Pastoralis*; see No. 31, ll. 66-68.

18. **se þe his modgeðanc**, 'whose mind.'

26. **ðas boc begeat**, 'procured this book,' i.e. caused the copy to be made.

27. **þu**: the reader.

32. **his beahgifan . . . forgeaf**: these words seem to refer to the original MS. (*bysene*) presented to Worcester by the king.

35. **sið oððe ær**, 'later or sooner,' i.e. before or after his day.

36. **gefrugne**: is subjunctive in a relative clause defining a superlative, as in Latin. For *eorðcýninga* the MS. has *hiordcýninga ær*.

31. *CURA PASTORALIS*

MSS. seven in number.

1. Hatton 20, in the Bodleian, written near the end of Alfred's reign.

2. Cotton Tiberius B xi, practically destroyed by fire in 1731. This MS. was also written before Alfred's death.

3. Cotton Otho B ii, much damaged by fire. Wanley, who saw this MS. in its uninjured state, tells us that in the preface King Alfred assigns the original copy to Hehstan, bishop of London.

4. Junius 53, in the Bodleian, an accurate copy made by F. Junius in the seventeenth century of No. 2.

Besides the above MSS. there are three others of later date at Cambridge, in the libraries of the University, Trinity College, and Corpus Christi College respectively. In two of these MSS. the name of Bishop Wulsige, bishop of Sherborne, occurs in Alfred's preface.

Edition. The latest is that of Henry Sweet, 1871, with introduction, text of the Hatton MS. and of Junius's transcript of the Cotton MS. Tib. B xi, with English translation, notes, and appendices.

The Hatton text is followed in our text of Alfred's preface and of the verses at the end. In this MS. a number of early 'corrections' have been made, such as erasures, crossing-out, substitution of *y* for *ie*, *a* for *æ*, etc. In these cases we have printed the earlier spelling, where ascertainable.

The preface in the Hatton MS. is headed *Deos boc sceal to Wiogoraceaster*, so that this MS. was the actual copy of Alfred's translation intended for the see of Worcester. In the Cotton MS. Tib. B xi the space for the name was left vacant.

1. **Wæferð**: bishop of Worcester from 873 to 915.

7. **innanbordes**, 'within the realm.'

13. **hio wæs oðfeallenu**: refers to *lar*.

19. **ða ic to rice feng**: in 871.

20. **ic ðe bebiode . . . befæste**: is rather a cumbersome sentence. Alfred enjoins Werferth to promote learning and teaching even if it involved some neglect of his administrative duties.

23. **geðenc . . . ðeawas**: Alfred attributes the national misfortunes to the neglect of Christian virtues and learning.

24. **we hit nohwæðer . . . lufodon**: *hit* here refers to *wisdom* in l. 22, though *wisdom* is masculine.

30. **Godes ðiowa**: *i.e.* priests and monks. **wiston** 'showed,' 'displayed,' a common meaning.

34. **welan**: apparently refers to the libraries of the churches.

43. Between **swæ** and **oðfeallan** above the line in the MS. is written *swyðe*.
for ðære wilnunga, 'purposely.'

46. **Creacas**: The MS. has *greccas* written over some word erased.

47. **ealle oðre bec**: in the MS. **ealle** is crossed out and *mænige* written above it.

49. **ealla oðræ cristnæ . . . geþiode wendon**: no doubt some of the O.E. translations of the Psalms and Gospels which have survived in MSS. of the 10th and 11th centuries were originally made long before Alfred's day. In the MS. **ealla** has been crossed out by the 'corrector.'

54. **ða stilnesse**: *i.e.* freedom from Danish attacks.

59. **lære mon . . . to hierran hade don wille**: a provision for professional or 'secondary' education. Alfred's younger son Æthelweard was educated at this school. The king may have heard of Charlemagne's efforts to educate his nobles.

62. **monige cuðon . . . Pastoralis**: this passage makes it probable that the *Cura Pastoralis* was the first of the translations which Alfred made himself or personally supervised.

65. **word be worde . . . andgiete**: this phrase is repeated in the preface to the *Boethius*, as also is the expression *mislicum ond monigfealdum bisgum*.

66. **ic hie geliornode**: Alfred doubtless made his four scholars translate and explain the Latin text, and then himself dictated a version.

Plegmunde: archbishop of Canterbury, 890-914.

Assere: appointed bishop of Sherborne circa 892; he was a Welshman and was a personal friend of the king; his *Life of Alfred* is our main source of knowledge.

67. **Grimbolde**: a Fleming from St. Omer, afterwards abbot of Winchester.

68. **Iohanne**: is said by Asser to have been a most accomplished man.

69. **swæ ic . . . areccean meahte**: a phrase almost exactly repeated in the *Boethius* preface. In the MS. the 'corrector' has crossed out **forstod** and written *betst understandon cuðe* above the line.

72. **æstel**: above the line, written in a later hand, is the gloss *indicatorium, festuca*, i.e. a book-mark, but *æstel* may mean book-cover, made of boards and richly jewelled.

mancessa: the *mancus* was a gold coin weighing about 70 grains and worth 30 *peningas* according to Aelfric. It was the price of an ox in the reign of Æthelstan, Alfred's grandson. In the MS. a later hand has corrected **mancessa** to *mancestan*.

76. **æt ðære stowe**: i.e. at the bishop's see, probably in the abbey church or the cathedral.

77. **oððe hio hwær . . . bi write**, 'or (unless) it be on loan, or somebody be making a copy from it'; *bi* has strong emphasis.

82. **Rome papa**: Gregory the Great was pope from 590 to 604 A.D.

90. **swelcra ma . . . hisene**, 'to bring more of such according to the original,' i.e. to make a number of copies.

92. **his sume ðorfton**, 'some of them actually needed it,' i.e. a translation.

98. **ðe** ('of those) who.'

hine sc.: *wæterscipe*.

106. **weriað**, 'dam up.'

118. **se**: is subject of *fylle*.

At the end the scribe gives his name, *Ælfric clericus*.

32. OROSIUS

MSS. two in number: No. 1. The Lauderdale MS. now defective in parts, probably written before 900 A.D. This MS. is in possession of the Tollemache family at Helmingham Hall, Suffolk; No. 2. Cotton Tiberius B i, over a century later than No. 1, of which it is a copy. Our text is in part that of the L. MS., supplemented by readings from the Cotton MS.

Editions. 1. By J. Bosworth, with English translation and introduction, London, 1859; 2. By Henry Sweet in the Early English Text Society's Series No. 79; text only, with corresponding portions of the Latin text.

H. Geidel's *Alfred der Grosse als Geograph*, 1904, has valuable notes. Another useful study, by Clement Markham, occurs in the book of essays entitled *Alfred the Great*, ed. by W. Bowker, 1899.

2. **swa micel . . . witon**, 'as far as ever we can.'

3. **Danais**: the Don, the Latin *Tanais*.

5. **garsecges**, 'the ocean,' which Alfred, like the older geographers, thought of as surrounding the land part of the world.

6. **Donua** : the Danube.

8. **Wendelsæ** : the Mediterranean; Alfred here regards the Black Sea as a branch of the greater sea.

Cwensæ : denotes the N. and E. portions of the Baltic, including the Gulf of Bothnia and the Gulf of Finland.

11. **Eastfrancan** : in the ninth century inhabited a large district between the Rhine and the Elbe, extending from the Rhine on the west to the Saale on the east, and from the Ruhr on the north to the Neckar on the south.

Swæfas, 'Swabians,' in the extreme S. of Germany, partly in Württemberg, partly in Bavaria (*Bægwære*).

13. **Regnesburg** : in Bavaria, from which the modern town Regensburg takes its name.

14. **Bæme** : Bohemia was invaded by Slavs (*Tchekhs*) in the sixth century.
Pyringas : Thüringen; cf. *Widsith* (No. 1), ll. 64, 86.

15. **Ealdseaxan** : are so-called by A.-S. writers to distinguish them from their colonial kinsmen, the Saxons of England; they inhabited both sides of the lower Elbe and the modern Holstein.

Frisan : see No. 1, l. 27 n. and No. 25, l. 481 n.

16. **Ælfe** : the Elbe.

17. **Ongle** : the region from which the Angles migrated to Britain, the modern Slesvig, Jutland, Fünen, and some small islands off their coasts; the Angles are mentioned in *Widsith*, see No. 1, n. on l. 8.

westnorð : Alfred is not very exact in his use of the points of the compass, *vide infra* n. on l. 53. **Sillende** : West Slesvig.

18. **Dene** : the Danes, inhabiting originally the S. of Sweden, spread to the islands and had long before Alfred's time settled in Jutland and part of Slesvig.

Afdrede : properly the name of a Wendish or Slavonic tribe called by Latin chroniclers Obotriti or Abotriti; the district is the modern Mecklenburg, S. of Lübeck.

Wilde, identified by Alfred with Havelland (**Hæfeldan**) in Brandenburg, W. of Berlin.

19. **Wineda** : Wends; see No. 1, l. 60 n.

20. **Sysyle** : may have been the name of a Wendish tribe. **Maroara** : the Moravians, in Alfred's time an important people under their king, Sviatopolk.

21. **Behemas** : in l. 14 called *Bæme*.

23. **Carendre** : Kärnten or Carinthia, E. of Tyrol.

25. **Pulgara** : the Bulgarians, whose territory was then much larger than at present.

26. **Creca land** : *i.e.* the Eastern or Byzantine empire.

27. **Wisle** : the Weichsel or Vistula.

Datia : Dacia, the Roman province, which extended from the E. of Hungary to the Black Sea, corresponding roughly to the greater part of modern Roumania. Bishop Wulfilas came from this region, the eastern part of which had been occupied by Germanic tribes in the middle of the third century.

28. **Dalamentsan** : the district round Jena.

29. **Horigti** : perhaps the modern Croats or Khorvats, a Slavonic people.

30. **Surpe** : the Sorbs, a Slavonic tribe, called *Surfe* in l. 43.

31. **Mæga land** : may mean 'the women's land,' a name based on the Amazon legend.

Sermende : the Sarmatians, a name of vague denotation, like 'Scythians,' used for various races inhabiting eastern Europe.

32. Riffen : in Latin called *Riphaei montes*, an imaginary chain of mountains, placed by Alfred in another passage near the 'Sarmatian Ocean.' **Supdenum :** *i.e.* the Danes living chiefly on the Cimbric peninsula, as well as on the island of Fünen; by **Norpdene** Alfred means those living on the other large islands, Seeland, Laaland, etc., as well as on the S. Scandinavian coast.

39. Osti : called *Este* in l. 153, not the same race as the inhabitants of the modern Esthonia (*Estland*), to which they gave its name, but a widespread Slavonic race.

40. Burgendan : the people of Bornholm, an island S. of Sweden in the middle of the Baltic. The name seems to have been derived from an early settlement by the Burgundians.

42. Sweon : the Swedes, at this time confined to the east coastal district of the Scandinavian peninsula; their chief town was Uppsala.

45. Cwenland : see n. on l. 115 *infra*.

46. Scridefinnas : a name given by Alfred with other early geographers to the Finns, *i.e.* Lapps, of the mountainous districts from their practice of running (*scriðan*) on snow shoes, 'ski-ing' as we now call it; see n. on No. 1, l. 179.

Norðmenn : the 'Northmen' or Norwegians probably came originally from S.W. Sweden and spread gradually northwards; they also occupied part of what is now Swedish territory as far as Göteborg (Gothenburg).

47. Ohthere : is the O.E. form of the name which in later Norse was Ottar.

48. norpmest bude : *i.e.* about 70 degrees of north latitude; Ohthere afterwards calls his district Halgoland.

53. norpryhte : it must be borne in mind that Alfred throughout his geographical account makes his north and south line run N.E. and S.W., or perhaps N.N.E. and S.S.W. He here regards the long axis of the Scandinavian peninsula as running due N. and S.

58. þa beag þæt land . . . nysse hwæðer : this curious formula occurs again in l. 63.

60. bad . . . norþan : his boat had evidently no fore-and-aft sails and thus was not able to beat against the wind.

65. micel ea : perhaps the narrow gulf of Kandalak, a western branch of the White Sea, separating the land of the Terfinns (*i.e.* the Kola peninsula) from that of the Berms.

66. hie ne dorston : sc. Ohthere's party.

67. bi þære ea : 'across (the mouth of) the river.'

69. ealne weg : the whole way round the coast of Lapland.

72. Beormas : O.N. *Biarmar*, the ancestors of the modern Finns and Carelians, who in Alfred's time inhabited what is now Finland and the northern part of Russia as far S. as Moscow and the river Kama, an affluent of the Volga. Carelian villages speaking a Finnish language are found to-day far to the S. in Russia, and the Russian-speaking population of north Russia is by race predominantly Finnish. The Berms or Perms gave their name to the modern town and province of Perm; they were not inferior to the Germanic races in trade and culture. Repeatedly invaded and plundered by the Norwegians up to the beginning of the thirteenth century, they were finally subdued by the Russians of Novgorod, and for the most part became Russian in speech.

73. Terfinna land : probably the Kola Peninsula, N. of the White Sea.

78. **neah an geþeode**, 'pretty much the same language,' clearly an error on Ohthere's part.

80. **ban**, 'ivory.'

82. **hwæl**: is here used as a short form of *horshwæl*: walruses were in those days far more abundant and more widely spread than at the present time. **oðre**

hwalas: whales in the modern sense.

84. **hwælhuntað**: Ohthere here is speaking of the 'right' whale. **elna**: the Norwegian ell was about 19 inches, the length of a long male forearm from elbow to tip of middle finger.

86. **ofsloge syxtig**: there is no reason to believe that the whalers of Ohthere's day were inferior in skill or apparatus to those of forty or fifty years ago, before the introduction of harpoon guns and explosive shells. Yet sixty whales in two days seems an excessive number for six hunters, unless, as suggested in Wyatt's *A.-S. Reader*, *ad loc.*, they found a school of whales in shallow water. In October, 1927, a school of about one hundred whales of the 'bottle-nose' species entered Dornoch Firth on the N.E. coast of Scotland and were stranded on the shoal flats between Mid-Fearn and Bonar Bridge, Ross-shire. Possibly, however, Ohthere and his men, by means of floats attached to the harpoon line, tired out their whales, brought them to the surface, and then despatched them at their leisure.

87. **þe heora speda on beoð**, 'in which their wealth consists.'

94. **erede mid horsan**, unlike Alfred's subjects, who ploughed mostly with oxen. **ar** here means 'source of wealth,' 'asset.'

95. **gafole**: it is probable that Ohthere himself, as a wealthy and important man, supervised the collection of this tribute for the Norse community. We are reminded of the early Hudson Bay fur trade.

96. **hwales bane**, 'walrus ivory,' a very dense variety, once greatly valued.

99. **beren**: the MS. has *beran*. **ambra**: an A.-S. measure of capacity, from the Latin *amphora*.

100. **ægþer sy . . . oðer sy . . . oðer**, 'each must be . . . one must be . . . the other'; the subjunctive gives as it were the mood used in the orders issued to the Lapps.

105. **wið eastan ond wið uppon**, 'on the east side (continually) rising.'

107. **symle . . . smælre**, 'gradually narrowing northward.'

114. **Sweoland**: Sweden.

115. **Cwena land**: the 'Cwens' seem to have dwelt in the N. of Sweden, now the province Norrland, on the W. side of the Gulf of Bothnia. They were Carelians, not Lapps, and their own name for themselves, *Kainu*, became *Kvænr* in Norse speech.

119. **lytle scypu**: evidently birch-bark canoes.

121. **Halgoland**. This name is no longer used.

122. **nan man**: *i.e.* no Norwegians.

123. **Sciringesheal**: O.N. *Skiringssalr*, was probably situated on a fjord at the entrance to the island-strewn bay at the further end of which now stands Christiania.

125. **on niht wicode**: spent the nights on shore (Craigie).

127. **þa igland**, *i.e.* Orkney, Shetland, the Hebrides, etc. **Iraland** can only be Ireland, concerning whose position Ohthere had only a vague idea; some scholars, however, read *Island* (Iceland) here. It is just possible that Alfred misunderstood Ohthere.

128. **piſsum lande** : England.

129. **wið suðan** : In the MS, *bi* is written above **wið**.

131. **Gotland** : must be an error for *Eotena* or *Ytena* land, Jutland.

134. **æt Hæpum** : on the site of the modern town Slesvig, was a famous resort of merchants, who brought their wares from all quarters, including Britain; the Scandinavians called it *Hedaby*. **Seaxum** : *vide supra* l. 15 n.

135. **hyrð in**, 'belongs.' **þa he piderweard . . . widsæ pry dagas** : this passage has puzzled commentators, who cannot understand how Denmark can be on the left-hand side of the voyager during the first three days of his voyage from Christiania to Slesvig. But it is probable that Ohthere and Alfred called the old home of the Danes on the mainland, *i.e.* southward as far as Gothenburg, by the name *Denemearc*, as well as the later settlements on the islands.

141. **þa igland . . . hyrað** : *i.e.* Seeland, Laaland, etc. Oh there sailed through the Great Belt. In the MS. *to* is written above the line in a different ink.

142. **Truso** : was situated at the mouth of the Elbing in the large land-locked sea called in German 'das Frische Haff,' probably near the site of the modern town Elbing.

144. **Weonoðland** : also spelt **Weonodland**, the land of the **Winedas** or **Wends**.

145. **Langaland** : now Langeland. still bears the same name.

Læland : Laaland.

Falster

Sconeg : Skåne, the southernmost district of Sweden, probably the original home of the Danes; see n. on No. 4, l. 19.

146. **Burgenda land** : see n. on l. 40 *supra*.

147. **þa . . . cyning**, *i.e.* the people of Bornholm.

148. **Blecinga eg** : Blekinge is now the name of a district in the S.E. of Sweden near the large island Öland.

149. **Meore**, not identified with certainty; there is a village in Öland called Mörbylånga.

Eowland : Öland.

Gotland : a large island, still bearing the same name.

152. **Witland** : the district round the mouth of the Vistula; the name has not survived.

153. **Estum** : *vide supra* l. 39 n.

Estmere : Frische Haff.

154. **Ilfiſg** : is certainly the modern Elbing so far as the name is concerned, but it need not here denote the river Elbing; some scholars think its description points rather to the Pregel, which flows westward into the E. end of the Frische Haff; in that case we should have to identify Truso with Königsberg. But it is very probable that in the course of centuries there have been considerable changes in the configuration of the Frische Haff and even in the estuaries of the rivers which flow into it.

156. The MS. has *Eastlande*, as also in l. 160.

159. **Wisle muða** : Ohthere seems here to mean the outlet of the Frische Haff.

160. **burh** : perhaps the strongholds built and garrisoned centuries before by the Goths, and used by the Ests as 'royal' castles.

161. **cyningc**, 'chieftain' rather than 'king.'

162. **myran meolc** : probably a fermented drink made of milk, like the 'kumiss' prepared at the present day by the Mongols and Turkomans. It looks as if the aristocratic class of the Ests were originally nomadic conquerors.

164. **gewinn** : probably drunken brawls.

175. *alecgað hit . . . deada man on lið*: the value of the piles of treasure diminished from the outermost to the innermost.
176. *tune*: here probably means 'homestead' or 'estate.'
181. In the text between *feo* and *ðonne* there has been inadvertently omitted the sentence *þonne ærnað hy ealle toweard þam feo*.
184. *geærneð*, 'wins,' lit. 'gets by galloping.'
187. *mid his wæpnum ond hrægle*: a widespread custom among the ancient peoples, including the heathen Germanic tribes; we may compare the obsequies of Beowulf; see No. 14 F.
188. *swiðost*, 'principally,' 'especially.'
208. *agæled*: properly means 'hindered,' 'entangled,' here 'engrossed.'
212. *þe eft . . . þe eft*, 'or secondly . . . or thirdly.'
238. *fon . . . ymb*, 'take up the story of.'
241. *yfel*: is perhaps an error for *yfeles*.
247. *þæt þa ðe*, 'that (in the case of) those who.'
250. *hit mid þam gemicledan*, 'thereby strengthened it,' *i.e.* their religion.
255. *witan . . . heora earfepa*, 'blame . . . for their miseries.'
260. *ieldesta*, 'chief.' **Macheus, Mazeus.**
261. *on biscephade*: the Latin has 'a priest of Hercules.'

33. BOETHIUS

MSS. 1. Cotton Otho Avi, in the British Museum (C), considerably damaged by fire. This MS. was written about the middle of the tenth century. It contained in its original state Alfred's preface, a prose version of the Latin prose, a metrical version of the Latin poems, and a verse introduction.

2. MS. 180 (2079) in the Bodleian (B), written about the beginning of the twelfth century, containing a prose version of the Latin prose, and a metrical version of the prose translation of the Latin poem. Its archetype was doubtless the first version made by Alfred.

3. Half a leaf of a third MS., written in an early tenth century hand. The text of this fragment was printed by the late Professor A. S. Napier in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum*, xxxi, pp. 52-54, 1887.

Franciscus Junius, the famous German scholar (1589-1677) resident in England, who did so much for A.-S. studies, made a transcription of B and of the verse portions of C, noting also variant readings from the prose part of C at a time when this MS. was uninjured. These materials (J) are now in the Bodleian.

Edition, with introduction and glossary, by W. J. Sedgefield, Oxford 1899. A translation into modern English, with an introduction by the same editor, Oxford, 1900.

The prose preface does not occur in the Bodleian MS. B.

20. *þy læs . . . gilpe*, 'lest tedium repel the selfish man who in his arrogance thinks little of such things.' Alfred clearly realises that he must make these new studies interesting to his people.

25. *Sciððiu mægðe*: 'Scythia' was a term vaguely used by ancient writers.

26. *Rædgota*, Radagaisus. **Eallerica**: Alaric. These Gothic leaders invaded north Italy in 406 A.D.

28. *þam muntun*: the Alps.

29. **ƿeodric** the Great became supreme ruler of Italy and the Western Empire after he had removed Odoacer in 493 A.D. As a follower of the Arian heresy he has had a bad reputation in the Roman Church.

30. **Amulinga** : *i.e.* a member of the royal line descended from the mythical Amal. Theodric's most famous predecessors in this line were Ostrogotha and Eormanric.

34. **Iohannes** : died in prison at Ravenna, A.D. 526.

41. **leornigan on him selfum**, 'to ponder.'

46. **heora cristendome** : *i.e.* their 'orthodox' religion.

63. **ƿæt . . . buton**, 'without which.'

68. **to ðæm tolum . . . biwiste**, 'maintenance for the three classes in addition to their equipment.'

80. **ƿæm monnum . . . godum weorcum**, 'to leave to those who should come after me my memory in good works.'

83. **sceolde bion** : Alfred makes great use of the verb *sceolde* in narrative or fables of an imaginary character, as if to make it quite clear that he took no responsibility for them.

92. **seggan soð spel** : Alfred thinks it rather risky to introduce stories from the heathen mythology, so he counteracts their possible bad effects as far as he can.

94. **Nefrod** : Nimrod.

95. **Chus** : Cush.

Cham : Ham.

96. **Sennar** : Shinar, the reading of MS. B; C has *Nensar*. Proper names are sometimes strangely misspelt in the Latin MSS., but this can hardly account for all Alfred's misspellings.

97. **Deira** : Dura.

108. **Ipacige** : Ithaca. **Retie** : looks like a misunderstanding of the Latin *Neritii* 'from Neritos.' Neritos was a mountain in Ithaca.

113. **heah weder**, 'rough weather.'

135. **leon** : is here feminine.

143. **wisste . . . his gewit**, 'was conscious of himself.'

148 ff. The noble simplicity and directness of language in this passage are characteristic of O.E. prose at its best; Alfred, like Ælfric three generations later, must have been repelled by the 'proximity' of Latin writers; *cf.* No. 35, introductory n. to § 2.

34. AUGUSTINE'S *SOLILOQUIES*

MS. Cotton Vitellius A xv, in the British Museum, being part of the codex which contains the *Beowulf* MS. The handwriting belongs to the beginning of the twelfth century and the spelling is also late.

Edition with introduction,

notes, and glossary by H. L. Hargrove, New York, 1902.

1. Part of the beginning of the Preface would seem to have been lost, as the word *bonne* implies one or more preceding sentences.

5. **ƿe me ne lyste**, 'without feeling a desire.'

9. **gefeðrige**, 'load,' from *fōðer*, 'cartload,' a word which survives in northern dialect; *cf.* Chaucer, Prol. to C.T., l. 530.

10. **windan** : refers to the making of wattles or hurdles of intertwined osier or other twigs, which if covered with 'daub' or clay would serve for house-walls.

11. **tun** : here probably means 'farmyard fence' or wall.

12. **oneardian**, supply *mæge*.
 20. **mines modes . . . on gelihte**, 'may illumine the eyes of my mind to such an extent.'
 23. **sie swa**, 'so be it.'
 24. **pære utlade**. The MS. here is damaged.
 27. **his . . . wisan . . . tilian**, 'in every manner attend to his interests on the leased land.'
 29. **bocland** was freehold land held by charter; see n. on No. 42, l. 56.
 30. **wilt** = *wielt*: a contraction (with umlaut) of *wealdeþ*.
 46. **sume fulneah buton . . . he lufað**, 'some with hardly anything except his love alone.'
 48. **and be libban**, 'and live by it,' *i.e.* by wisdom. The student should be careful to distinguish the adverbial or semi-adverbial from the prepositional functions of such words as *be*, *on*, *mid*, *wið*, etc. With the former functions they receive a strong stress.
 50. **on bure . . . on healle**: the hall was separate from the king's house; see n. on No. 25, l. 49.
 69. **ðonne oðre sunnan scynan**, 'then the sun's reflection,' lit. 'the shining of a second sun.' Perhaps we should read *scyman*.

35. ÆLFRIC

MSS. A large number are extant, some of which date from the early part of the eleventh century; one or two may even have been written in Ælfric's lifetime.

Editions. The translations from the Old Testament are edited in the *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*, vol. I. The *Homilies* were edited by B. Thorpe in 1843-46. The *Lives of Saints* were edited by W. W. Skeat for the Early Text Society, Nos. 76, 82, 94, 114. The above editions contain descriptions of the MSS. and much valuable information and comment on Ælfric's life and work; see further *Ælfric: a New Study of his Writings*, by C. L. White, Boston, 1898 (Yale Studies II.).

2. **Æpelredes** the 'Unready' or 'Redeless,' who succeeded to the throne in 978.

3. **Ælfeage**: often called St. Alphege, was put to death by the Danes in 1012, as we are told in the *A.-S. Chronicle*; see annal in No. 26.

Æðelwoldes: the energetic reforming bishop of Winchester, who expelled the lazy secular priests from the chief monasteries. His translation of the Benedictine Rule into English and other writings of his led to increased interest in learning, and were largely responsible for making West Saxon the common literary medium for the whole of England. He died in 984 and his life was written by Ælfric.

4. **Cernel**: see l. 34 n.

5. **bearn** = *be-arn*, 'it occurred to me'; cf. *Beowulf*, l. 67, *him on mod bearn*.

8. **manegum engliscum bocum**: probably refers to the *Blickling Homilies*, and to similar works no longer extant, which used apocryphal books as their sources and were regarded as harmful to the unlearned.

16. **geendung byssere worulde**: there are numerous allusions in A.-S. homilies of the period to the approaching end of the world; cf. No. 36, l. 2.

19. **be pære bysene**, 'by the original manuscript.' In the days before printing we often find in MSS. exhortations to copyists to adhere strictly to the original.

24. **Æðelwerd** : a descendant of King Alfred's brother Æthelred, best known for his Latin chronicle, which records the history of the Anglo-Saxons up to the year A.D. 973.

34. **Sigferð** : an ealdorman. **East-Healon** : probably a place in the neighbourhood of Cernel, now Cerne Abbas in Dorset.

35. **mid weorcum**, 'in earnest.'

53. **swilce for blisse**, 'for enjoyment,' *i.e.* as a guest should.

54. **mot** : has here the meaning of 'must.'

59. **swa him ne derede**, 'but not to a harmful degree.'

66. **sum oðer man** : not known to us by name.

80. **ane wisan . . . agene wisan**, 'in such a manner that the English shall be idiomatic.'

106. **and him gewearð anes**, 'and he accepted it,' lit. 'agreed on one (and the same) thing.'

120 ff. This passage also occurs in another version in a MS. containing Wulfstan's homilies.

36. WULFSTAN : *SERMO AD ANGLOS*

MSS. This homily occurs in five MSS., which differ considerably from each other. Our text is that of Napier's edition, collated with the chief MS., the Bodleian Junius 99, fol. 84 v. Several passages have been omitted. *Edited*

by A. S. Napier in his edition of Wulfstan's Homilies, Berlin, 1883; see also his dissertation on Wulfstan, Weimar, 1882.

20. **on hæðenum þeodum** : Wulfstan is probably referring to the Danes as well as to the religions of Greece and Rome.

32. **Eadgar geendode** : in 975.

Many of the evils that Wulfstan complains of, especially the deprivation of rights and the selling into slavery, were due to the desperate need of money to buy off the Danes; see annals 1002, 1006, 1007, 1011, etc., of the *A.-S. Chronicle*.

47. **inne ne ute**, 'in any way at all,' lit. 'inside or outside.'

60. **syn** : is subjunctive, used in late West Saxon for the indicative *sind* or *sindon*; cf. *tæcan*, l. 133.

62. **hlafordswice** : the word *hlaford* may here have a general sense, such as king or ealdorman or bishop.

66. **Eadwerd** : known as Edward the Martyr, murdered in 979.

67. **Æthelred** fled to his wife's brother Richard of Normandy in 1013; see the annal for that year in No. 26.

70. **purh þæt þe man . . . witan wolde**, 'owing to certain appointments (to offices), which should never have been made if people (*i.e.* the authorities) had consulted the interests of peace in God's church.'

74. **hwær seo yrmð gewearð þæt**, 'miserable cases where.'

83. of Cristendome to wicinge weorðe, 'turns from a Christian citizen into a heathen pirate.'

85. **afylle**, 'slays.' **licge ægyldre**, 'the thane's family shall have no compensation,' lit. 'let him lie uncompensated for all his family.'

87. **gylde þegengylde**, 'he shall pay for him a thane's wergild.' **earhlice**, 'feebly enforced,' 'ineffective.' The MS. Junius 99 here reads **earnlice**.

93. **feseð** : Kentish for W. Saxon *fyseð*, 'routs.'

95. **wyrceð him to præle**: 'makes him his slave'; **him** refers to the subject of *wyrceð*.

133. **tæcan**: *vide supra* l. 60 n.

134. **peah hy eall willan**, 'although they may wish to.'

III. INSTITUTIONS.

37. LAWS OF A.-S. KINGS

MSS. The MSS. of the A.-S. laws, as well as of ordinances, duties, ranks, etc., are very numerous; some of them, however, contain only a few passages referring to these subjects, bound up with other matter. Liebermann enumerates at least 150 MS. sources, a large proportion of which were written after 1100 A.D., being copies of earlier MSS.

Editions. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle; vol. i., Text and translation, 1903; vol. ii., Word-glossary and a dictionary of subjects, 1906; vol. iii., Introductions and Notes. To this classical and monumental work we are greatly indebted. Besides the laws Liebermann includes numerous other texts relating to A.-S. institutions. F. L. Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, Cambridge, 1922. A. J. Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I.*, Camb., 1925.

The student may also consult H. M. Chadwick, *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, Cambridge, 1905; and M. H. Turk, *The Legal Code of Ælfred the Great*, Halle, 1893.

1. **Ælðelbirht** was the king who received the mission led by Augustine in 597. He died in 616, and his laws must have been made between these dates, probably about 602 or 603. Bede, who wrote about a century later, mentions Æthelberht's laws and refers in particular to the fines laid down in the first section.

3. **biscopeþ feoh xigylde**, 'for the theft of a bishop's property twelvefold,' *i.e.* twelve times its value.

5. **ciricfrif . . . iigylde**, 'for breach of the peace in church or meeting, double compensation.'

7. **scillinga**: the shilling was not a coin but a 'unit of account,' one-sixtieth of a pound, previous to the Norman Conquest.

12. **meduman leodgelde**: the wergild of a freeman, *i.e.* 100 shillings.

14. **mundbyrd**, 'guardianship,' for the violation of which compensation had to be paid.

15. **leod** is an abbreviation of *leodgild*, as *wer* is of *wergild*; the two words mean the same thing.

23. **Hlophere** reigned from 673 to 685. Eadric was Hlothhere's nephew; he reigned only about 18 months, and died in 686.

34. **buton scylde**, 'without cause,' lit. 'without guilt' on the part of the other man. The language of the A.-S. laws is often extremely condensed.

40. **tæme**: *Team* was the term used for the summoning of a person by an accused man to give evidence in his favour; *tieman* was the verb, 'to summon as witness'; *geteama* was the witness or warrantor. **to wic . . . sele**, 'to the London courthouse.'

41. **æt þam teame**: may here be rendered 'to witness in his favour.'

43. **his cupan ceape**, 'with goods known to be his' (Attenborough); it may, however, mean 'in public purchase.'

45. *canne*, 'declaration on oath'; the verb *cennan* also occurs.

47. **Wihtréd** was the brother of Eadric; he succeeded to the Kentish throne in 690, and his laws may have been issued about five years later. He was a contemporary of Ine, King of Wessex.

49. **gebanne**, *gebann*, or *gebanngear* translates the Latin *indictio*. Documents were dated either *anno domini* or *anno indictionis*. The 'Indiction' was the current cycle of a continuous series of cycles, each lasting 15 years. The series started in 312 A.D., the first year of Constantine's rule. An event was said to have happened in such and such a year of the 'Indiction.' According to this system of dating the year began on September 1st.

Rugernes: generally explained as 'the rye month,' *i.e.* August or possibly September.

50. **Berghamstýde**: not identified with certainty; it may be Berstead or Bearsted, 3 m. S.E. of Maidstone.

57. **an gestliðnesse**, 'in search of hospitality.'

61. **ofer mearce**, 'even though he be over the border.'

64. **healsfange**: the tenth part of a man's wergild, perhaps kept in ready money for immediate payment to the nearest relatives.

68. **buton wege**, 'off the road,' *i.e.* across the fields.

71. **Ine** reigned from 688 to 725. After abdicating, he lived and died in Rome. His laws were issued about the year 690. In the MSS. they occur as an appendix to the laws of Alfred.

72. **Hedde**: bishop of Winchester, died in 705.

Eorcenwold, bishop of London, died in 693.

74. **ieldestan witum**: would be royal thanes.

85. **se að . . . huslǵengum**: *i.e.* they would need only half as many oath-helpers; see the introductory n. to No. 38, § 2.

87. **syxtig hida**: the ordinary *twelfhynde* man could swear for only 30 hides. A king's *geneat* was a member of the king's household.

88. **wilisc man**: in later times the word *wealh* came to mean a serf working on the lord's land.

91. **fere forð**, 'dies,' a common euphemism.

94. **oð ðæt . . . sie**, 'until the child comes of age,' *i.e.* is ten years of age. In another section of Ine's laws a child of ten is pronounced capable of being accessory to a theft.

97. **nan wuht**, 'no claim.'

98. **gif ceorlas gærstun**, etc. The arable land of a village (*gedalland*) was divided into parallel strips (*æceras*) without fences or hedges, of which each peasant cultivated one or more. Though possession of the land was individual, not communal, the peasants helped each other with ploughs, teams, and labour. Round the arable land ran a fence or hedge separating it from the meadows and pasture land, which in turn were surrounded by forest. For the A.-S. system of land-tenure the student may consult the works of Vinogradoff, Seebohm, Maitland, and Cunningham.

100. **etten**, '(beasts) graze over.' **geat**, 'gap,' 'opening.'

101. **agan**: may be rendered 'have left.'

102. **abidden . . . kyn sie**, 'they may in regard to the cattle claim whatever is due.'

109. **bið se his dæl . . . wife anum**, 'he shall forfeit his share (of the household property, *i.e.* two-thirds), but not his wife's.'

111. **ne on bite**, 'did not partake of it.'
115. The date of the promulgation of Alfred's laws is uncertain.
122. **Offan**: his laws have not survived. He died in 796. **Æpelbryhtes**, see n. on l. 1 *supra*.
132. **pæt he hit . . . ne ðorfte**, 'that he shall have no liability (for damage).'
134. **gif he him mete selle**: this clause may be taken with either the preceding or the following words. In the first case we may transl. 'if he (regularly) feeds the dog'; in the second, 'if he continues to feed him.'
135. **ga . . . forð**, 'must be paid.'
141. **to folcgemote to ryhte brengan**, 'produce before the authorities,' lit. 'bring to justice at a public meeting.' The object of this procedure was to ensure that no homeless foreigners or other unidentified persons should be in the country.
144. **boldgetæl**: the meaning of this word is not known with certainty. Liebermann translates it by *Hofgemeinde*, 'a collection of households.'
145. **ealdormonnes**: the ealdorman was at first the governor or viceroy of a county; in later times several shires were grouped under one ealdorman. Cnut replaced the word by *eorl*, the equivalent of the Danish *jarl*. **pē he ær . . . folgode**, 'in whose jurisdiction he was in service.'
146. **to men feormie**, 'maintains him in his service.'
148. **burgbryce**: the houses of the upper classes and even of the small farmers were surrounded by a ditch and rampart. Traces of such defences are often to be found at the present day.
154. **forbod . . . pæt he swa ne mote**, 'prohibition against his doing so.'
157. **gerecce**: the subject of this verb is the person who contests the alienation of the land.
158. **Eadweard** twice promulgated laws during his reign. He died in 924.
159. **dombec**: probably the code written by King Alfred's orders.
167. **se team**, 'the production of warrantors'; see n. on No. 49, l. 3. **he oðstande**, 'it comes to an end,' i.e. the production of warrantors. The man who infringed this statute would rank as a thief if he could not produce persons to prove his title to the satisfaction of the judge.
168. A considerable number of Æthelstan's ordinances have survived; some of the later ones are of unusual length. They deal largely with ecclesiastical matters and the administration of justice; some of them are written in Latin.
- Wulfhelmes**: archbishop of Canterbury from 925 to 940.
180. **butan þam rimaðe**, 'without calling on the total number to bear witness.' This procedure was called the **cyreað** or 'selected oath.'
193. **Læwe**: Lewes.
196. **weddige**, 'binds himself to undergo.' For ordeal procedure see No. 38. After Æthelstan laws were issued by Edmund, Eadgar, and Æthelred, but as they contain nothing of special interest we have not given any excerpts from them.
205. Cnut's laws were published during the years 1020 and 1027. About one-third of the whole consists of ecclesiastical ordinances and homiletic matter, obviously composed by the bishops. The rest of Cnut's laws are chiefly concerned with judicial procedure, which is laid down with clearness and in detail.
224. **on minan agenan**, 'on my estates.' It would seem that the shire-reeves sometimes forced landowners to make good deficiencies in the royal revenues.
229. **se hlaford**, 'his landlord,' or 'overlord.'

233. **heregeata**: the weapons and accoutrements pertaining to military service which had to be surrendered to the man's overlord on his death. The word still survives as 'heriot,' a money payment to the lord of a manor on the decease of a tenant.

249. **gif hi moston**: *i.e.* if they were left undisturbed.

256. **riht is þæt he hæbbe**, *sc.* the owner.

38. TRIAL BY ORDEAL: OATHS

MSS. and *Edition*, Liebermann, *op. cit.* See also Attenborough, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-189, Hastings, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, *s.v.* *Ordeal*, and J. Hoops, *Reallexicon*, *s.v.* *Gottes Urteil*.

7. **hleape to wylme**, 'boils violently,' lit. 'leaps to boiling.'

9. **æfter þam stane**, 'along the stone'; the stone has been heated and placed in the cauldron to boil the water.

27. **inseglige**: 'seal,' *i.e.* draw a line round the arm or wrist to show the limit of the scalded skin.

31 ff. For A.-S. oaths, see Liebermann, vol. ii., *s.v.* *að* and *Eid*.

48. **fulle ware . . . æfterspræce**, 'full guarantee against any later ground of complaint.'

54. **fuul ne facen**, 'bad quality (in the article) or deception.'

58 ff. The use of alliteration and rhyme help to give an air of cocksureness and finality to this refreshing passage.

60. **ðe hy wel uðan**: 'to whom they pleased to grant it.'

39. LAND: CHARGES, ETC

MSS. and *Edition*, Liebermann, *op. cit.* For the division and cultivation of land among the Anglo-Saxons the student may consult P. Vinogradoff, *The Growth of the Manor*, and F. Seebohm, *The English Village Community*.

1. **þegenes lagu**: in the tenth and eleventh centuries the thane was practically a large landowner or squire, not necessarily connected with the royal court; the minimum holding of land was five hides or 600 acres.

3. **mare landriht**, 'heavier services.'

5. **friðscipe**. The meaning of this word is not clear; some scholars amend to *fyrðscipe*, 'ship of the navy.'

7. The **geneat**, not to be confused with the *cyninges geneat* (see No. 37, l. 87 n.), was a peasant who cultivated a quarter of a hide or 30 acres, which he rented from the landowner, paying partly in money, partly in services such as ploughing and sowing certain portions of the landlord's own tilled land. The *æcer* was a strip of arable land measuring 220 yards by 22 yards, *i.e.* 4840 square yards. **be ðam . . . stænt**, 'according to the custom of the district.'

14. The **cotsetla** was the humblest class of free peasant, who tilled five acres, for which he paid by working for the landlord one day in every week and three days a week in harvest time. The *cotsetlan*, *geneatan*, and *geburas* constituted the *ceorlas* or free peasants.

22. **swilc his mæð sy**, 'as belong to his position.'

24. The **gebur** differed but little from the *geneat*, except that his services were more numerous.

39. *twegen and twegen*, 'every two.'

51. *ne sette we . . . ðeoda*, 'we do not intend these laws to apply to all districts.'

55. *laga sceal . . . nele leosan*: note the alliteration here and a little later.

40. DUTIES OF A FARM-REEVE

MSS. and *Edition*, Liebermann, *op. cit.* Liebermann also edited this text separately in 1886.

1. *gerefa*: not to be confused with the royal executive officer.

2. *be ðam ðe . . . geræddan*, 'as wise men (*i.e.* lawgivers) have determined them in former times.'

5. *winterdun*: may mean elevated ground with good drainage where sheep are folded in winter.

12. *on tune ge on dune . . . inne ge ute*: note the alliteration and rhyme; by the beginning of the eleventh century these ornaments were in common use by prose writers.

15. *sona hit wyrð . . . belimpeð*, 'the results will quickly declare themselves in the barn.'

17. *gyf he wealdan mæge*, 'if he can help it.'

21. *gyf he wið witan . . . gemæne*, 'if he behaves like a wise man.'

24. *ac wille he*, 'but he will (rule).' Perhaps we should read *wilde*, for *wielde* 'rule.'

25. *selre him . . . ðonne on*, 'he is better out of employment than in it.'

31. *he mæg*: the MS. reading is *me*, which Liebermann defends as an early example of the M.E. use of *me* as an indefinite pronoun = 'one.' *fealgian*

. . . *mylne macian*,¹ 'harrow, spread dung, mend sheepfolds, shear sheep, build, make repairs, fence, fell timber, cut wood, weed, fold sheep, make fish-weirs and mill (races?).'

35, 36. *wad spittan . . . hlosan*, 'plant out woad, bring in many crops, thatch, burn (rubbish?), clean out folds, see to cattle stalls, and pens also.'

45. For *began* the MS. has *bycgan*.

47 ff. *hus godian . . . flor feormian*, 'improve the house, put things in order, clean up, enclose the pit (or drain), mend gaps in the embankment (or ditch), renew hedges, root up weeds, pave (?) between the houses, put in planking and benches, make stalls for horses, clean (or polish) floors.'

50. For *sumes* the MS. has *synnes*.

52 ff. *æcse, adsan*, etc., 'axe, adze, borer (?) billhook, scraper (or plane), saw, cobbler's iron (?), pole-hook (?), auger, mattock, crowbar (?) ploughshare, coulter and goad, scythe, sickle, weed-hook, spade, shovel, woad-dibble, wheelbarrow, besom, stamper, rake, pitch-fork, ladder, currycomb, shears, firetongs, balance and weights, and many implements for spinning as: flax-line (?), spindle, reel, yarn-winder, loom-slay (?), weaver's beam, press, weaving comb (?), carder (?), weft-threads (?), shuttle (?), wool-comb, weaver's beam (?), loom-stick (?), winding-handle, *sceaðel* (?), seam-stick (?), scissors, needle, mallet (?)'

¹ The technical terms translated in the notes to this selection will not be found in the Glossary. The meaning of some of the words is unknown, of many others uncertain.

62 ff. *wængewædu*, etc., 'waggon-cover, ploughing gear, harrow-tie (?) . . . measure, awl, flail for the threshing-floor, and many utensils as: cauldron, boiler, lead kettle, ladle, pan, earthen pot, branding iron (or andiron?), dishes, handled pots, tubs, buckets (?), churns, cheese-dish, small tub (or bag?), wicker baskets, baskets, sester-measure, sieves, grain-basket or measure, riddles, hair-sieves, sieve-stand, fan, troughs, wooden basket (?), hives, honey-bin, beer-barrel, bath-tub, tables, butts (?), bowls, pots, cups, strainers, candlesticks, salt-cellars, spoon-case (?), pepper-horn, chest, coffer, yeast-box, lids (?), stools, chairs, basins, lamps, lantern, flagon, soap-box, comb, -bin (?), fodder-rack, fire-screen, meal-bin, awl-sheath (?), oven-rake, dung-shovel.'

41. RANK AND WERGILD

MSS. and *Edition*, Liebermann, *op. cit.*

11. *his onspæce geræcan*, 'go to law on his behalf.'

13. *his polode*. 'lost his case.'

The various wergilds enumerated in the text occur in the *Nordleoda Laga*, written down probably before the middle of the tenth century.

WILLS AND CHARTERS

The MSS. of the 'charters' are, as might be expected, very numerous. John Mitchell Kemble, son of Charles Kemble the famous actor, and friend of Tennyson and other men of learning and letters, rendered a great service to Anglo-Saxon studies and to the history of English land tenure by publishing in six volumes his *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, 1839-48, containing some 4000 early English documents. A more accurate edition of the A.-S. Charters up to 975 was published by W. de Gray Birch in 1885 and following years. Further collections of charters are: *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, by A. S. Napier and W. H. Stevenson, Oxford 1895; *Land Charters and other Saxon Documents*, by John Earle, Oxford 1888; *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*, by Benjamin Thorpe, London 1865; *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, by Miss F. E. Harmer, Cambridge 1914, containing text, translation, and notes; a scholarly work. The late Dr. Henry Sweet also published in his *Old English Texts* the text of the original charters dating before 900 A.D.

42. KING ALFRED'S WILL

MSS. 1. Stowe MS. 944 fol. 29b in the British Museum. This MS. was written at the beginning of the eleventh century.

2. A late and very inaccurate version occurs in the *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*. *Edition*. The latest and best is by Miss F. E. Harmer, *op. cit.*

1. *Æperedes*: archbishop of Canterbury from 870 to 889.

3. *min yrfe*: Alfred's private estate. Each member of the royal family had his or her own estate, like members of the nobility, which could be added to and freely bequeathed by testament.

4. *ðæt yrfe . . . becwæð*: this was an undivided estate held jointly by the three brothers or by the survivor.

7. *Æpelbold gefor*: in 860.

wyt Æðered, 'Æthelred and I.'

8. *oðfæstan Æðelbyrhte*: it is not clear why he was not given by his father a share in the joint estate; he seems to have been the eldest son.

9. *pe he hit eft . . . gewylde*, etc., 'that he should restore it to us with as indefeasible a title as when we,' etc., lit., 'that he should make it again as (much) in our possession as,' etc.

11. *ge ðæt yrfe . . . gestrynde*, 'not only the estate but also the profits on our portion (*i.e.* of Alfred and Æthelred) and his own acquisitions and savings.' As Æthelbryht thus made over everything to his two brothers, it looks as if they had helped him at some crisis by transferring to him their estate (*i.e.* its revenue).

12. *to feng*, 'succeeded to the throne,' in 866.

13. *pæt yrfe*: the joint estate plus the profits and acquisitions made (by Æthelbryht).

15. *on gefangen*, 'taken it in hand,' 'made the attempt.' *he cwæð*: Æthelred in turn promises to leave to Alfred the whole estate plus profits and additions made in his lifetime. Doubtless he provided amply for Alfred's needs in the meantime. Æthelred as king clearly needed all the ready money he could get, and would thus naturally find it inconvenient to relinquish the revenue of the joint estate.

16. *pæs pe he*: *pæs* is governed by *uðe*.

18. *on hæðenum . . . wæron*: the arrival of a great Danish force is noted in annal 866 of the *A.-S. Chronicle*, No. 25. In the two following years Northumbria and parts of Mercia were conquered.

19. *spræce* is the form used for *spræcon* when the subject pronoun follows; *cf. gehyrde* some lines later.

20. *are*, 'provision,' maintenance.' *sælde* is subjunctive, 'whatever might happen.'

21. *Swinbeorgun*: probably Swanborough Tump in Wilts, N. of Salisbury Plain.

23. *para landa*, 'our private estates.' *para landa . . . gebroðrum gecwæð*, 'estates given to each of us apart from the (joint) estate which he gave us three brothers.' These gifts were probably made by Æthelwulf just before his journey to Rome in 855; see the annal in No. 25.

31. *manegu yrfegeflitu*: made by or on behalf of Æthelred's children. Æthelwulf's grandchildren seem to have been dissatisfied with the apportionment of the royal estates.

32. *Langandene*: probably some place not far from Swanborough Tump.

35. *forðon ðe hy on reht spræcon*, 'on account of any conscientious expression of opinion' (Harmer).

38. *mægild*: here 'brother's children.' *mid wo forðemde*, 'treated with injustice.'

39. *to rihte gerehton*, 'formally gave their verdict.' *rihtre riht*, 'a better title (than mine).'

42. *swa . . . swa*, 'whether . . . or.' *handa*: a legal term meaning 'person inheriting.'

43. *handsetene*, 'sign-manual'; the document has not survived.

45. *æt ðam nyhstan dæge*, 'on my last day,' *i.e.* in my last will and testament.

46. *mid ðisse gewitnesse*, 'in the presence of these witnesses,' apparently referring to the *witan* or councillors present at the *gemot*.

48. **Strætneat**, not known with certainty.

49. **Triconscire**: a district in the N. of Cornwall. **Heortigtunes**: either in Devon or Somerset.

50. **Carumtune**: Carhampton, 4 m. W. of Watchet, on the N. coast of Somerset. **Cylfantune**: perhaps Kilton in Somerset, 6 m. N.E. of Watchet (Harmer). **Burnhamme**: Burnham in W. Somerset.

51. **Wedmor**: see No. 25, l. 261 n. **ic eom fyrmdig**, 'I request'; cf. No. 16, l. 179. **pam hiwum**, 'the monks.' Miss Harmer thinks it possible that members of the king's household may here be intended.

52. **Ceodre**: Cheddar in Somerset, on the Axe. **ceosan**, 'choose' as their lord.

53. **Ciwtune**: Chewton Mendip in N. Somerset, 5 m. N.E. of Wells.

54. **Cantuctune**: some place near Quantock Hills in N. Somerset, not far from Watchet.

Bedewindan, etc.: the modern names of these places are respectively: Bedwin, Pewsey, in E. Wilts; Hurstbourne Tarrant in N. Hants, near Andover; Sutton(?); Leatherhead, Surrey, 4 m. S.W. of Epsom; Alton in Wilts or Hants.

56. **bocland**: there has been great diversity of opinion as to the exact nature of *bocland*, but it is now agreed that it was an estate created by a special charter which constituted the title, in contrast to the *folcland* or land of the community not yet granted to individuals (see Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, § 36). King Alfred's *bocland* would be land which he had, with the consent of his *witan*, taken from the public lands for his own purposes. *Bocland* could be disposed of as the owner pleased, unless there was some stipulation to the contrary in the original charter.

57. **Cyseldene**: Chisledon, N. Wilts, 3 m. S.E. of Swindon. **to Wintan-ceastre**: i.e. to the abbey church at Winchester.

59. **neoderan Hysseburnan**: Hurstbourne Priors, near H. Tarrant, N. Wilts.

60. **gingran suna**: Æthelweard. **Eaderingtune**: not satisfactorily identified.

61. **Dene**, etc., now respectively: Dean, near Eastbourne; Meon, Hants; Amesbury, near Stonehenge, Wilts; Dean(?); Sturminster Newton, on the Stour, Dorset; Yeovil, Somerset; Crewkerne, 7 m. S.W. of Yeovil; Whitchurch(?); Axmouth, Devon; Branscombe, W. of mouth of the Axe; Cullompton, on the Culme, 12 m. N.E. of Exeter; Twyford, Dorset, probably near Sturminster Newton; Milborne, probably Milbourne Port, Somerset, near Sherborne; Exminster, 3 m. S.E. of Exeter; Lustleigh(?), 12 m. S.W. of Exeter; Luton, Devon, one of the two modern Lutons.

66. **Wealcynne**: the Britons of Cornwall and W. Devon, sometimes called *Westwealas*, cf. No. 25, l. 86 n.

67. **yldstan dehter**: Æthelflæd, who married Æthelred, viceroy of Mercia, and was afterwards so famous for her successes against the Danes in collaboration with her brother King Eadward.

Welewe: Wellow, Somerset, 4. m. S. of Bath. **pære medemestan**: Æthelgifu, an abbess.

68. **Clearan**: Kingsclere, 9 m. N.W. of Basingstoke. **Cendefer**: perhaps Candover, Hants, 5 m. N.W. of New Alresford. **pære gingestan**:

Ælfthryth, who married Baldwin II. of Flanders; from her was descended Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror.

Welig, etc., respectively: Wellow, I. of Wight(?); Ashton Keynes, 4 m. W. of Cricklade, Wilts; Chippenham, N.W. Wilts.

ham: a country seat or homestead farm on which is the residence of the owner; at a later period *ham* was synonymous with 'manor.'

69. **Æðelme**: perhaps the caldorman who in the *A.-S. Chronicle* anno 887 is said to have taken to Rome the alms of the West Saxons and King Alfred. Asser calls him *comes Wiltuniensium*, i.e. Earl of Wiltshire.
70. **Ealdingburnan**, etc.: Aldingbourne, W. Sussex, 4 m. N.E. of Chichester; Compton (?); Crondall, N. Hants, 3 m. N.W. of Farnham; Beeding, W. Sussex, N.E. of Horsham; Beddingham, 2 m. S.E. of Lewes; Burnham (?); Thunderfield, Surrey, 3 m. S.W. of Godstone; Eashing, close to Godalming.
72. **Æðelwolde**: son of Alfred's brother Æthelred. On Alfred's death he rebelled and induced the Danes of the Danelaw to rise against King Eadweard; he was killed in battle in 905. He must have been embittered by a sense of unjust treatment, his claim to the throne as the son of Æthelred having been passed over in favour of Alfred and then of Alfred's son.
73. **Godelsingum**, etc.; Godalming, Surrey; 34 m. S.W. of London; Guildford, Surrey; Steyning, Sussex, some 5 m. N.W. of New Shoreham, formerly a place of considerable importance, with two members of Parliament.
74. **Osferðe**: perhaps a member of the family of Osburh, Alfred's mother. **Beccanlea**, etc.: Beckley, Rotherfield, Ditchling, Sutton, Angmering, Felpham, all in Sussex. **Lullingmynster** is either Lullington, or else Leominster, (Lyminster) both in Sussex. All these places are villages a few miles inland, extending from Littlehampton to Beachy Head.
77. **Ealhswiðe**: Alfred's wife who died in 905. **Lamburnan** Lambourn, Berks.
78. **Waneting**: Wantage, Berks, where Alfred was born. **Eðandune**: see No. 25, l. 253 n.
80. **punda**: approximately one pound troy weight of silver, coined into 240 pennies. Silver coins of the specified total weight would be paid out of the royal treasury.
82. **mangcusa**: see No. 31, l. 72 n. These particular sums would be counted out in gold coins, not weighed out. Perhaps for small bequests gold coins would be more esteemed by Alfred's legatees as being portable and usable as ornaments.
84. **Æperede**: Alfred's son-in-law; see No. 25, l. 300 n.
85. **þam mannum . . . folgiað**: Alfred's personal attendants or court (*folgaþ*).
88. **Esne**: not known.
89. **Wærferðe**: bishop of Worcester from 873 to 915, to whom Alfred addressed his preface to the translation of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*; see No. 31, l. 1. **ðam æt Scireburnan**. Sherborne would have a special interest for Alfred, as his two brothers Æthelbald and Æthelberht were buried there. When the will was made, Asser had probably not yet been appointed to the see, which may have been temporarily vacant.
90. **þa frynd . . . þingie**: intimate friends and relations, for the repose of whose souls Æthelwulf and afterwards Alfred were concerned.
92. **Godes þeowum**: a general term for the clergy.
93. **cyrican . . . reste**: the cathedral at Winchester.
97. **syndan**: probably an error for the usual subjunctive *sien* or *syn*.
99. **hæfde monegum . . . awritene**, 'I had given a number of people charters, all witnessed by the same persons.' It would seem that Alfred, instead of embodying bequests of land in his former will, caused a number of charters, or rather written promises, to be drawn up, all witnessed at the same time, and sent to the

grantees. He now revokes them all, burnt and unburnt, apparently a somewhat arbitrary proceeding, but we are ignorant of his motives.

108. *ofer heora dæg*, 'after their death.'

109. *on ða nyhstan hand me*, 'to my next heirs,' *i.e.* nearest of kin; *hand* has this technical sense in wills.

112. *yldra fæder*, 'my grandfather,' Ecgberht, who ruled Wessex from 802 to 839.

114. *mine magas*, 'my male kinsmen.' *be ðan libbendan*, 'in the life-time,' *sc.* of the woman.

115. *gif hit elles sy*, 'if it be otherwise,' *i.e.* if they can wait.

116. *forðon ic cweðe . . . swaðer ic wylle*. Alfred here asserts his right to dispose of his own property as he pleases.

119. *ðæt . . . ne geswence . . . geald*, 'not to interfere with the right of choice in the case of those for whom I have paid'; *cyrelif* originally meant the right of a manumitted serf to choose his lord; but it may also be an abstract noun used concretely in the sense of 'freed serf or serfs.'

122. *swa . . . swa*, 'either . . . or.'

126. *pæt hy . . . ceosan*, 'to prevent them from choosing.'

127. *Domrahamme*; Damerham, 4 m. N.E. of Cranborn, S. Hants.

129. *Ælflæde*; some near relative of King Alfred.

43. ABBA'S WILL

MS. Cotton Aug. ii. 64, in the British Museum.
E.H.D.

Edited in Miss Harmer's

1. *geroefa*. In the non-W.S. dialects as well as in early W.S. *oe* occurs as the intermediate stage of the umlaut of *o* to *e*; see No. 55, n.

6. *gemeccan*: Heregyth. *sioððan swæ forð*, 'thenceforward.'

9. *mid clennisse*, 'with purity,' *i.e.* without remarrying.

11. *hire nytt gedoe*, 'make it profitable to her,' *i.e.* work it at a profit.
swlung or *sulung* was a Kentish measure of land, from *sulh*, 'plough.'

It seems to have meant originally the amount of land that would require one plough and team for its cultivation. It came to be a synonym for 'hide,' *i.e.* land sufficient to support a farmer and his dependants, about 120 acres of average land. In Latin it is translated by *aratrum*.

12. *Ciollandene*: Chillendon 6 m. W. of Deal.
condition that.'

wið ðan ðe, 'on condition that.'

13. *to ðem londe*, 'to cultivate the land with.'

18. *suð to faranne*: *i.e.* cross the Channel probably for a pilgrimage to Rome.

20. *Liminge*: Lyminge, Kent, 3½ m. N. of Hythe; where there was a monastery.

21. *Folcanstane*: the monastery at Folkestone.

22. *higum ansundran*, 'to the monks severally.'

pend is short for *pendingas*. The silver penny weighed about one-twentieth of an ounce; see n. on *pund*, No. 42, l. 80.

23. *innanges*: the privilege of entering as a nun.

25. *hlaford*: here may mean the head of the community, abbot, or abbess, but its meaning is often uncertain.

27. *mid minum lice*, 'at my burial.' place.'

wið legerstowe, 'for my resting

34. *min wærgeld*. Unless we assume an error, Abba would seem to have been a *ceorl* or farmer, not a noble, as two thousand pence would be the wergild of a Kentish *ceorl* as Miss Harmer points out.

Freoðmund . . . sweorde.

The reason for this gift of a sword to Frithmund and the conditions attached to it are not clear. It may be conjectured that Abba had lent F. 4000 pence; this sum must be repaid in full by F., who received a sword as an acknowledgment, and then 1300 pence will be remitted. In this way F. will have an inducement to repay the loan promptly.

38. *oðða him . . . sele*, 'if anything else happens to them,' a euphemism for 'if they should die.'

41. *geðian*: not elsewhere found, seems to be a causative use of *ðeon*, 'prosper'; transl. 'work at a profit,' 'exploit.' *him gifeðe bið*, 'if it is granted him,' *i.e.* if he is in a condition to do so.

45. *ðider*: to the community. archbishop of Canterbury.

se monn . . . hlaford sie: perhaps the

48. *ic Ciolnoð*, etc. The witnesses to A.-S. charters did not necessarily sign their names; each touched the cross written by the scribe alongside his name (also written by the scribe), and repeated a formula such as *ic . . . ðafe ond write*; see Earle, *Handbook*, p. xxxvi.

52. *Cealflocan*: Challock, Kent, 4 m. N.E. of Ashford.

56. *sester*: from Latin *sextarius*, was originally about a pint, but in the course of time its capacity both as a liquid and as a dry measure was largely increased.

60. *blodlese*: the monks were let blood on fixed days.

61. *erfehonda*: here perhaps means 'administrator.'

63. *feorme*, 'food-rent.'

44. BISHOP ÆLFWOLD

MS. in the Bodleian, Crawford Collection, Arch. F.a. 3. and Stevenson's *E.C.D.* No. X.

Edited in Napier

3. *mid mete . . . mannum*, 'with the livestock and corn, together with the serfs belonging to the land.' *witepeowum mannum*: were men enslaved on account of crime, not serfs attached to the land; they could be bought and sold individually.

4. *hiwscypes*, 'hide of land,' lit. 'household.'

5. *his hlaforde*: the king.

8. *him sceal*, 'owes him.'

9. *hanon*: the meaning of this word is not clear; it may be the dat. plur. of *hana* 'cock,' used to denote some part of the ship.

11. *Hrabanum*: a work of Hrabanus Maurus, a noted scholar, archbishop of Mainz, who died 856 A.D.

12. *wildra worfa*: may mean 'oxen and horses not yet broken in'; *worſ* means 'farm beasts, large and small.'

20. *pæs monnes*, 'the manumitted slave.'

24. *he lænde . . . hi hine*, 'he (Ælfwold) lent (that sum) to Tune and his brothers and sisters; let them satisfy him' (Ælfgar).'

26. *hrigchrægl*: lit. 'back-garment,' perhaps some decorative covering for a chair, or else a vestment.

offestran: may mean 'child of his foster-mother.'

32. **bletsungboc** : a book containing formulas for blessing for certain occasions.

bisceophame : may mean an estate serving as the residence or country seat of the bishop.

34. on cxx . . . **mancsum**, 'valued at 120 mancuses,' these vessels were clearly of gold.

45. GRANT TO ÆTHELNOTH

MS. Cot. Aug. ii. 100 (Latin part only); for the O.E. part, Stowe Charters No. 7, in the British Museum (Ashburnham MSS.). Printed in G. Birch, ii. 7.

8. **omnium**. This word in the MS. looks like *omni uñ*.

20. **Eastorege** : now Eastry in E. Kent, a village near Sandwich, formerly the seat of the kings of Kent.

28. **geleornie**, 'may judge fitting.'

30. **gif hiora . . . forgelimpe**, 'if the journey (*i.e.* death) of either or both first happen,' *i.e.* before that of Archbishop Wulfred.

32. **suæ . . . geweorthe**, 'as may be agreed on,' a common meaning of *geweorðan*. Earle alters **hie** to *hit* and translates 'as it then stands.'

We give here a brief summary of the remarks in the Introduction to Earle's *Land Charters* on the form adopted in drawing up a typical *boc*, conveying full ownership. The language employed in the first or formal part is almost always Latin, whereas the second part or description of the land is usually in English, or a mixture of Latin and English :—

1. The preamble, usually in the form of an invocation to God.
2. The grant, with names of grantor and grantee.
3. The sanction or punishment for violation of the conditions, usually in the form of an imprecation, more or less lurid.
4. The *perambulatio* or description.
5. The date and signatures, *handsetene*, *i.e.* the names of the parties and witnesses; see n. to No. 43, l. 48.

46. AGREEMENT ABOUT LAND

MS. Cotton Aug. ii. 19, in the British Museum.

Edited by Miss Harmer

in *E.H.D.* No. vii.

2. **Cert** : Chart, E. Kent, 2 m. from Ashworth.

4. **nennigra . . . cynnes**, 'to no other member of the family.' Perhaps we should read *nennigre*, d.s.f. as Miss Harmer suggests.

5. **hit atuge**, 'dispose of it.'

6. **Cyne** : an abbreviation of *Cyneðryð*; such abbreviations were common.

12. **mest cyn**, 'it is most natural.'

47. LAND BOUNDARIES

MS. Cotton Aug. ii. 63, in the British Museum. Printed in Birch iii. 11, and Sweet's *A.-S. Reader*.

In the Latin preamble and grant King Eadmund grants to bishop Ælfric for his 'laudable zeal of obedience and amiable service' thirty manors at Badby, Dodford, and Everdon, all in Northamptonshire. The 'sanction' at the end runs as follows :
Si quis autem propria temeritate violenter præsumpserit, sciat se procul

dubio ante tribunal districti iudicis titubantem iremebundumque ratione redditurum, nisi prius digna satisfactione emendare maluerit.

1. **Baddanbyrig**, etc. These are villages a few m. S.E. of Daventry.
5. **pæt pær norð**: in descriptions of land-boundaries *pæt* is a connective particle with the same meaning as *bonne*.
9. **hammes**: properly, 'flat land at a river-bend,' then 'pasture-land.'
11. **holan weg**, 'sunken lane.'
12. **heorotsol**: perhaps means 'drinking place or pond frequented by deer.'
16. **pære ealdan byrig**: probably an ancient earthwork or fort.
17. **mærpytte**: the meaning of this word, lit. 'boundary pit,' is not clear; it may be equivalent to *græf* 'moat.'
19. **Wætlinga stræt**: the Roman road running from E. Kent through St. Albans, Dunstable, and Towcester to Chester and N. Wales.
20. **se stoc**: may here mean either 'the tree-stump,' or 'the stockade'; the former is the original meaning.
22. **Blide**: a small river.
24. **hæpenan byrgels**: one of the numerous burial mounds or 'barrows' scattered over the country. **wyrtruman**: properly 'root,' is commonly used in descriptions of boundaries to denote 'lower side,' 'bottom.'
31. **sealtstræt**: the meaning of this word is not clear; possibly it may mean 'the road used by the salt-waggons.' **fulan**: here perhaps 'slow-running,' 'stagnant,' it has this meaning in numerous place-names.
33. **uncer Brentinges**, 'mine (Ælfric's) and Brenting's.' **min hlaford**: the king.
35. **lacu** is a sheet of water in communication with the river. Such sheets must have been common in the early days before large-scale drainage was introduced.
- Fealuwes**: may here be a person's name.
38. **redan het**, 'had the boundaries read out' of an old charter.
40. **Baddanby**: this form, which occurs again later on, is remarkable as perhaps the oldest instance of the place-name ending *-by*. Here it seems to be used indifferently with *-byrig*.
44. **Cearwyllun**: either the river Cherwell, or Charwelton, a small parish.
46. **Stæfertune**: Staverton.

48. MEMORIAL TO KING EADWEARD

MS. Chart. Antiq. Cantuar. C. 1282, in Canterbury Cathedral Library. *Edited* in Miss Harmer's *E.H.D.* No. xviii.

1. **leof**: the use of this word does not necessarily indicate that the petitioner was an intimate friend or a relative of King Eadgar; it was the usual way of beginning a letter or memorial. **Funtial**: Fonthill, close to Hindon, S. Wilts.
2. **ymb spycð**, 'is claiming'; *specan*, a late form of *sprecan*, has here the technical meaning of 'lay a charge,' or 'bring a suit.'
5. **forðon ic his . . . handa**, 'because I stood godfather to him,' lit. 'received him from the hands of the bishop'; for this meaning of *onfon* with the genitive, see No. 25, l. 260 n.
8. **lyfde he . . . ðæt land**, 'the king permitted him to have recourse to legal action, in consequence of my intercession and my correct account in the matter of the land as compared with Æthelm's.'

10. *hie seman*, 'to effect a compromise or arbitration between them.'
12. *Wulfhun . . . Sumortune*: this careful identification shows that there was more than one well-known man named Wulfhun. We have here an early instance of the type of surname derived from a place which in the following centuries became predominant. *Sumortune*: probably Somerton, Somerset, 5 m. N.E. of Langport.
14. *gan forð*, 'proceed further.'
15. *bocon*, 'title-deeds.' *geagnian . . . hæfde swa*, 'claim the land as his own on the ground that.'
17. *ahte . . . syllanne*, 'had a perfect right to sell it to him.'
18. *ða heo . . . com*, 'when she married Æthulf.'
21. *ælces ðara monna* is equivalent to *ælc ðara monna sealde his handsetene*.
22. *habban wolde*, 'have as witnesses.' *Weardoran*: Wardour, Wilts, 2 m. S.W. of Tisbury.
25. *aðe ðæs ðe near*, 'by so much nearer the oath.' This phrase means that a stage in the proceedings had now arrived when Helmstan could produce the oaths of his 'helpers,' certifying the truth of that which he had himself sworn; for oaths see No. 38, § 2.
29. *ðæt gedon hæfde*: *i.e.* had finished washing his hands.
32. *cunnigan*, 'try to do so,' *i.e.* to find 'oath-helpers.'
33. *ðone að be fullan*: *i.e.* the requisite number of 'helpers.'
36. *forburste*, 'collapse' through failure to find the requisite number of 'helpers.' The MS. has been damaged, so that some words are missing. Miss Harmer's emendation in l. 35 is practically certain. In l. 36 from 12 to 15 letters are missing in the MS.
38. *ðe he his me uðe*, 'that he would give me the land.'
41. *hit wære . . . spæc*, 'the dispute was settled.'
42. *se dom*: the royal decision.
45. *gemotad*, 'finished any discussion,' 'put an end to litigation.'
49. *an oðer healf . . . ymb tua*, 'a year and a half or two years, I don't remember which.'
50. *unlædan*: may be for *unlæddan*, 'unled,' 'stray.' *ðe . . . fore*, 'as a result of which.'
51. *forwearð*, 'came to grief,' or to use a colloquialism, 'did for himself.' *Cytlid*: is identified by Miss Harmer with Chicklade, Wilts, 5 m. S.W. of Heytesbury.
55. *Tyssebyrig*: Tisbury, Wilts, 13 m. W. of Salisbury.
58. *hit wæs his læn . . . sæt*, 'the land Helmstan occupied was leased from Ordlafe.'
59. *forwyrcean*, 'forfeit.' *tu* is for *þu*, by assimilation of the spirant *þ* to the plosive *d* (pronounced as *t*); cf. *mit te* some lines later.
64. *Lidgeard*: Liddiard, Wilts.
70. *Worgemynster*: Warminster, Wilts.

49. HISTORY OF CERTAIN LANDS

MS. not now known. The text was printed in the *Archæological Journal* for 1857 from a copy made by Kemble, who died during the printing. His text, preface, and translation are reproduced by Earle in *Land Charters*, pp. 201-206.

1. *se fruma*, 'the beginning of the business.' **wiman**: a female serf,
called *ðone mann* two lines later. The word *wifmann* takes the gender of its second element.
3. *ða tymde . . . andagen*, 'Wulfstan named Æthelstan at Sudbury as his *geteama*, and gave official notice of this, but he (Æthelstan) let the matter go by default and failed to appear at the appointed term.' In A.-S. law if A. found his stolen property in the possession of B. the latter, if he wished to dispute ownership, would name his *geteama*, *i.e.* the previous owner, who would be called upon to declare on oath that he had sold his property to B., with full right to do so. In this case B. was said *tieman hit to hwæm*, *i.e.* to name a person as the vendor. When Wulfstan called upon Æthelstan the latter, knowing he could not prove his title to the ownership of the serf, failed to appear in court and so forfeited his wergild; see A.-S. *Laws*, No. 37, §§ 6, 7.
7. *Byrhferð*: as the king's deputy has to call upon Æthelstan to forfeit his wergild for failing to find a *geteama*.
10. *boc*: though Æthelstan had not the use of the land he could prevent it from being sold.
12. *ðonne . . . gebide*, 'than that he should ever abide that.'
15. *gebeh under*, 'took service with.' **Norðhealum**: not identified;
there is a parish called North Hales on the Suffolk coast.
16. **Eadred**: reigned 946-955.
17. **Eadwig**: reigned 955-959.
18. *ungebetra þinga*, 'without having mended the matter,' *i.e.* without having paid the wergild; **ungebetra** = *ungebetedra*.
20. *gecuran . . . cynge*: this happened in 957. Eadwig was forced by his *witan* to give up Mercia to his brother Eadgar. Middlesex was Mercian at this time.
23. *oðrum*, 'the other king,' Eadred. **næfde he hwanon**, 'had not
whence, *i.e.* could not find the money.
26. *for legere*, 'for the tomb,' *i.e.* after his death.
30. *on halre tungan*, 'with whole tongue,' a phrase which according to Kemble means 'without a sound, unimpeached right to bequeath.' But exactly the opposite meaning seems to be required, *viz.* 'when he had a perfect right to bequeath.'
31. *lafe*, 'relict,' 'widow.'
32. *munde*, 'trust.'
34. *ætræd . . . adranc*: Ecgferth's property was escheated, as he committed suicide. The sword seems here to have some symbolic significance, perhaps as indicating official position in the king's service.
36. **Sendan**: Send is a village in W. Surrey, N. of Guildford.
37. *his wer*: Ecgferth's wergild, by paying which Dunstan hoped to redeem the escheated land.
38. *ðæt mihte . . . legere*, 'that (*i.e.* the wergild) might be offered as the price of a grave in consecrated ground.'
39. *ða spæce*, 'the discussion.' The king refers Dunstan to Ælfheah.
42. *unbecwedene . . . dægtide*, 'free from claim and undebarrd as against every man up to that day,' *i.e.* with a clear and indefeasible title.
43. *derr*, 'dares,' *i.e.* is authorised.
44. *se . . . ðe*, 'he (Ælfheah) . . . who.' **gerehton**, 'had adjudged.'

50. REMISSION OF PORT-DUES

MS. Heming 20. Printed in Earle, *Land Charters*, pp. 41-42.

4. **pa**, 'who,' would be *þe* at a later period.

5. **aldormen**: here means their patron saint.

6. **Huicca mægðe**: this tribe, which is mentioned in the *A.-S. Chronicle* annal for 800, and in Bede's *History*, inhabited parts of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire.

11. **Ludentunes**: London was a Mercian town at this period.

51. ESCHEATED LAND

MS. Soc. Antiq. Lond. No. lx., fol. 54v. *Edition* Birch iii. p. 372.

3. Birch suggests that **Hwessingatune** may be a scribal error for *Hwerringatune* = Werrington in Northamptonshire, near Peterborough. If this is correct, **Jaceslea** is Yaxley, $4\frac{1}{2}$ m. S. of Peterborough, and **Ægeleswurðe** is Ailsworth, 5 m. W. of Peterborough.

7. **drifon iserne stacan**: an act expressly forbidden by the laws against witchcraft; *cf.* No. 54, l. 45.

52. MANUMISSION OF THRALLS

Edition Birch iii. pp. 536.

The identifications of place-names are those

given by Birch.

1-10. **Ordgar** was an ealdorman *circa* 971.

Bradanstane: Bradstone,

Devon. **Liwtune**: Lifton, Dev.

Lamburnan: Lamerton, Dev.

Swurantune: Sourton, Dev.

Cyricforda: Charford (?), Dev.

Ocomondtune: Okehampton, Dev.

bocland: Buckland Monachorum (?),

Dev. **Trefineutune**: Trematon, Cornw.

Clymestune: Stoke

Climsland, Cornw.

Borslea: Bowsleigh, Dev.

IV. FOLK-LORE AND HEATHEN SURVIVALS.

53. A.-S. CHARMS

MSS. The bulk of the A.-S. 'charms' is contained in two MSS. of the British Museum: Regius 12 D xvii. and Harley 585. Other charms, spells, etc., are scattered through numerous MSS.

Editions. The text of all except four of the A.-S. medical recipes, charms, incantations, exorcisms, etc., was printed by T. O. Cockayne in his *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, 3 vols. London 1864. The best edition of the A.-S. charms properly so-called is that by Felix Grendon in the *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. xxii. No. 84, April-June 1909, containing introduction, translation, and explanatory notes; to this excellent work we are largely indebted. The student may also consult *The Religion of the Teutons*, by D. P. Chantepie de la Saussaye, translated from the Dutch, Boston 1902.

1. **Æcerbot**

MSS. Cotton Caligula A vii. fol. 171a; and Bodleian Junius 85 fol. 103.

Grendon remarks, 'This charm contains incantations and ceremonial instructions

intended to drive away the demons or sorcerers whose activities have caused a farm-land to become barren. The ceremonies for 'releasing' the bewitched fields were probably akin to ancient ceremonies in honour of the earth goddess, who alone could bestow bountiful crops. . . . In 936 a German abbess established ceremonies to take the place of the former heathen processions about the fields.

2. **dry . . . lyblace**: we do not know the exact meaning of these and other A.-S. words relating to superstitious practices which survived the introduction of Christianity.

4. **tyrf**: turf had symbolic uses in the primitive cult connected with land. Here four sods or spadefuls are taken from the field.

6. **feos**, 'cattle,' 'farm beasts,' the oldest meaning of the word; *cf.* the German *Vieh*.

7. **butan heardan beaman**: these hard woods needed no sanctification.

8. **glappan**, may be either the burdock, *Arctium Lappa*, or the bogbean, otherwise known as buckbean or marsh-trefoil, *Menyanthes trifoliata*. Why it was also excluded we cannot tell.

10. **crescite**, etc., is taken from Genesis i. 28.

15. **pan turf on** is dat. pl.

17. **cwicbeame** is of uncertain meaning; it may denote the wood of a special tree or it may merely mean 'green, unseasoned wood.' Grendon, however, translates 'aspenwood.' Professor A. E. H. Swaen suggests 'juniper.'

19. **pone pyt**: the hole from which the sod was dug.

21. **sete ðær ufon on**, 'place them down on' the crucifixes in the holes.

25. **eastweard**, etc.: Grendon suspects 'that this incantation was originally a prayer to the sun with incidental invocations to the spirits of the earth and of the heavenly vault. A sun cult seems to have existed among almost all nations living in cold or temperate climates, and there was a well-nigh universal doctrine that sunrise was fatal to evil spirits of every kind.'

30. **heahreced**: may mean 'the church,' or it may be a picturesque name for the vault of heaven.

32. **toðum ontynan**: another picturesque expression, meaning 'to utter.'

37. **drihtnes pances**, 'by God's will or favour,' *cf.* No. 25, l. 465.

41. **Criste . . . rode**: these words depend on **lofe** and **weorpinga**.

43. **pam to are . . . age**, 'for the benefit of him who owns the field.'

44. **uncuð sæd**: the nature of the seed is not to be known by the person using the incantation until the almsmen hand it to him. When he sees it he must get some of the same seed and give it to the almsmen. The later practice of using charity children to draw lots in lotteries may be a survival of this.

45. **twa swylc**: either 'twice as many grains,' or 'twice as much grain.'

46. **gegaderie . . . sulhteogo**: the hallowing of the plough has always been a most important detail of the procedure among the farmers of primitive communities.

49. **Erce**: Grimm thought this was the name of the 'Earth Mother,' but it may well be, as Grendon thinks, merely an instance of the meaningless incantation phrases which frequently occur in the 'charms.'

53. **sceafta henpes**: the MS. reading gives no sense; transl. 'stalks of hemp and gleaming crops, the broad tilth of barley crops, the white tilth of wheat crops, and the tilth of all the fruits of the earth.' One editor (Schlutter) emends

the MS. reading to *sceafta scira hersewæstma* 'bright harvest of shafts of millet.' The word *herse*, however, does not occur elsewhere in Old English, though in Old High German the word *hirsī*, 'millet,' is found.

61. *sawen* : agrees with *yrþ* two lines above.

63. *pæs cwíðol wif* : women were regarded as especially *wordcræftig*, even to the extent of being able to annul the effect of incantations.

70. *abacæ innewerdre . . . hlaf*, 'bake a loaf as broad as the palm of the hand.'

2. Wið Færstice

MS. Harley 585, fol. 175a. 'The spell is intended to cure a sudden twinge or stitch, possibly rheumatism, supposedly due to shots sent by witches, elves, and other spirits flying through the air. The charm falls naturally into five divisions: A recipe for a magic herbal concoction (ll. 81, 82); the epic introduction (ll. 83, 84); the attack of the flying demons and the exorcist's three retaliatory measures—flying dart, knife forged by the smith, and spears wrought by six smiths (ll. 85-97); the principal incantation (ll. 98-107). . . . A similar charm is found among the Finns, but the epic elements are missing. Spears and arrows have been hurled by a malignant sorcerer, while the healing exorcist threatens to attack the evil one with magic pincers made by the great smith Ilmarinen' (Grendon).

87. *stod*, 'I stood,' or rather, 'I am standing.'

88. *mihtigan wif*: the witches.

94. *iserna wund swiðe*: a word or two is missing here in the MS. Rieger, a German editor, emends to *iserna wraðost wundrum swiðe*, 'fiercest of iron (weapons), wondrous strong.' The smiths were probably elves of the gnome type.

103. *esa gescot*: the O.E. word *ōs* means one of the old heathen gods, Woden, Thor, etc., in O. Norse called *asir*, from the Germanic stem **ans-*. The word occurs as the first element of A.-S. and O. Scandinavian personal names, as Osbeorn, Asbjörn, etc. 'The degradation of the gods, who are mentioned in one breath with elves and witches, is due to Christian influence' (G.). **ylfa**

gescot, 'we may compare the German *Alpschoss*, Swedish *älfqvarn*, Engl. *elf-stone*, Norw. *älfpil*, Scotch *elf-flint*, *elf-arrow*, *elf-bolt*. In Scotland elf-bolts 'were long believed to be actual missiles such as those referred to in the charm. . . . Later superstition spoke of shots sent by the devil; cf. *þa deoflu feohtende scuton heora fyrenan flan ongean ða sawle* (Ælfric Hom. ii. 142); cf. also the passage in *Beowulf*, ll. 1743-47' (Grendon); see No. 11, ll. 20-21.

107. *fleoh . . . sende*: 'witches and spirits generally were, in later folklore, believed to live in hills, rocks, wildernesses, etc.' (G.).

108. This line is addressed to the patient.

3. Wið Dweorh

MS. Harley 585, fol. 167a. 'The charm falls into two main divisions: A (ll. 109-115), comprising directions for a superstitious ceremonial; B (ll. 116-end), including the incantatory portion. In part A, lines 109-111 form a Christian preface to the superstitious ritual of lines 112-115. Part B is a characteristic heathen spell with an epic passage and an "Amen fiat" tacked on at the end to save

appearances. . . . The incantatory passage is full of obscurities, but the general meaning can be puzzled out. *pu* (l. 118) refers to the plaguing dwarf responsible for the attack; and the sense is that the spider is to ride off, using the dwarf-demon as his horse. . . . As soon as they have ridden away, the wounds begin to cool' (G.).

It is not clear what disease is to be cured by the charm.

110. *Maximianus*, etc., 'the names of the seven famous youths of Ephesus who slept in Mt. Celion for 230 years' (G.).

122. *pa geændade heo*: from these words Grendon concludes that the spell was first pronounced by some woman famed for her charm-lore. If this is true, the woman seems to be identified with the sister of the spider.

4. *Wið Ælfadle*

MS. Regius 12, D. xvii. fol. 123b.

126. *punresæfen*: Thursday was a day for special observances among the early Germans, as Grimm has shown.

127. *elenan*: the plant elecampane, called *inula helenium* by botanists; it has an aromatic flavour.

129. *furpum scade*, 'are just divided,' 'are on the turn,' *i.e.* at dawn.

131. *hwæthwega egeslices*, 'something terrible,' such as a ghost.

137. *do to drence . . . ragu*, 'make it and bishop's-wort and lichen from a crucifix into a drink.'

140. *ymbwrit on cruce*, 'mark crosses round it.'

5. *Wið Ymbe*

MS. Regius, Corpus Christi Coll. Camb. 41, fol. 202.

'The charm is in two parts, the first consisting of the introduction and of the first speech; the second, of the directions and of the concluding speech. The second part was long believed to be a separate spell, referring to the Valkyries' (G.). Bees, like spiders, were objects of superstition.

145. *eorðe mæg*: this may be taken in the literal sense, or it may refer, as Grendon thinks, to the Earth Spirit.

147. *mannes tungan*: *i.e.* a spell or charm.

148. *and wipufan . . . greot*, 'and throw some earth up over them.' The *MS.* reading *and wið on* gives no sense.

149. *sigewif*, 'an appellation of the Valkyries, is probably used with the idea of mollifying or conciliating the rebellious spirit of the bees. Perhaps there was also an idea of the bees being "servants of Woden," for we find them called "ancillæ dei" in a Latin charm. A German editor, Kögel, thinks *sigewulf* a title like that in "Lady bird, lady bird, fly away home" (G.).

6. *Nigon Wyrta Galdor*

MS. Harley 585, fol. 160a.

The student may refer to the article by the late Dr. Henry Bradley in *Archiv.* cxiii. 1904, and to the article on *Nigon Wyrta* in Hoops's *Lexicon*.

The nine plants are twice enumerated, the second list varying from the first in substituting the names *lombes cyrse* and *netele* for

stīme and *wergulu*. The two latter words may be other, possibly older, names for the first two. It is probable that a line or two has been omitted in the MS.

153. *mucgwyrt*: botanical name *Artemisia*, a genus of aromatic plants, of which vermouth or absinthe is one species, and astragon another. Many of these species are used in medicine, or as a flavouring of cordials. The word *mucgwyrt* is probably connected with *mycg* 'midge.'

154. *Regenmelde*: apparently the name of a place, but as Dr. H. Bradley pointed out, 'the name *Rægnmæld* occurs as a Northumbrian female personal name. This spelling (pointing to an umlaut *e*) suggests that *mæld* may be a metathetic derivative of *mæðel* 'meeting,' 'council.' If so, the compound would be synonymous with the Old Norse *reginþing*, which is found (apparently as a mythic place-name) in the *Helgakvida*.'

155. *yldost*, 'chief,' perhaps, rather than 'eldest.'

156. *ðu miht . . . þritig*: this line is repeated in l. 42. The meaning is probably 'You will avail against three and thirty evil spirits.' 'The multiples of 11 up to 100 were continually used by Teutonic and Hindu sorcerers. The number 33 was an especial favourite in Sanskrit writings: the gods number 33' (Grendon).

158. *þu miht . . . lond færð*: this line occurs twice.

159. *wegbrade*: the German *Wegbreit*, 'plantain,' botanical name *Plantago*, a genus with many species, none of which have properties likely to account for the magic powers ascribed to them. It is, however, a valuable fodder and is often used as a salad on the Continent.

160. *eastan*: may be an error for *aftan*; if so we transl. 'with tail outspread'; cf. *earn aftan hīvit* 'the white-tailed eagle,' *Battle of Brunanburh*, l. 63.

161. *ofer ðe cræto . . . fnærdon*: the remarkable powers of endurance possessed by the common plantain, due to its habit of growing flattened out on the ground, seem to have impressed primitive man.

162. *bryodedon*: this may be the word which occurs in No. 12, l. 28 as *breodað*; both are Kentish forms, of *bregdian*, *brīdian*, 'practise tricks or cunning,' from *bregd*, 'trick,' 'artifice.' B.T. however refer this form to *brīodwian*, as in *Guthlac*, l. 259.

163. *wiðstunedest*: properly 'didst make a loud noise against,' may here be merely a stronger word for *wiðstode*.

165. *þæm laðan*, 'the hateful fiend.'

166. *stīme*: the MS. here is indistinct, and this word may be read as *stūne*; neither form occurs elsewhere.

169. *wreceð*, 'drives out.'

173. *fleoh þu . . . bot sy*: we do not know what these two lines refer to; apparently the betony is fighting two evils or diseases and cures both.

attorlaðe: botanical name *betonica*, a plant with reddish-purple flowers and toothed leaves, once greatly used in medicine.

175. *mægðe*: is *anthenis nobilis*, the well-known camomile, the flowers of which have been used in medicine from remote times.

176. *Alorforda*: may be the name of a place familiar to the person who wrote out the charm.

179. *wergulu*: Toller in the *A.-S. Dictionary* takes this word to be the feminine of the adj. *weargol*, *wærgol* 'given to cursing or reviling,' a not unsuitable name for the nettle.

Lines 179-187 seem to be out of their proper order in the MS.; the following arrangement would make better sense:—

Þis is seo wyrð	ðe wergulu hatte,
ðas onsænde seolh	ofer sæs hrycg,
ondan attres	oþres to bote.
Wyrð com snican,	toslat he man ;
ða genam Woden nigon	wuldortanas,
ðas nigon ongan	wið nigon attrum ;
sloh ða þa næddran,	þæt heo on nigon tofleah,
þæt heo næfre ne wolde	on hus bugan
þær geændade æppel	andan attor.

We have emended the MS. reading *and* to *andan*.

181. 'The venom (lit. malice) of one poison (*i.e.* the nettle's) to heal that of another.'

182. *ongan* : 'stings' of nine nettle-stalks.

184. *wuldortanas*, either twigs of all the nine magic plants or nine nettle-stalks ; for the prefix *wuldor* see l. 197n.

186. The mention of *æppel* seems out of place here ; it is probable that a few lines descriptive of the *wudusuræppel*, as it is called in l. 217, have been omitted in the MS. by the copyist.

190. *hongode* : *i.e.* on the Cross.

191. *seofon worulde*, 'the seven worlds,' a common expression in primitive folklore ; *cf.* our expression 'in the seventh heaven.'

193. *stondeþ heo . . . manra wihta* : these lines may have originally followed the three lines referring to *wergulu*, as *heo* cannot refer to both thyme and fennel.

196. *manra* is Bradley's emendation for the MS. reading *minra*. Perhaps we should read *mircre* 'dark,' 'evil,' *mirce* being frequently used in the metaphorical sense.

197. *wuldorgeflogenum* : *wuldor* here, as in *wuldortanas*, l. 184, probably only means 'great.'

199. The MS. reading *runlan* gives no sense. An adj. of colour is required by the context ; *rudol*, though not elsewhere found, is allied to *rudu* 'red colour,' and *rudig* 'ruddy' ; *cf.* the dialect word 'ruddle,' red paint or wash.

211. *ic ana wat . . . geblawe*. 'In many Indo-European spells the exorcist begins with an account of his own prowess and a recital of his achievements. No doubt this is intended to intimidate the spook or to impress the victim' (Grendon). *ea rinnende* : primitive man attributed healing and magic powers to running water.

212. *þa nygon . . . behealdað* : the word *wyrte* seems to have dropped out ; transl. 'and serpents pay regard to the nine plants.' The sense here seems so disconnected that a line or two may have fallen out.

217. *wudusuræppel* seems to mean the fruit or berry of some sour-tasting plant. The word *æppel* is frequently used in a general sense ; *cf.* our 'pine apple,' 'oakapple.'

218. *gewyrc* : the directions are first in the second person and then in the third.

54. LAWS AGAINST MAGIC, ETC.

MSS. and Editions: see No. 37, notes.

6. *þe men on dreogað*, 'in which men suffer.'

9. *gewite hu . . . fyren sig*, 'according to the degree of the offence,' lit. 'one must ascertain how great the crime is.'

22. *cristendom wyrde*, 'injure Christianity.'

30. *cild . . . tihð*: children and adults were often dragged through clefts in trees and rocks so that their diseases might be transferred to the trees and rocks. This practice reminds us of the action of the serpent in the mediæval Bestiary.

31. *þæs ylcan wyrðe*, 'liable to the same penalty.'

55. DIALECT PASSAGES

Before the publication of P. J. Cosijn's *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, Haag 1883-86, and the *Angelsächsische Grammatik* of E. Sievers, Halle 1882, there was but little precise knowledge of the characteristics of the dialects of Anglo-Saxon. The standard for philological purposes selected by modern scholars is Early West-Saxon, the dialect used by King Alfred in his writings, represented in an almost pure form by two or three MSS., generally admitted to have been written during his reign; see introductory note to dialect texts. But the great majority of the A.-S. MSS. which have survived were written at least a century later, and their language differs in some respects, chiefly as regards phonology and spelling, from E. W.-Saxon. This later form of the language of Wessex, known to scholars as 'Late West-Saxon' was the standard literary form for writers of English until the end of the eleventh century, when the older literary traditions were practically dead. It should be noted that many A.-S. texts are not dialectally pure, but show a mixture of forms, due for the most part to copyists, who often used their own local spelling in transcribing a MS. written in another district. Of this mixture of forms the *Beowulf* text is an example; another is the text of the two MSS. of Alfred's *Boethius*. The glosses also show a mixture of forms. Of the non-West-Saxon dialects the Northumbrian and Mercian share a number of characteristics, but as might be expected, Northumbrian contrasts more strongly with West-Saxon, not only in its sound-system but also in its inflections, which are seen to have already in the tenth century started on the rapid course of simplification which four centuries later makes the language of Chaucer, regarded grammatically, appear old-fashioned beside that of Barbour.

MSS. 1. Cotton, Nero Div.; the 'Lindisfarne MS.' or 'Durham Book'; the Latin text was written in the Island of Lindisfarne on the N. coast of Northumberland, *circa* 700 A.D. The Northumbrian interlinear gloss was written about 950 by Aldred, a priest.

2. The 'Vespasian Psalter,' Cott. Vespasian Ar.

The following is a conspectus of the chief characteristics of the non-W.-S. dialects:—

A. Phonology: it is chiefly in the development of the Primitive Germanic (P.G.) vowel-system that the O.E. dialects differ from each other, a characteristic shared by the modern dialects of English. Consonantal differences are of a minor character.

I. **Anglian**, *i.e.* Northumbrian (N.) and Mercian (M.).¹

(a) Breaking almost absent.

P.G. *a* + *h* > *æ* for W.-S. *ea*: *mæht* A 101, *mæhtgan* B 128, *næht* A 13, *næhtlicum* B 151; *gesæh* A 16.P.G. *e* + *h* + cons. > *e* for W.-S. *eo*: *gefehto* A 84, *rehtwisnis* B 109.P.G. *a* + *l* + cons. > *a* for W.-S. *ea*: *salde* A 60, 100; *alle* A 54, B 126, *waldeð* B 119; the *i*-umlaut is *æ*: *wællan* B 214, *onhælde* B 201.P.G. *e* + *lc*, *lh* > *e* for W.-S. *eo*: *elh*, *melcan*.P.G. *a* + *r* + cons. > *a* in N.: *arm*, *art*; but *ea* in M. as in W.-S.: *ðearfan* B 110 (the *i*-umlaut of this *ea* is *e*).P.G. *e* + *r* + cons. > *eo* in M., often *ea* in N.: *stearra*; *fearr* A 99; *eorneð* B 116; but note *geberg* B 144. In Anglian *e* does not break before *rc*, *rg*, *rh*: *wercc*, *ferh*; *berht* B 133.P.G. *i* + *r* + cons. > *io* in N. (also its *i*-umlaut: *hiorde* A 38); in M. it > *eo* (also its *i*-uml): *eorre* B 198; but *earrcs* B 218.(b) *I*-umlaut (Palatal umlaut).P.G. *a* > *e* as in W.-S.: *bet*, *menn*; *temma* A 12. *ēa* from P.G. *au* > *ē* in Anglian for W.-S. *īe*: *nēd*, *hēra*; *gehēru* B 173. In M. *ea* + *r* + cons. > *e* by *i*-umlaut. *o*, *ō* > *oe*, *ōē* in N.: *oelebeama* A 71, *foedende* A 30, *groene* A 55. In M. the umlaut varies between *oe* and *e*: *doemeð* B 109, *gedoeð* B 110, *bledsiad* B 136.P.G. *u*, *ū* > *y*, *ȳ* as in W.-S.(c) Back (guttural) vowel umlaut. Peculiar to M. is the *a*-umlaut of *æ* from earlier *a*: *spearað* B 129, *steaðelas* B 196, 215. *a*-uml of *e* is *eo* in M.: *eotan*, *feola*; *beorað* B 166; *ea* in N.: *eatta* A 46; this uml. does not take place before *c*, *g*. *u*(*o*)-umlaut of *i* is *io* in M. and N.: *sciopu*, *riodon*; occasionally *eo* in M.: *cleopede* B 191, *leofað* B 134. *u*(*o*)-umlaut of *e* is *eo* in M., and freq. also in N.(d) Influence of *w*. *we* > *woe* in N., both long and short: *cwoeða* A 79, *hwoenne* A 76, 104, *woercas* A 102, *cwoedon* A 47, 52; but note *wosa* A 86. In N. *wor-* is commoner than *weor-*: *wordæde* A 17; in M *weor-*: *weoruld* B 113, *weor-ðiað* B 135.(e) Simplification or 'smoothing' of diphthongs. *ea*, *eo*, *io* are always simplified to *e* before *c*, *g*, *h* both in N. and M.: *æc* = *ec* A 87, *becon* A 76, *neh* A 88; *egum* B 158. The *i*-umlaut also is *e*: *gecegu* B 184, *hehsta* B 211.(f) Palatal glides are not found in Anglian: *ðaget* A 86, *gefe* B 123; in M. *scel* occurs for W.-S. *sceal*, *get* for *geat*; *cestre* B 144; in N. either *sceal* or *scæl*, *geat* or *gæt*, *cæster* or *cæstre*.(g) Loss of intervocalic *h*. In N. *a* + (*h*) + back vowel > *ā* for W.-S. *ēa*: *sja* for *slea*. Also *e*, *ē* + (*h*) + back vowel in N. > *ēa*, not *ēo*: *geseað* A 51. The *h* is retained in N. in *ækhher* for W.-S. *ear*, 'ear of corn,' and *tækhher* for W.-S. *tear*, 'tear.'

(h) Other Anglian vowel developments.

P.G. *a* in open syll. before following back vowel in M. > *æ* by analogy: *dægum* B 117, *dæga* B 176.P.G. *a* in closed syll. > *e*, as in Kentish: *gefregn* A 23, *wes* B 129, *deg* B 136, *nedran* B 168, *gers* A 55.¹ The examples are mainly from sections A (Northumbrian) and B (Mercian) of No. 55. The sign ‡ in the text is an abbreviation of the Latin *lubet* or *vel*.

P.G. *a* + nasal generally > *o*: *noma* A 24, 81, B 133, 172. Note *geongende* for *gangende* A 31; but *gongendum* B 153.

P.G. *ā*, W.G. *ā* > *ē* in Anglian: *gesegon* A 31, *ongeton* A 32, *weron* A 37, B 215, *strele* B 152, 212.

W.G. *ā* from P.G. *ā* before nasal is not rounded in *geamrunge* B 186; cf. W.S. *geomor*.

P.G. *eu* and *iu* are kept distinct in N.; *iu* > *io*: *ellðiodade* A 99; *eu* > *ēo* or *ēa*, the latter predominating: *eade* A 3, 42; *geead* A 42. In M. these fell together as in W.S., and were written indifferently *eo* or *io*: *ðeode* B 126, *gefreode* B 127, *gefriað* B 146, *diofle* B 154, *hiolden* B 165.

II. **Kentish**: this dialect has a marked predilection for *e*, both long and short, like Mercian. In late texts the *-i* umlaut of *u*, *ū* is *e*, *ē*: *senn*, *ines*. The diphthong, *ēa*, often written *īa*, is found for W.-S. *ēo*: *diap*, *diare*, *liaf*, *bian*; *friandum* Selection No. 46, l. 7, *geðian* Selection No. 43 l. 41. Palatal *g* after *e* is vocalised even in early texts: *meihand*, *dei*. *W* after another vowel is written *u*: *saul*, *latten*. The *-i* uml of *o*, *ō* is *æ*, *ǣ*, as in Anglian: *geroefta* No. 43, l. 1, *soel* No. 43, l. 63; *soelest* No. 46, l. 10. Back vowel uml. of *e* and *i* is the rule; *begeotan* No. 43, l. 8, *forespreoca* l. 46, *sioððan* l. 23. Absence of palatal glide: *agefen* No. 43, l. 18; cf. also *scepa* No. 43 l. 14. Exx. of *e* for W.-S. *æ* and *ǣ* are: *mege* No. 43 l. 8, *clennisse* No. 43, l. 9, *hemed* l. 16, *nennigre* No. 46, l. 4, *meas* No. 43, l. 16. The breakings before *l* + cons. and *r* + cons. do not generally occur.

Other characteristics are: in unstressed sylls. *a* is preferred to *o*: *broðar* No. 46, l. 3, *geornliocar* No. 43, l. 12, *rehtlicast* No. 46, l. 5. Orthographic *æ* is often found for *e*: *swælc* No. 43, l. 32, *ærfe* l. 32. Note *ðeara* No. 43, ll. 7, 42; also apparent confusion of *eo* and *ea* in *beorn* No. 46, l. 12, *Osbearte* No. 46, l. 3, *bibcædeð* No. 43, l. 57. P.G. *eu*, *iu* are not distinguished; the diphthong is generally written *io*, but occasionally *eo*.

B. **Inflections**: Mercian and Kentish do not differ appreciably from W.-S. In Mercian the 2nd and 3rd sing. pres. indic. generally show the uncontracted forms without *-i* umlaut. Northumbrian is characterised by (a) confusion of inflection endings, tending to later simplification, and (b) a tendency to drop final *-n* in infinitives, nouns, and adjectives. The pronouns also differ in some respects from those used in the other dialects. We give below some examples:—

1. Absence of weak endings for nouns: *tunges* for *tungan*.

2. Frequent occurrence of final *-o* both in sing. and plur.: *micelo* = *multam* A 35, *monigo* = *multi* A 32, *londo* A 44, *hlafo* = *panes* A 48, *huilc stanas* A 65.

3. Verbs Indic. pres. 1st sing. in *-o* or *-a*: *halsigo* A 20, *cuoedðo* A 89; 2nd sing. in *-es*, *-as*, *-æs*; 3rd in *-es*, *-as*, *-eð*, *-að*, plur. in *-as* or *-es*, also *-að*, *-eð*: *cymæs* A 81, *cuoedæs* A 81; past plur. occasionally in *-es*, *-æs* or *-e*; imperat. plur. in *-as*, *-es*: *bycges* A 44, *ceapas* A 44, *selles* A 46, *geseas* A 79, *gebiddas* A 97, but *gaad* A 52, *gysead* A 52; subjunct. generally ends in *-a*: *gesetta* A 61, *geheza* A 83, *gesuica* A 80. The pres. part. generally ends in *-ende*, but note *milsandæ* A 36. Forms of the verb 'to be' are: ind. pres. *beom* or *am*, *art* or *arð*, *bið* or *is*; plur. *sint*, *arun* or *biðon*; subjunct. *sie* or *se* A 70, A 98. The infin. generally ends in *-a*: *gebinda* A 8, *halda* A 12, *lara* A 38, but occasionally in *-e*.

4. Pronouns. Note the forms *gie* for *ge*; *iuh*, *iuih* for *eow(ic)*; *iwer*, *iweres* for *eower*; fem. *hiu*, dat. *hir*, accus. *hia*; pl. all genders nom. and accus. *hia*: A 34, etc. Note also *ðe* for *se*: *ðe fæder* A 96, *ðe monn* A 98, but *se hlaford* A 104. The fem. form *ðiu* also occurs

GLOSSARY

THE order of words is alphabetical, save that words with the prefix *ge-* are entered under the letter which follows the *ge-*. The head-words are in their Early West Saxon forms; forms occurring in the text of the selections will in most cases be found in the glossary with cross-references to the normalized E.W.S. forms.

The references are to selection (thick type) and line.

'Past-present' or 'Strong-weak' verbs are entered under their infinitives (actual or hypothetical); the other parts of these verbs are also entered, with cross-references.

Doubtful genders, meanings, etc., are indicated by query-marks.

The number after an ablaut or 'strong' verb denotes its class.

ABBREVIATIONS.

a. accusative.

d. dative.

f. feminine, feminine noun.

g. genitive.

m. masculine, masculine noun.

n. neuter, neuter noun, note.

pl. plural.

p.p. past participle.

prs. present.

pst. past.

red. v. reduplicating verb.

s. singular.

sb. substantive, noun.

v. verb; *vide.*

w. with.

wk. weak.

ā *adv.* ever; for ever

ābacan 6 bake

ābædan tax 50 11

abbod, -ud, -ot *m.* abbot

abbodesse *f.* abbess

abbodrice *n.* office of abbot, abbacy

āberan 4 bear; carry away

ābiddan 5 ask; gain consent 27 35;
claim 37 102

ābisgian occupy

ābitan 1 bite

ābreca 4 break, infringe 38 29;
break through 32 109; take by
assault 25 128, 33 27 *etc.*

ābregdan 3 pull, drag

ābrēoðan 2 fail, become worthless;
pp. 36 119

ābūgan 2 yield, submit 26 160

ābūtan (1) *adv.* round about, round;
in turn 35 97; (2) *prep. w. d.* around
26 158

ābyrigan *w. g.* taste 38 15

ac *conj.* but

ācennes *f.* birth 25 1

ācsian *v.* āscian

ācuman 4 arrive at, manage 28 38

ācvelan 4 die, perish

ācwellan kill

ācwencan extinguish 36 17

ācwyle *v.* ācvelan

ād *m.* funeral pile, pyre

ādelfan 3 dig, dig up

ādihtian arrange, decree 31 81

ād1 *f.* sickness, disease

ādlig *adj.* diseased, sick 53 123

ādræfan drive away, banish

ādrencan *trans.* drown

ādrēogan 2 spend, pass 35 42

ādrifan 1 drive, drive away

ādrincan 3 be drowned

ādūn *adv.* down

ādweſcan extinguish 33 196; crush
28 33, stamp out 54 2

æ *f.* law 37 24; divine law, dispensa-
tion 31 45, 35 70

æbære *adj.* notorious 27 25

æebbian ebb, ebb away 25 495

æbreca *m.* adulterer

æbryce *m.* adultery 36 114

æce *v.* ēce

æcer *m.* field; acre **39** 17
 æcerbōt *f.* improvement of fields
 æcniendra *v.* ēacn-
 æcton *v.* iecan **37** 56
 æfæsten *n.* public fast **54** 9
 æfen *m. n.* eve **26** 292, **53** 133
 æfre *adv.* ever
 æftan *adv.* from behind **36** 59
 æftemest *superl.* last
 æfter (1) *adv.* after, in pursuit **26** 42;
 (2) *prep. w. d. (a)* place along, along-
 side, through; following, after, in
 search of **26** 23, **38** 9 (?); according
 to **26** 364; (b) time after.
 æfterfylgan follow after **30** 8
 æftergenga *m.* successor
 æfter(r)a *compar.* second, next follow-
 ing **26** 155, **37** 134
 æfterspræc *f.* after-claim **38** 48
 æfterspyrian follow **31** 35
 æfwierdla *m.* injury, damage; fine
 for injury or damage **37** 97, 102
 æggemang *n.* egg-mixture **53** 220
 æghwær *adv.* everywhere
 æghwæðer, ægðer each (of two),
 either
 æghwile each
 ægielde *adj.* uncompensated **36** 85
 ægift *n.* repayment **49** 5
 ægðer *conj.* ægðer ge . . . ge both
 . . . and
 æht *f.* possession, property
 ælc each
 ælence *adj.* tedious; used as *n.*
 tedium **33** 20
 ælf *m.* elf, goblin **53** 105
 ælmesse *wk. f.* alms; alms payment
 ælmesfeoh *n.* alms
 ælmeslice *adv.* charitably *superl.* **46** 6
 ælmesmann *m.* pauper, beggar
 ælmesriht *n.* right of receiving alms
 ælmihtig *adj.* almighty
 ælpig *v.* ānliepig **26** 335
 æltæwe *adj.* perfect, excellent **30** 19;
superl. **32** 266
 æmenne *adj.* deserted **32** 200
 æmette *wk. f.* leisure, spare time **33**
 13
 geæmetigian be at leisure; *reflx.*
 find leisure from **31** 21
 æmynde *n.* forgetfulness **53** 146
 ænde *v.* and
 ænes *adv.* once **37** 58
 ængan *v.* ænig
 ænig any

ænlic *adj.* incomparable, excellent **33**
 104, **34** 11
 ænne *v.* ān
 æppel *m.* apple; fruit
 ær (1) *adv.* before, formerly; (2) *prep.*
 before; (3) *conj.* before, ere
 -ære -oared **44** 8
 æræafe *adj.* discovered, detected **51** 8
 æren *adj.* of copper or brass **38** 7
 ærende *n.* errand, message, commis-
 sion
 ærendian go on errands **39** 12
 ærendraca *m.* messenger, envoy **32**
 225; ærendwrecum **31** 6
 ærendgewrit *n.* letter
 ærest *superl.* first
 ærmōu *v.* iermō
 ærn *n.* house **37** 108, **53** 81
 ærnian ride, gallop **32** 190
 geærnan win by riding **32** 184
 ærra *compar.* former, previous **35** 30
 ærþam, ærþon þe *conj.* before
 æsc *m.* ash-tree **47** 29
 æsc *m.* ask, Danish ship **25** 477
 æsce *n.* ashes **53** 219
 æstel *m.* **31** 72 *n.*
 æswice *m.* breaking of (God's) law
36 113
 æt *prep. w. d.* at, near; at the hands
 of, from
 æt *m.* food **54** 46
 ætberstan 3 break away, escape
 ætdēman formally deprive or refuse
49 22
 ætflēon 2 escape **27** 43
 ætfōn *red. v.* take from, remove **37**
 30
 ætforan *prep. w. d.* before, previous
 to **26** 322
 ætgædere *adv.* together
 æthlēapan *red. v.* escape from
 ætrædan formally deprive **49** 34
 geætred poisoned **32** 221
 ætsacan 6 deny
 æð *v.* iēð **34** 43
 æðele *adj.* noble, excellent
 æðeling *m.* member of the royal
 house, prince
 æwbreca *v.* æbreca
 æwielm *m.* spring, source
 æx *f.* axe
 āfæstnian fasten, fix **33** 249
 āfaran 6 go away, depart
 āfeallan *red. v.* fall away, decay **31** 6
 āferian carry, cart **39** 9, 28

āfiellan fell, cut down **37** 104; kill **36**
 85
 āfierran remove **33** 42
 āfindan 3 find
 āflieman put to flight
 āfylan defile **27** 25
 āfyllan fill
 āgælan engross, occupy **32** 208
 āgan **26** 80, *v.* onginnan **26** 80
 āgan *pst. prs. v.* possess, have; ahte
 ought **26** 329
 āgān *athem. v.* go, pass **25** 1, 488; **42**
 41
 āgen *adj.* own
 āgiefan 5 give back; give **42** 86
 āgielðan 3 pay
 āgietan *v.* ongietan
 āginnan *v.* onginnan
 āgnian own, possess
 geāgnian take possession of, acquire
 āh *v.* āgan
 āhebban *v.* æebbian
 āhebban 6 raise up, exalt **30** 23;
 maintain **33** 26
 āhōn *red. v.* hang (*trans.*)
 āhreddan rescue, get back
 āhreddung *f.* rescuing, securing **28** 20
 āhsian *v.* āscian
 āhwæðer, āðor either
 āhwār *v.* ægwhær
 ālæðan take away; bring away **25** 456
 ālænan lend
 ālecgan place, lay; put down, sup-
 press **28** 8, **35** 58
 ālēð, ālēdon *v.* ālecgan
 ālfæt *n.* cooking vessel, pot **38** 7
 āliefan allow **54** 11; grant **50** 3, 10
 āliesan release, let go **37** 70
 all *v.* eall
 alwalda *m.* almighty, all-powerful
 āmansumian excommunicate
 ambihtsmip *m.* official smith or
 craftsman **37** 12
 amber *m. f.* a measure **32** 99 *n.*; **43**
 30
 ambyrne *v.* andbyre
 āmeldian reveal
 an(n) *v.* unnan
 an *v.* on
 ān one, only, alone; to anum ge-
 cierdon united **25** 86
 āna alone, only
 anbid *n.* waiting, expectation **32** 226
 and *conj.* and
 anda *m.* anger; malice, venom **53** 181

āndaga *m.* appointed day (for a law-
 suit)
 āndagian appoint day (for lawsuit)
 geandbidian wait (to see) **26** 307
 andbyre *adj.* contrary (wind) **32** 125
 andefn *f.* amount, extent **32** 175
 andgiet *n.* understanding; sense,
 meaning
 andgietfullicost *superl. adv.* most
 intelligibly
 andlang *prep. w. g.* along; on and-
 lang at full length **53** 38
 andlōman *pl.* utensils **39** 45, **40** 51
 andsæc *n.* (right of) denial or defence
 27 76
 andweard *adj.* present
 andweorc *n.* substance, material
 andwyrdan answer
 ānfeald *adj.* simple, single
 āngielde *adv.* subject to compensa-
 tion at a fixed price (?) **37** 132
 anginn *n.* enterprise, attempt **32** 214
 anginnan *v.* onginnan
 ānlic *v.* ænlic
 ānlicnes *f.* likeness, resemblance
 ānliepe, ānliepig *adj.* single, indi-
 vidual **25** 195, **26** 335, **31** 18
 ānmōd *adj.* resolute
 ānmōdlice *adv.* unanimously
 ānon *v.* ān **53** 9
 ānræd *adj.* unanimous
 ānrædlice *adv.* steadfastly, resolutely;
 harmoniously **35** 99
 ānræðnes *f.* steadfastness, resolution
 ānstrecs *adv.* continuously, without
 stopping
 ansundran *v.* onsundran
 antimber *n.* reason, motive **35** 14;
 matter **34** 23
 anweald *m.* power, authority, rule
 āparian catch, take (red handed)
 apostata *m.* apostate
 apostol *m.* apostle
 apulder *f.* apple-tree
 ār *f.* oar **25** 479
 ār *f.* honour, privilege; favour,
 mercy; endowment, property **42**
 19, **48** 62, **49** 35
 āræcan reach, get at **26** 200
 āræðan settle **45** 20; read (aloud) **31**
 58, 62; **42**, 33
 āræran raise; erect; exalt
 ārasian detect, take in the act **37** 256
 arcebiseop *m.* archbishop
 arcestol *m.* archbishopric

ārecccean explain, declare; translate
 31 16, 70
 ārēdian find, hit upon
 ārfull *adj.* venerable, reverend
 āriht *adv.* rightly, rightfully
 āriman count, repeat
 ārisan I arise 39 3
 aron are 45 30
 arrianisc *adj.* Arian
 ārweorþnes *f.* respect, honour
 ārwierðe, ārwurp *adj.* honoured,
 venerated
 āsāwan *red. v.* sow 33 244
 āsceaðan *red. v.* separate
 (ge)āscian, ācsian, āhsian, āxian
 hear of, learn of, ascertain
 āscūfan 2 push out, launch
 āscunian avoid, dislike
 āsēcan seek out 40 29
 āsecgan say, declare
 āsellan give, transfer 42 108
 āsendan send; *p.p.* 35 2
 āsēowe *v.* āsāwan
 āsettan place, set; ship 25 327; lay
 down, decree 37 1
 āsīgan I sink down, fall 26 151
 āsingan 3 sing
 āsittan 5 run aground, be stranded
 25 492, 493; be apprehensive, fear
 28 19
 āslēan 6 strike off, cut off 37 16
 āsmēagan examine, search 26 133
 āspanan 6 allure, detach by under-
 hand means 26 214
 āspelian act for, represent 41 11
 āspendan spend, exhaust
 āspringan 3 spring up, grow up
 āspyrian track out, ascertain
 āst *m.?* oven or kiln (?) 40 40
 āstellan set up, start 26 260
 āstieran guide, govern 33 153
 āstīgan I ascend
 āstreccan stretch, stretch out 33 53,
 53 38
 āswican I betray, desert 26 260
 āswindan 3 languish, grow torpid
 āsyndrian sunder, separate
 ātāsan injure
 ātellan tell, enumerate
 ātēon 2 dispose of, deal with 46 5, 9
 āt(t)or *n.* poison
 āttorgeblæd *n.* poison-swelling or
 blister
 āttorlāfe *f.* a kind of plant 53 173,
 216 *n.*

āp *m.* oath
 āðor *v.* āhwæðer
 āðbryce *m.* breaking of oath
 āpenian stretch out 53 40
 āðum *m.* brother-in-law 44 19
 āuerian *v.* āferian
 āwascan *red. v.* wash 53 136
 āweccan awaken, stir to life
 āweg *adv.* away
 āwegan 5 weigh 37 174
 āwendan change, alter; translate 31
 89
 āweorpan 3 reject; depose 25 143
 āwerian defend
 āwiellan boil 53 138
 āwiht, āuht, āht aught, anything;
 in any case, in any degree 34 35;
 of any account, important 26 382;
 to ahte in any degree, appreciably
 36 17
 āwritan I write, write out
 axe *v.* æsce 33 191
 axsan *v.* æsce 53 219

bā both
 bæc *n.* back 27 14 *n.*
 bæcbord *n.* left side of ship (looking
 forward), port side
 bærnian burn, set on fire
 bærnnett *n.* burning
 gebæru *n. pl.* gestures, cries 25 54
 bān *n.* bone; tusk, ivory 32 80, 96
 bana *m.* slayer, murderer
 gebann *n.* command 39 4; year-cycle,
 indictio 37 49 *n.*
 baso *adj.* purple 53 203
 bāt *m.* boat 25 316
 baðian, beðian bathe, foment 53 220
 be *prep. w. d.* by, near, along 32 54;
 by, with; concerning; according
 to; in proportion to, to the extent
 of 28 8, 41 37 *etc.*
 beæftan *adv.* behind
 bēag *m.* ring, crown 25 224 *n.*
 bēaggiefra *m.* ring-giver, patron
 bealo *n.* injury, harm 53 60
 bēam *m.* wood; beam, wooden part
 53 47
 bēan *f.* bean
 bearn *n.* child
 bearn *v.* bearnan 35
 bebēodan 2 command, enjoin, charge;
 prescribe 28 60; offer 53 41, 130
 bebod *n.* command

bebyrgan bury
 gebēcan transfer (land) by charter 49
 25
 becierran betray 26 126
 beclipian summon, challenge 29 4, 8
 becuman 4 come, arrive; come upon;
 fall upon, attack; attain 28 64
 becwelan 4 die 38 58
 becweðan 5 bequeath
 gebed *n.* prayer 54 15
 bedælan deprive
 bed(d)rēaf *n.* bed-clothes, bedding
 beden *v.* biddan
 bedician surround with an embank-
 ment, fortify
 gebedmann *m.* ecclesiastic, priest
 bedrifan 1 drive
 beebbian strand, leave stranded
 beēode *v.* begān
 befæstan entrust, commit; apply,
 utilise 31 23
 befēolan 3 apply, apprentice 31 56
 befōn *red. v.* seize 37 108; detect,
 recapture 49 2; take possession of
 37 176; include (?) 48 19
 beforan *prep.* in front of
 begān *athem. v.* surround 25 49;
 engage in, practice; attend to, look
 after; fall to one's lot 39 33
 bēgen *m.* both; *g.* begra, beigra,
 bæga
 begeondan *prep. w. a.* beyond
 begietan 5 procure, obtain, acquire;
 attain to 30 18; beget 43 8; cap-
 ture 32 265; seize, arrest 27 66
 beginnan 3 begin, enter on
 behātan *red. v.* promise
 behealdan *red. v.* keep, retain 44 25;
 behold, gaze at 53 212; avail,
 amount to 26 42
 beheonan *prep. w. d.* on this side of.
 behofian require, need
 behorsian deprive of horses 25 287
 beiernan 3 occur, come into (one's
 mind); *pst.* bearn 35 5
 beinnan *prep. w. d.* inside
 gebelgan 3 *refl.* become angry 32 262
 belifan 1 remain, be left 26 289, 337
 belimpan 3 belong, pertain, befit
 bellhūs *n.* bell-tower
 belt *n.* belt
 belūcan 2 lock; shut up, confine
 bēn *f.* petition, request; special
 (farm)work 39 36
 bend *m.f.n.* bond, prison 26 373

bendan bind, imprison 36 103
 benemnan declare solemnly 43 51
 beneoðan *prep.* beneath 34 76
 beniman 4 deprive
 benugan *pst. prs. v.* enjoy, possess
 (ge)bēodan 2 offer; order, command
 bēon *athem. v.* be
 beorg *m.* mountain, hill
 (ge)beorgan 3 protect, defend, guard;
 guarantee, secure 37 222
 beorht *adj.* bright
 beorhtblōwende *ptcp. adj.* brightly
 blossoming
 beorma *m.* yeast 53 6
 beorn *v.* bearn 46 12
 bēot *v.* bēodan 29 2
 bēopēof *m.* stealer of bees
 berædan deliberate on, plan 53 88
 beran 4 carry, bear; bring forth,
 bear (child)
 bere *m.* barley 39 31
 berēafian rob, deprive
 beren *adj.* bear's 32 99
 berewæstm *m.* barley crop
 beridan 1 surround 25 48
 beriepan rob, deprive 36 25, 33
 berigea *v.* byriga 37 28
 bern *n.* barn 39 35, 40 15
 berōwan *red. v.* row or sail round
 bescieran 4 tonsure 37 57
 besierwan entrap, outwit; plot
 against 26 63
 besittan 5 besiege 26 242
 bestelan 4 *refl. v.* steal away 25 134
 bestrieapan strip 36 34
 beswīcan 1 deceive, delude, betray
 bet *comp. ar. adv.* better
 betæcan entrust, commit; transfer,
 make over 49 29; bestow, offer
 36 24
 (ge)bētan benefit, improve 53 1; make
 better, right 26 316; repair, mend
 26 109, 31 120, 36 46, 40 46; make
 up (fire) 38 16; pay compensation
 (for) *freg.*; make amends, atone
 (for) 27 28, 54, 28 44
 betera *compar. adj.* better, superior
 bet(e)st *superl. adj.* best
 betwēonum, betwēonan *prep. w. d.*
 between, amongst
 betweox, betwux, betwix, betueoh,
 betuh, betwih *prep. w. d. or a.*
 between, amongst
 bepencan think of, keep in mind
 beðian *v.* baðian

beþurfan *pst. prs. v.* need
betýnan enclose, fence in
bewerian defend, protect
bewitian look after, attend to
gebicgean *v.* gebycgan
bidan 1 wait, wait for
gebídan 1 live to see, experience **36**
 10, 49 13
biddan 5 ask, ask for
gebiddan 5 pray
gebíegan bend, distort **35** 23; compel
 28 31; subdue **35** 108; turn, direct
 30 5
gebiel *n.* boldness, confidence **35** 7
bierhtu *f.* brightness
bige 27 11 see *byge*
bielowitnes *f.* simplicity, innocence
bindan 3 bind, join **33** 175
binnan *prep.* inside, within; under
 27 64
bireð *v.* beran
bisceop *m.* bishop
bisceophād *m.* high priesthood **32** 261
bisceophām *m.* bishop's estate
bisceopric *n.* episcopal office, bishop-
 ric
bisceopstōl *m.* episcopal see
bisceopwyr *f.* marsh mallow **53** 137
bisgian harass, worry
bisgo *f.* care, anxiety
bismer *m.n.* humiliation, degrada-
 tion, disgrace; disgraceful conduct
 48 47
bismerian revile, insult
bismerword *n.* insult
bis(e)n *f.* example, pattern; copy (of
 book) **30** 32
bisnian give an example
bit *v.* biddan
bītan 1 bite; eat **37** 111
biwist *f.* sustenance, maintenance **33**
 68
blæc *adj.* black **47** 43
(ge)blāwan *red. v.* blow; blow away
 53 215
blērig *adj.* bald **48** 72
blētsian bless
blētsungbōc *f.* book of blessings **44**
 32
bliss *f.* joy, happiness
blōd *n.* blood
blōdgyte *m.* bloodshed
blōdlæs *f.* bloodletting **43** 60
blōt *n.* (heathen) sacrifice
blōtan *red. v.* sacrifice

blōwan *red. v.* blossom, **33** 189
bōc *f.* book; charter, deed
bōccræft *m.* book-learning, literature
bōcian grant by charter
bōclæden *n.* literary Latin
bōcland *n.* land held by charter
bōcrlht *n.* right conferred by charter
 39 1
bodig *n.* body, main part (of plough)
 53 48
bohtimber *n.* bow-timber (for angles
 and arches) **34** 2
boldgetæl *n.* collection of dwellings,
 community **37** 144
boldtimber *n.* timber for building
 34 3
bōnda *m.* husband **37** 261
borian bore; insert in a hole **53** 46
bōsm *m.* bosom **26** 383
bōt *f.* alleviation **36** 14; amendment,
 atonement **36** 7; compensation
 freq.
brād *adj.* broad
brecan 4 break; take by storm **25**
 114; *refl.* retch, begin to vomit **26**
 73
gebregdan 3 *refl.* pretend to be **26** 72
bregdian practise tricks, use cunning
 53 162 *n.*
brember *m.* bramble **48** 53
brengan, bringan bring; produce
 31 91, **33** 189
brēost *n.* breast, bosom; heart
brēowan 2 brew **32** 165
brigdan claim or recover property
 stolen or improperly held by another
 38 38 (*cf.* *O.N.* *brigða*)
bricst *v.* brūcan
brōc *m.* brook
broc *n.* affliction, disaster **42** 20
(ge)brocian damage, injure, ruin;
 afflict
brōga *m.* terror
gebrōðor *m.* brother
brūcan 2 use, have the use of, enjoy
brūn *adj.* brown
bryce *m.* breaking, breach **36** 16
brycg *f.* bridge
brycggeweorc *n.* bridge-building,
 masonry **39** 3
brȳd *f.* bride
bryideð *v.* brigdan **38** 38
bryne *m.* burning
bryodedon *v.* bregdian
brytta *m.* dispenser, distributor **30** 33

būan dwell, live; *pp.* **gebūd** settled, cultivated **32** 72
bufan *prep.* above
(ge)būgan 2 turn, turn back, **26** 32; return; go over, submit; take service **38** 37, **49** 15; **48** 62 (?)
būgian, **būan** settle, cultivate **32**, 67, 68, 72, **33** 69; dwell, live *freq.*
būr *m.* house, mansion; living rooms **34** 50
gebūr *m.* peasant farmer
burg, **bur(u)h** *f.* fort, fortified town, town; house, mansion, castle **25** 63, **40** 46
burgbōt *f.* repair of fortifications **39** 2
burgbryce *m.* burglary
gebūrgeriht *n.* peasants' rights or dues **39** 24
burggeat *n.* castle-gate, great gate
burggemōt *n.* meeting of townsmen, borough-moot
burgwaru *f.* burgware *pl.* citizens, townsmen
burne *f.* stream, brook, **31** 121, **47** 22
būrpegn *m.* domestic servant or official **44** 35
būtā, **būt(w)ū** *v.* **bēgen**
būtan, **būton** (1) *adv.* outside **25** 148, *etc.*; (2) *prep.* except, excluding; less, minus **44** 35; **pæt** . . . **buton** without which **33** 63; (3) *conj.* but **33** 57, **42** 94; unless *freq.*
butere *wk. f.* butter
gebycgan buy, purchase
byge *m.* buying, trading **27** 11
byge *m.* curve, recess **32** 207
býne *adj.* cultivated, inhabited; *v.* **būan**
gebyrd *f.* rank, social position
byrde *adj.* of high rank **32** 98
byre *m.* time, moment **26** 192
byrele *m.* cupbearer, butler
byrgels *m.* burial-place, tomb
gebyrian happen, come to pass **27** 11, **33** 100, **39** 45; be proper, suitable **29** 5, **35** 2, **39** 17
byriga guardian, surety **37** 28
byrigan bury
byrne *wk. f.* corslet
byrst *m.* calamity, loss **36** 10, 43
byrð *v.* **beran**
být *v.* **bēodan** **37** 158
bytlian build
bytlung *f.* building, constructing

byrp **32** 187 *v.* **beran**
byrðen *f.* burden, load.

cæge *wk. f.* key
cæglōca safe-keeping under lock and key
cæppe *wk. f.* hood, cap **44** 20
calic *m.* chalice
cann *f.* declaration **37** 45, 67
carcern *n.* prison
cāsere *m.* emperor
castel *m.* castle
ceald *adj.* cold
cēap *m.* cattle, live-stock
cēapian trade
cēapscip *n.* trading-ship
cēapstōw *f.* market-place
cearde *v.* **cierran** **26** 340
ceaster *f.* city, town
cempa *m.* fighter, warrior
(ge)cennan declare; give information; *refl.* clear oneself (of a charge) **37** 67
ceorfan 3 cut
ceorl *m.* free peasant; man
ceorran 3 creak **53** 161
(ge)cēosan 2 choose, elect; decide on, adopt **27** 16, **28** 42
cēpan *w. g.* take heed, notice
ciele *m.* cold **32** 193, **33** 176
ciēpemann *m.* trader, merchant
ciēping *f.* trade, trading **28** 58
cierlisc, **ceorlisc** *adj.* of churl rank or status
cierr *m.* time, occasion **25** 483, **32** 52, **37** 134
(ge)cierran turn; return; reduce, subdue **25** 241; **to anum gecierdon** united **25** 87; **to pamgecierdon** agreed **25** 144
ciēse *m.* cheese **40** 18, **43** 31
ciēslybb *n.* rennet
ciest *f.* chest, box **37** 259
cigclas *v.* **cycgel**
cild *n.* child
cildfōstre *f.* nurse
cile *v.* **ciele**
cing(c) *v.* **cyning**
cirice *wk. f.* church
ciricfrīp *m.* (right of) sanctuary
cirichata *m.* persecutor of churches or churchmen
ciricsceat *m.* church-tax or rate
ciricwæd *f.* congregation of a church **38** 68

clæne (1) *adj.* clean, pure; clear (of guilt) 27 14, 37 254; (2) *adv.* utterly 31 13, 36 25, 43 42
 clæennes *f.* purity 43 9 *n.*
 (ge)clænsian *cleanse, purify; clear* 28 40
 clāðas *mpl.* clothes
 clēofan 2 split
 cleroc *m.* cleric, priest
 clūdig *adj.* stony, rocky
 gecnāwan *red. v.* know, learn 36 1; recognise, admit 31 53, 36 42
 cnedan 5 knead
 gecneord *adj.* sagacious; zealous
 cnēo(w) *n.* knee
 cniht *m.* retainer 26 37 1
 cnyttan *tie up, bind* 36 95
 cōlian *grow cool*
 collectum *Lat.* collect
 consul *m.* consul
 corn *n.* corn, grain, seed
 corona *Lat.* crown
 cosp *m.* fetter
 cota *m.* cottage, house
 cotlif *n.* cottage, dwelling
 cotsetla *m.* cottager, small farmer
 cradolcild *n.* infant, babe
 cræft *m.* skill, skilled occupation; function; strength, power; trick 54 29
 cræftig *adj.* skilled; cunning 53 63
 cræt *n.* chariot
 crafian *demand, claim*
 crēda *m.* creed
 crismliesing *f.* removal of chrisom 25 261 *n.*
 crīsten *adj.* Christian
 cristendōm *m.* Christianity
 crux *Lat.* cross 53 141
 cū *f.* cow
 cuman 4 come
 cumpæder *m.* godfather
 cunnan *pst. prs. v.* know; be able
 cunnian *try, make an attempt* 48 32
 curran *v.* ceorran 53 161
 cūp *adj.* known
 cūðe *v.* cunnan
 cwæð, cwædon *v.* cweðan
 cwalu *f.* killing, destruction
 cweartern *n.* prison
 cwellan *put to death*
 gecwēme *adj.* pleasing
 cwēn *f.* queen
 cweðan 5 speak, say; call, name 35 101

gecweðan 5 agree, agree to; declare 42 46; make over, assign 42 25
 cwic, cucu *adj.* live, living
 cwicbēam *m.* aspen (?) 53 17 *n.*
 cwiddian *dispute possession* 28 66
 cwide *m.* saying, word 33 19; will, testament 44 1
 cwidelēas *adj.* intestate
 cwidol *adj.* talkative, loquacious
 cwiold *f.?* destruction, pestilence 25 465
 cwydde *v.* cwiddian
 cwyþ *v.* cweðan
 cycene *wk. f.* kitchen 41 4
 cycgel *m.* cudgel, stick 34 1
 gecyðd *v.* cýðan
 cyl(e)n *f.* kiln
 cylle *m.* leather bottle, vessel 31 118
 (ge)cynd *f.* kind, nature
 gecynde *adj.* fitting, suitable 26 303
 cynebōt *f.* king's compensation
 cynecynn *n.* royal line
 cynedōm *m.* royal enactment 37 76
 cynehād *m.* royal dignity, kingly office
 cynehelm *m.* royal crown
 cynehlāford *m.* sovereign, liege lord
 cynelice *adv.* royally, magnificently
 cynerice *n.* kingdom
 cyneriht *n.* royal prerogative
 cynescipe *m.* royal office
 cynestōl *m.* throne, capital
 cyning, cyng *m.* king
 cyn(n) *n.* family, kin; kind
 cyn(n) *adj.* fitting, suitable 33 101, 37 103, 46 12
 cynren *n.* kind, species 33 244; family, kin 33 129
 cyre *m.* choice 42 124
 cyreāp *m.* selected oath 37 180 *n.*
 cyrelif *n.* freedman, dependant 42 120
 cyrtel *m.* cloak, coat 32 99
 cyssan *kiss*
 cýp *v.* cýðan 29 2
 (ge)cýðan *make known, declare, announce*
 cýðð *f.* relationship, acquaintance 37 243; home 33 196
 dæd *f.* deed, action
 dæg *m.* day
 dæghwāmlice *adv.* daily
 dæglanges *adv.* for the space of a day (?), all day long (?) 34 77
 dægtid *f.* date 38 56, 49 43

- dæl *m.* part, portion; **be sumum dæle** in some measure **33** 188; **be anigum dæle** in any measure **36** 127; **be pam dæle** for that purpose **34** 4
 (ge)dælan divide, distribute, share
 dælnimung *f.* share-taking, participation **50** 14
 dagan *v.* dæg **26** 361
 dagian dawn **53** 4
 gedāl *n.* distribution
 gedālland *n.* common land **37** 98
 dēad *adj.* dead
 dēah, dohte *v.* dugan
 dēap *m.* death
 delfan 3 dig
 dēman adjudge; decree **28** 36
 denisc *adj.* Danish
 dēofol *n. m.* devil, demon, false god
 dēofolgielid *n.* idol, false god
 dēop *adj.* deep; profound; serious, earnest, important
 dēop *n.* deep-water channel **25** 493
 dēoplice *adv.* profoundly
 dēor *n.* beast, animal; deer
 dēorcynn *n.* species of animal
 dēorhege *m.* deer-fence, park-fence
 derian injure, harm
 derr *v.* durran
 diacon *m.* deacon
 dīc *m.* embankment; ditch, trench
 dīcian make embankment or trench
 diegellice *adv.* secretly
 diere *adj.* dear, expensive **32** 156, 186
 diht *n.* direction, expressed intention **37** 230, **38** 43
 gedihtan compose **35** 32
 disc *m.* dish
 dōgor *n.* day
 dohtor *f.* daughter
 dolgbōt *f.* compensation for wound
 dōm *m.* judgment, legal decision, enactment; prescribed procedure **48** 42; choice, discretion **25** 65
 dōmbōc *f.* law-book, code
 dōmlīce *adv.* wisely, discreetly **53** 37
 (ge)dōn *athem. v.* put, place **53** 9; put up, raise **31** 60; put away, remove **31** 73; make **40** 28, **42** 9; him to gewildum gedon subjugate **32** 219; take (heed) **32** 208; do, practise **28** 37; cause, bring to pass **32** 196, **33** 252, 238, **34** 14; encamp **25** 399 *etc.*; hu gedon what kind of **26** 352
 dorste *v.* durran
 dræfan drive **36** 67
 drāf *f.* mob, drove **26** 248, **36** 98
 dragan 6 drag, tow **26** 225
 dreccan harass, afflict
 drēfan disturb, trouble
 gedrēfednes *f.* confusion, trouble
 drenc *m.* drink; drinking
 drēogan 2 suffer **33** 145; practise **54** 7, 21
 gedreohlice *adv.* suitably, carefully **37** 249
 driepan pour a drop **53** 9
 drīfan 1 drive; practise **54** 4
 drīgan *v.* drýge
 drincan 3 drink
 drūgian become dry, dry up **33** 190
 druncen *ptc. adj.* drunk **26** 147
 drý *m.* magic, sorcery
 drýcræft *m.* magic, sorcery
 drýcræftig *adj.* skilled in magic
 drýge *adj.* dry; on drygum on dry land, aground **25** 488
 dryhten *m.* lord, the Lord
 (ge)drync *m.* drink, draught **31** 122, **54** 46; drinking **32** 171
 drýpe *v.* driepan
 dūfan 2 plunge, dip **37** 202, **38** 8
 dugan *pst. prs. v.* be good, be in a good state **26** 184, **36** 47
 dugop *f.* nobility, chivalry **26** 266
 dūn *f.* mountain, hill
 durran *pst. prs. v.* dare, venture
 duru *f.* door
 dūst *n.* dust, powder
 dwæs *adj.* dull, stupid **36** 133
 dwelian lead astray **36** 5
 gedwield *n.* error, heresy, superstition
 gedwimor *n.* spectre, illusion **54** 6, 22
 gedwola *m.* error, heresy
 gedwolgod *m.* false god, idol
 gedwolsum *adj.* erroneous, misleading
 dynt *m.* blow, stroke
 dyrstig *adj.* bold, daring
 gedyrstlæcan dare, presume
 dysig *adj.* foolish
 ē *v.* ēa **25** 408
 ēa *f.* river
 ēac (1) *adv.* also; (2) *prep. w. d.* in addition to **25** 474
 ēaca *m.* addition, reinforcement **25** 398; to eacan besides **26** 378
 ēacnian augment, grow **53** 52

ēadig *adj.* prosperous, rich ; blessed

50 4

ēadmōdlice *v.* **ēað-**

ēage *wk. n.* eye

eahta *num.* eight

ēalā *interj.* oh ! alas !

ēaland *n.* island

eald *adj.* old

ealddagas *m. pl.* days of old

ealdhlāford *m.* hereditary lord

ealdhlāfordcynn *n.* hereditary royal race or family

ealdor *m.* head, chief 37 67 ; lord, husband 39 110 ; *pl.* elders, predecessors 37 25

ealdordōm *m.* authority, dignity 27 68

ealdormann *m.* great noble, earl ; chief, senior 50 5

ealdrāden *f.* ancient custom 39 49

ealdriht *n.* ancient right or privilege

ealdspell *n.* old story

eall *adj.* all ; **mid ealle** altogether, entirely ; **ealles** *adv.* altogether, utterly, quite

eallhiwan *m. pl.* monastic community 48 65

eal(1)swā *adv.* also ; as

eallunga *adv.* entirely, altogether

ealn(ew)eg *adv.* always, continually

ealo, ealoþ, aloþ *n.* ale

eard *m.* native place, home, country

eardian dwell

ēare *wk. n.* ear

earfoð (1) *n.* hardship, misfortune 32 255, 33 246 ; (2) *adj.* difficult 33 209, 40 73

earfoðfere *adj.* difficult to pass, rough 34 39

earfoðhāwe *adj.* hard to see 33 211

earfoðnes *f.* difficulty, hardship

earfoðrime *adj.* hard to count, very numerous

earglic *adj.* feeble, bad 36 87

earm *m.* arm, branch 32 5, 32

earm *adj.* wretched ; poor

earmlic *adj.* miserable, wretched

(ge)**earnian** deserve, merit, earn, win

(ge)**earnung** *f.* merit, desert ; **mid miclan earnungan** most deservedly 36 12

ēast *adv.* east

ēastan *adv.* from the east, on the east

ēastende *m.* eastern part

ēast(e)weard *adj. and adv.* east(ward)

ēasthealf *f.* east side

ēastlang *adv.* east

ēastran *pl.* Easter

ēastrice *n.* eastern kingdom 25 325, 326 *n.*

ēastrihte *adv.* due east

ēastsūð *adv.* south-east

ēaðe *adv.* easily

geēaðmēdan be so good as, condescend 50 8

ēaðmōdlice *adv.* humbly

ebreisc *adj.* Hebrew

ēce *adj.* eternal, everlasting

ēcnes *f.* eternity

ēcton *v.* **īecan**

edorbryce *m.* fence-breaking, trespass

efen(h)iehð *f.* level ground or pasture-land (*hēah* or *hieg*) 25 425

efes *f.* edge, skirt 25 347

efne *adv.* even, just

eft *adv.* again, back again, afterwards

ege *m.* fear, terror

egefull *adj.* awe-inspiring, formidable

egeslic *adj.* terrible, alarming

eg(e)sung *f.* awe, overawing

eglian *impers.* ail, be ill 26 342

ehtan pursue, attack 32 202

ele *m.* oil

el(d)cian delay 26 38

el(1)ene *wk. f.* elder-tree 53 127, 54 5

elles *adv.* otherwise, else ; **elles hwæt** something else 43 38

elimestlicast *v.* **ælmeslice**

eln *f.* ell (measure) 32 83

el(n)boga *m.* elbow

elnian gain strength, prosper 53 52 (**ellen**)

elpēod *f.* foreign people, foreign country 32 256

elðeodignes *f.* foreign parts

embe, embe- *v.* **ymb(e)**

emnfela just as many 38 12

emnlange *prep. w. d.* alongside, parallel to 32 105

emnnēah *adv.* equidistant

emnscyldig *adj.* equally guilty or liable 28 39

ende *m.* end, ending ; death 26 221 ; district, region 25 390, 26 311, 28 24, 36 31

geendebyrdan put in order, arrange

endebyrdlice *adv.* in order, successfully

endebyrdnes *f.* order, arrangement

geendian *trans. and intrans.* end, finish; die

geending *f.* end, ending

englisc *adj.* English; English language

ēngu *v.* **ēnig** 48 43

ēode *v.* **gān**

e(o)for *m.* wild boar

eorl *m.* jarl; earl

eorldōm *m.* position of earl 26 378

eorlriht *n.* earl's right or privilege 41

14

earnost *f. on earnost* seriously 36 99

earnostlice *adv.* strictly 54 16

ēorod *n. f.* troop, army

eorðcyning *m.* earthly king 30 36

eorðe *wk. f.* earth, world

eorðlic *adj.* earthly

eorðwæstm *m.* fruit of the earth

ēow, **ēower** *you, your*

geēowian *show*

ēowu, **ēawu** *f.* ewe 43 20

eregian *v.* **erian**

erfe *v.* **ierfe**

ergende *v.* **erian**

erian *plough*

ēsa *v.* **ōs**

etan *5 eat*

ettan *graze*

ēðel *m. n.* country, native land; home

gefā *wk. m.* foe 27 73

fācen *n.* deceit, fraud

fācenfull *adj.* deceitful

(ge)fadian *order, arrange*

fæc *n.* space of time 26 224

fæder *m.* father; **yldra fæder** grandfather 42 112

fæderenmæg, **fæderingmæg** *m.* paternal relative

gefægen *adj.* glad, rejoicing

fæger *adj.* beautiful

fæmne *wk. f.* woman

fær *n.* journey, march 25 363

færbrægd *m.* sudden trick, act of treachery 53 195

færlic *adj.* sudden

fæst *adj.* fast, firm, solid; whole, sound 31 117

fæstan *fast, keep a fast*

fæste *adv.* fast, firmly 36 95

fæsten(n) *n.* (1) fortress, stronghold; (2) (church) fast, fasting

fæstenbryce *m.* breach of fasting

fæstlice *adv.* firmly; steadily, continuously 26 8, 91

(ge)fæstnian *confirm; fasten, attach* 50 20

fæted *adj.* gold-plated, decorated 41 35

fætels *m.* vessel

fæðm *m.* embrace; keeping

fald *m.* sheepfold 39 33, 40 13

gefān *wk. pl.* foes 27 73 (**fāh**)

(ge)fandian *find out, ascertain* 32 53, 258

fandung *f.* testing, test

fang *m.* booty 26 240

(ge)faran *6 go, travel, march; act, behave* 26 178; fare, turn out 32 243; die *freq.*

feala *v.* **fela**

(ge)feallan *red. v.* fall

fearr *m.* bull 53 162

fēawe *adj.* few

feccan *v.* **fetian** 39 11

fēdan *feed, supply with food*

feferād *l. fever*

feferfuge *f.* feverfew (plant)

fela *orig. sb.* much, many

felamihtig *adj.* very mighty

feld *m.* field, plain

fell *n.* skin, hide; fur 32 95, 98; 53 100

fenn *n. m.* fenn, marsh

feoh *n.* cattle 53 6; property, money *freq.*

feohgehāt *n.* promise of money, promised payment

feohgiferennes, **-gyrnes** *f.* greed of money

feohlēas *adj.* without money

gefeht *n.* fight, battle

(ge)feohtan *3 fight; win, conquer* 26 262

feochtūte *n.* fine for fighting 37 217

feola *v.* **fela**

fēolan *3 get in, penetrate* 25 73

fēond *m.* enemy

fēordon *v.* **fēran**

feorh *n. m.* life 38 59

feorm, **fierm** *f.* provisioning, food 43 63; profit, benefit 31 30, 40 30

feormfultum *m.* contribution of provisions, victualling

feormian *feed, maintain, support*

feormung *f.* cleaning, polishing

feorr *adv.* far

feorran *adv.* from afar

fēorða adj. fourth
fēower num. four
fēowertig num. forty
gefēra companion; attendant
fēran go; fare
gefēran happen, come to pass 26 306;
 experience, suffer 26 9, 104
fēre adj. fit (for service) 26 292
ferian carry, bring
fersc adj. fresh (water)
gefērscepe m. company, class; court,
 retinue 32 231
fēseð v. fýsan 36 93
 (ge)fetian fetch, bring
feðer f. feather
gefēðrian load 34 9 n.
fierd, fird, fyrd f. home army, army;
 campaign
fierdfæreld n. liability to military
 service
fierdian serve in the army; take the
 field, march
fierdlēas adj. without an army, un-
 protected 25 348
fierdmann m. soldier
fierdweard f. military watch or guard
fierdwite n. penalty for neglect of
 military duties
fiergen m.? mountain 53 107
fiermð f. maintenance, harbouring 37
 213
fierr compar. adv. farther 39 12, 34 49
fierrest superl. adv. farthest 32 57
fif num. five
fifta fifth
fiftiene num. fifteen
fiftig num. fifty
fihtwite v. feoht-
filigde v. fyl(i)g(e)an
fille f.? thyme 53 188, 217
findan 3 find; provide 27 39, 37 233;
 devise 31 46; decree, resolve on
 37 55
finger m. finger
finol m. fennel 53 47, 217
firmas m. pl. men 53 67, 169
firen crime, sin 54 10
firht v. freht 54 25
first m. space of time, time 26 79, 31
 58, 33 129, 35 96, 39 15
fisc(n)að m. fishing
fiscere m. fisher, fisherman
fiscian fish
fitt f. song, lay 33 23
flæsc n. flesh, meat

flān f. arrow, dart
flēam m. fleeing, flight
fleard n. folly, superstition
flēogan 2 fly 53 91
flēon 2 flee 53 107 etc.
flet(t) n. floor; hall
fliema fugitive 37 213
 (ge)flieman put to flight; drive back
gefliit n. strife, dispute
flocc m. company, troop
flocmælum adv. in bands or troops
flocrād f. troop of cavalry or mounted
 raid 25 346
flōd m. flood; river; flood-tide 25 502
gefloge n.? attack (of disease) (?) 53
 177
flōr f. m. floor
flota fleet, esp. Scandinavian pirates
flotmann m. sailor, pirate
flotsmeru f. fat, grease, lard
flōwan red. v. flow
fnæran snort 53 162
fōdor n. food, fodder
folc n. people
folccūð adj. celebrated, well-known
folcfrēo adj. folk-free, socially free 37
 60
folcgefoht n. important battle,
 pitched battle
folcgemōt n. popular assembly, folk-
 moot
folclagu f. law of the people, common
 law
folcriht n. common or customary law
foldbūend m. earth-dweller, man
folde wk. f. earth
folgað m. service, employment 40 26
folgian follow; be in service, take
 service
 (ge)fōn red. v. seize; take; capture;
 receive, accept; take up, begin 26
 259, 32 238, 33 23, 42 15; fōn to
 succeed to
fōr f. journey 37 142
for, fore prep. (1) w. d. on account of,
 owing to; (2) w. a. for, as, on behalf
 of
foran, forane adv. in front 25 357,
 424, 28 39 n., 53 91
forbærnan burn, burn up, cremate
forbēodan 2 forbid
forberstan 3 break down, collapse,
 come to nothing 49 5
forbod n. prohibition
forbregdan 3 transform

forbūgan 2 avoid, fail to attend 49 5
forcuman 4 come to grief, perish 33

200

ford *m.* ford

fordēman condemn, damn 35 45 ;
 treat unjustly, prejudice 42 38

fordōn *athem. v.* destroy, ruin

fordrifan 1 drive out of course 33 114

fore *prep. and adv.* before, for

forealdian grow old or obsolete 33

75

for(e)āð *m.* preliminary oath 41 10

foregenga predecessor

foregisl *m.* (preliminary ?) hostage 25
 234 *etc.*

foresecgan mention before or above
 35 73

foresp(r)æc *f.* pleading, defence 48 9

foresp(r)eca *wk. m.* advocate ; spon-
 sor

foresprecen *pp.* above-mentioned

for(e)steall *m.* interference, obstruc-
 tion 37 213

for(e)weard, for(e)word *f.* agree-
 ment, contract 27 29

for(e)wyrhta agent, representative

forfaran 6 block, obstruct ; destroy,
 kill 27 27

forfōn *red. v.* forestall ; **forene forfon**
 take measures to prevent 28 14

forgelimpan 3 happen previously 45
 31

forgiefan 5 grant, give

forgieldan 3 pay, repay ; pay for

forgieman neglect 40 14, 74

forgietan 5 forget

forhealdan *red. v.* withhold, neglect

forhelan 4 conceal

forhergian harry, ravage

forhwega *adv.* about, approximately

forhwierfan change, transform 33 139

forian break, render void or useless
 38 29

forierman reduce to poverty 36 36

forlāetan *red. v.* abandon, let go ;
 forget, overlook 26 343 ; allow 32
 257

forlēogan 2 perjure oneself 36 78, 116

forlēosan 2 lose

forlicgan 5 protect, defend 28 39 *n.*

forliger *n.* fornication, impurity

forma *superl. adj.* first

formæl, formāl *n.* treaty, agreement
 27 34, 38 37

formanig *adj.* very many

fornēah *adv.* very nearly, well nigh,
 26 33

forniedan compel

forniman 4 take away, abolish 36 39

foroft *adv.* very often

forrædan betray

forridan 1 ride in front of, intercept

forsacan 6 refuse, renounce

forsceādan *red. v.* spill, waste

forscieppan 6 change, transform 33

135

forseōn 5 despise, reject 36 35, 41

forsewennes *f.* contempt

forslēan 6 cut up, injure

forspendan spend, waste

forspillan destroy

forstandan 6 understand 31 69 ;

nauht forstandan, be void 42 102

forstelan 4 steal

forsugian pass over in silence, ignore
 33 75

forswerian 6 forswear, perjure one-
 self 36 78

forswiðe *adv.* very greatly, over much
 33 57 ; seriously 25 465

forsyngod *pp.* sinful

forð *adv.* forward, along ; further on,
 past 32 66 ; continually, ever 31 96,
 36 129

forðæm (1) *adv.* therefore ; (2) *conj.*
 because

forðbringan bring forward, furnish

forðbiolding *f.* encouragement

forðfēran die

forðgang *m.* advancement, progress

(ge)**forðian** advance, further 40 7, 30,
 37 ; carry out 39 43

forðlicor *comp. adv.* in a more ad-
 vanced state 26 304

forðon *v.* **forðæm**

forðsið *m.* death, decease

forðweard *adj.* advanced, progressing

forðy *v.* **forðæm**

forwēl *adv.* very, greatly

forweorpan 3 throw away, throw

forweorðan 3 perish, come to grief

forwiernan prevent 25 447 ; refuse
 32 259

forwundian wound severely

forwyrncan dam up 25 449 ; forfeit
 48 59, 51 7 ; destroy, ruin 36 131

fōstor *n.* feeding, fostering

fōt *m.* foot

fōtmæl *n.* foot (measure)

gefræge *adj.* celebrated, well-known

fram, from (1) *adv.* away; (2) *prep.*
w. d. from; by
 frecednes *f.* danger, peril
 freht, friht *f.?* soothsaying, divination
 fremde *adj.* foreign; strange(r)
 frencisc *adj.* Frankish, French
 frêo, frêoh, frig *adj.* free
 frêols *m.* freedom, liberty 37 60; 42
 123, 128; festival, holy day 28 55
 frêolsbryce *m.* breach or non-observance of festival
 frêolsdæg *m.* festival, holy day
 frêolsgiefa *wk. m.* liberator, manumitter
 frêon *set* free, liberate 52 1
 frêond *m.* friend
 frêondlice *adv.* in friendly manner
 frêondscipe *m.* friendship
 frêoriht *n.* right of free men
 frêot *m.* freedom 44 33
 fretan *5 eat*, devour
 friesisc *adj.* Frisian
 frigmann *m.* free man
 frigne *v. frêo*
 gefrignan 3 hear of 30 36
 frið *m. n.* peace, treaty of peace
 friðað *m.* peace-oath, oath to confirm treaty
 friðbrec *f.?* breach of peace
 friðburg *f.* town included in peace-treaty 27 43
 friðgeard *m.* (sacred?) enclosure 54 37
 friðian *shelter*, harbour, protect
 friðmæl, -māl *article* of peace
 friðmann *m.* person under protection of peace-treaty 27 45
 friðscip *n.* peace-ship (?) 39 5
 friðsplott *m.* (heathen?) peace-spot or sanctuary 54 5
 frōfor *f.* comfort, consolation
 fruma *beginning*, origin
 frumstōl *m.* ancestral seat, homestead
 frymdig *adj.* desirous 42 51
 fugol *m.* bird
 fug(e)lere *m.* fowler
 fuglian *catch or kill* birds, fowl
 fūl (1) *adj.* foul, dirty; muddy, slow-running 47 31; dishonest, guilty 36 188, 37 184; (2) *n. sb.* crime, fault, defect 37 184, 38 54
 fulgon *v. fēolan* 25 73
 full (1) *adj.* full; complete; be
 fullan *fully*, completely; (2) *adv.* fully

fullgān *athem. v.* carry out, follow, imitate 30 21
 ful(1)gearwian *complete*
 fullice *adv.* fully, completely; unreservedly 27 18
 fullmannod *pp.* fully peopled
 fullnēah *adv.* almost
 fulluht, fulwiht *n.* baptism
 fulluhtnama *baptismal name*
 fullwyrca *complete*, finish
 fultum *m.* help; reinforcement 25 374
 (ge)fultumian *help*
 fundian *tend or desire to go*; hasten
 furh *f.* furrow
 furlang *n.* furlong
 furðor *compar. adv.* further, forward; in addition
 furðum, furðon *adv.* even; just, only just
 fyer *v. fierr* 34 49
 gefylce *n.* army
 fylcian *assemble*, marshal
 fyl(i)g(e)an *follow*
 fyllan *fill*
 fylstan *help*, assist
 fylð *v. feallan* 32 130
 fȳr *n.* fire
 fyr *v. fierr* 39 12
 fyren *v. firen*
 fyr(e)st *superl. adj.* first in order or rank; front 37 19 (fore)
 fyrh *v. furh* 47 28
 fyrht *v. freht* 54 21
 fryrmdig *v. frymdig* 42 51
 fyrmē *v. feorm* 40 30
 fyrmest *superl. (1) adj.* foremost, first 26 378; (2) *adv.* best, to the best of one's ability 32 2, 42 105
 gefyrn *adv.* formerly, previously
 gefyrst *n.* frost
 fȳsan *drive*, rout 27 26, 36 93
 fyst *f.* fist
 gegad(e)rian *collect*, assemble
 gaderung *f.* gathering, collection
 gān *v. gān* 50 13
 gærs *n.* grass
 gærsierð *f.* grass-tilth, ploughing in return for grass 39 36
 gærsswin *n.* pig as rent for hog pasture 39 8
 gærstūn *m.* meadow
 gafol *n.* tax; tribute
 gafolierð *f.* ploughing in lieu of rent 39 37

gafolpeni(n)g *m.* tribute-penny **39** 30
g(e)aldor *n.* incantation, charm
g(e)aldorcræft *m.* use of incantations
g(e)aldorcræftiga practiser of incantations
gamen *n.* amusement, sport
gān *athem. v.* go, walk
gegān conquer
gangan *red. v.* go
gangdagas *m. pl.* Rogation days (preceding Ascension Day)
gār *m.* dart, spear
gārsecg *m.* ocean, open sea
gāst *m.* spirit
gāstlic *adj.* spiritual
gatu *v.* geat **25** 63
gauol- *v.* gafol- **39** 37
ge *conj.* and; **ge . . . ge** both . . . and
gē *pron.* you
gēar *n.* year
gearo, gearu *adj.* ready
gearolice *adv.* clearly, quite **30** 2
gearwian prepare
geat *n.* gate
geō *adv.* formerly
geofan *v.* giefan **30** 1
geoguð *f.* youth; young men
geolo *adj.* yellow **53** 201
geond *prep. w. a.* over, throughout
geondwadan 6 peruse, study **31** 83
geong *adj.* young
georn *adj.* zealous **31** 9
georne *adv.* earnestly, eagerly, zealously, carefully; well **36** 4, 106; *superl.* **geornost**
geornful *adj.* desirous
georn(i)an *v.* giernan
geornlice *adv.* zealously, conscientiously, scrupulously
gēotan 2 pour **53** 138
gib *v.* gif
giefan 5 give, grant
gi(e)fnan bestow gifts
giefol *adj.* giving; giver **34** 30
gi(e)fu *f.* gift, favour, grace
gield *n.* payment, tax **26** 182, 272
gielðan 3 pay; pay worship **37** 63
giellan 3 scream, cry **53** 89
gi(e)lp *m.* boasting, arrogance
gieman *w. g.* pay heed, attend to
giemelēas *adj.* careless
giemelēast, -lēast *f.* carelessness, negligence
giemen(n) *f.* care, attention

gi(e)ngra *compar. of geong*
gierd *f.* twig, rod, stick **34** 10; rood (land-measure) **26** 335, **39** 43
gierela dress, clothing
giernan desire, long for
gierwan prepare; clothe **32** 261
giestliðnes *f.* hospitality
giēt, gýt *adv.* yet, still
gietsung *f.* covetousness, avarice
gif *conj.* if
giernes *f.* greed
gifeðe *adj.* granted (by fate)
giful *v.* giefol **34** 30
gigant *m.* giant
gild *v.* gielð **26** 182
gilt *v.* gielðan **32** 97
gimm *m.* gem, jewel
gind- *v.* geond-
giō, giū *v.* geō
giśl *m.* hostage
gislian give or send hostages
glappe *wk. f.* name of plant **53** 8 *n.*
glēawmōd *adj.* wise
glēd *f.* live coal, embers
geglengan adorn, distinguish
god *n. n.* god; God
gōd (1) *adj.* good; (2) *sb.* good, goodness; **mid gode** in good faith, bona fide **27** 20
godbearn *n.* godchild
godcund *adj.* divine
godfyrht *adj.* pious
gōdian become good, improve **36** 15; endow **26** 347
gōdnes *f.* goodness
godsibb *m.* godparent, sponsor
godspell *n.* gospel
godspellic *adj.* of the gospel, evangelical
godsunu *m.* godson
gold *n.* gold
goldðeof *m.* stealer of gold
gor *n.?* part of apple **53** 219
gōsfugol *m.* goose
græf *n.* trench, cutting **47** 6
grēne *adj.* green
grēot *n.* earth, sand
(ge)grētan greet
grēwð *v.* grōwan
grimm *adj.* fierce, cruel
grīð *n.* peace, truce
griðian protect, shelter
grīðlēas *adj.* unprotected
grōwan *red. v.* grow
grund *m.* surface, plain

grūt *f.* coarse meal
 grymetian grunt
 gyden *f.* goddess
 gylð *v.* gield 26 272
 gylt *m.* guilt 35 55; sin 30 30
 gynd *v.* geond
 gýt *v.* giet
 habban have
 hād *m.* profession, office 35 2; *pl.* orders
 hādbryce *m.* violation of holy orders
 gehādod *pp.* ordained, in holy orders, ecclesiastic; who has taken the veil 28 51
 gehæftan confine
 hæftnied *f.* captivity, enforced subjection
 hægtesse *wk. f.* witch, sorceress
 hælān heal, cure
 hælend *m.* Saviour
 hæleð *m.* man
 hælo *f.* cure 54 42; health 34 62; salvation 25 126, 37 75
 hæmed *n.* marriage 43 16
 hæpse *wk. f.* hasp
 hær *v.* hēr
 hærfest *m.* autumn
 hæslwrid *n.* hazel thicket
 hætan heat 38 3
 hæto *f.* heat 33 176
 hætt(t) *v.* hātan
 hēðen *adj.* heathen
 hēðendōm *m.* heathen belief or practice
 hēðenscipe *m.* heathen practice, heathendom
 hāl *adj.* healthy; sound, unimpaired 49 30 *n.*
 hālgian consecrate, hallow
 hālgung *f.* consecration
 hālig *adj.* holy; used as *sb.* saint
 hāligdōm *m.* holy thing, place or relic 38 32
 hālignes *f.* holy or sacred thing
 hāligwæter *n.* holy water
 h(e)alsian beg, implore, entreat
 hām *m.* home; house, residence; estate, homestead 39 4, 42 67
 hama dress, covering 53 117
 hamm *m.* pasture-land, meadow 47 9
 hāmsōcn *f.* housebreaking, penalty therefor
 hāmweard *adv.* on the way home, homeward

hana part of ship 44 9 *n.*
 hand *f.* hand; side; him on hond
 gan submit 25 277, 32 205; on
 handa stod was present, in existence 28 10; person inheriting 42 42, 109 *etc.*; person chosen as lord 42 128
 handdæda perpetrator, slayer
 handseten *f.* sign-manual, signature
 hangian *intrans.* hang
 hār *adj.* whitish, grey 26 294
 hāt *adj.* hot
 gehāt *n.* promise
 hātan *red. v.* command, order; name, call; het was called 26 376
 gehātan *red. v.* promise
 hātte *pass. of hātan* is or was called (ge)hāwian gaze, look, survey
 hē *pron.* he, it
 hēafod *n.* head; chief 26 135; source, spring 47 15, 28
 heafode *v.* habban
 hēafodweard *f.* office of body-guard
 hēagum *v.* hēah
 hēah *adj.* high
 hēahbiscop *m.* archbishop
 hēahburg *f.* chief city, capital
 hēa(h)dēorhund *m.* staghound 39 39
 hēahgerēfa high-reeve, chief executive officer
 hēa(h)nes *f.* height, supremacy 30 3
 hēahreced *n.* high building
 hēahðungen *pp. adj.* of high rank
 hēahweder *n.* rough weather
 (ge)healdan *red. v.* hold, keep, maintain, observe; treat 26 322, 28 16, 36; hine . . . gehealdan behave 48 48
 healf *f.* side
 healf *adj.* half; oðre healfe one and a half 37 203
 healfhund *n.* half hundred 25 113 *n.*
 healfmearc *n.?* half-mark (coin) 54 26
 hēallic *adj.* high, noble 35 130
 healsfang *n.* portion of wergild 37 64 *n.*, 241
 hēan *adj.* humble, lowly 26 344
 heard *adj.* hard 53 8 *n.*
 heardlice *adv.* bravely
 hearin *m.* injury, damage, loss
 hēawan *red. v.* cut; kill
 hebfað *v.* habban
 hecge *wk. f.* hedge 47 43
 hēdan take care, heed
 hefelic *adj.* severe

hefig *adj.* heavy, burdensome
hefigtieme *adj.* troublesome, tedious 35 64
hege *m.* hedge 47 25
heg(eg)ian hedge in, fence in
hēhsta *superl.* of hēah
heht *v.* hātan
helm *m.* helmet
help *f.* help
helt *v.* healdan 33 188
helt *v.* hieldan 33 217
gehende *adj.* near, close 26 71
hen(e)p *m.?* hemp
hengest *m.* steed, horse
henn *f.* hen
hennfugol *m.* hen, fowl
hēo, hīo *pron.* she, it; they
heofon *m. f.* heaven, heavens, sky
heofonlic *adj.* heavenly
heofonrice *n.* kingdom of heaven
heom *v.* hē
heononforð *adv.* henceforth
heora *v.* hē; **ðe heora** whose 30 29
heord *f.* herd 39 40
heorotsol *n.* stag's wallowing-place (?) 47 12
heorðpeni(n)g *m.* house-tax
hēr *adv.* here
here *m.* harrying, devastation 36 47;
 raiding army (*esp. of the Danes*);
 army
heregeat *n.* military equipment,
 armour; heriot 37 230 *n.*, 233
herehȳð *f.* plunder, booty
heretoga general, leader
hergað *m.* raiding, plundering 25 378
hergian harry, ravage, make raids;
 go ravaging
hergung, heriung *f.* harrying, raid-
 ing, plundering
herige, hergum *v.* here
hēron *adv.* herein 30 29, 37 123
hēte *v.* hātan
hete *m.* hate, persecution
hetelice *adv.* menacingly, grievously
hetol *adj.* hating, fierce
hīd *f.* measure of land, hide
hider *adv.* hither
hīe, hī *pron.* her; they
hieldan incline 33 217
hielf *m.* (tool) handle 34 2
hīenan humiliate, treat contemp-
 tuously 36 102
hiene *v.* hē

(ge)hieran hear; *w. d.* obey; belong 32 135, 141, 42 53
hierde *m.* director, ruler 40 76
hierdebōc *f.* pastoral book, book for directors
hīer(e)mann *m.* subordinate, inferior 40 22
hierra *compar.* of hēah
hīersum *adj.* obedient, loyal
hīersumian obey
hierwan despise, scorn 36 125
hig *v.* hīe
hīga, hīwa servant 37 61; monk 42 51, 127, 43 24
hindan *adv.* from behind; **him æt hindan** behind, after
hindrian hinder, baffle
hīo *v.* hēo, hīe
hīred *m.* household; body of retainers, court; religious community 50 3
hīredcniht *m.* young retainer or servant
hīredmann *m.* member of household or court, retainer
hīredprēost *m.* chaplain
his *pron.* his, its
hīwisc *n.* hide (of land)
hīwscipe *m.* hide (of land)
hlābard *v.* hlāford
hladan 6 draw, pump (water) 31 102, 114
hlæder *f.* ladder
hlæfdige *wk. f.* lady, royal lady
hlæw *m.* mound, hill
hlāf *m.* loaf, bread
hlāford *m.* lord, master; king, abbot, abbess *etc.*
hlāforddōm *m.* lordship, patronage
hlāfordswice *m.* treachery, treason
hlēapan *red. v.* leap, leap up
hlōð *f.* band, troop
hlūd *adj.* loud, resounding, noisy
hlūtor *adj.* clear, pure
hlystan listen 33 24
hnesce *adj.* lax, unstable
hōcor *n.* derision, contumely
hōcorwyrde *adj.* derisive, mocking
hōl *n.* calumny, slander 31 49, 38 39
hol *adj.* hollow 47 11
hold *adj.* gracious, kind (*of a lord*) 26 317, 28 4; faithful, loyal (*of a retainer or subject*) 26 323, 38 32, 40 76
hold *m.* freeholder (*from the Scandinavian*) 41 23

hōn *red. v. trans.* hang
hōrcwene *wk. f.* prostitute
hord *n. m.* treasure
hordærn *n.* storehouse, store-room
horn *m.* horn
hors *n.* horse
horshwæl *m.* walrus
(ge)horsian provide with horses
horsweard *f.* care of horses
hræd *adj.* quick; early 40 5; *superl.*
radost 25 56
hrædlíce *adv.* quickly, promptly
hrægl *n.* dress, garment
hræ(g)lðegn *m.* keeper of clothes or wardrobe 48 11
hrān *m.* reindeer
hraðe, hræðe *adv.* quickly, soon
hræowlic *adj.* pitiable, lamentable 26 341
hrieman shout, cry out 37 69
hriðer *n.* farm-beast, *i.e.* bull, cow, ox
hrōst *m.?* perch, roost
hrycg *m.* back; ridge 47 39, 53 180
hrycghrægl *n.* mantle (?) 44 26 *n.*
hū *adv. conj.* how
hulc *m.* shed, booth 27 49
hund *m.* dog
hund *num.* hundred 25 367
hundnigontig *num.* ninety
hundred *num.* hundred
hundseofontig *num.* seventy
hundertēontig *num.* hundred
hundtwelftig *num.* hundred and twenty
hungor *m.* hunger, famine
hunig *n.* honey
hunta hunter
huntað *m.* hunting
huntian hunt
hūru *adv.* at least, at any rate, especially; **hure** 34 20
hūs *n.* house
hūsl *n.* eucharist
hūslgenga communicant
hūsting *n.* (Danish) tribunal or meeting
hwā, hwæt (1) *interrog. pron.* who, what; (2) *indef. pron.* someone, something, anyone, anything
gehwā *pron.* each 53 59
hwæl *m.* whale; walrus 32 82
hwælhunta whaler
hwælhuntað *m.* whaling
hwær *adv. conj.* where; somewhere 31 77

gehwær *adv.* everywhere
hwæt *interj.* lo! look here! listen!
gehwæt *pron.* everything, all
hwætewæstm *m.* wheat-crop
hwæthwega, hwæthwugu *pron.* something
hwæthwegununga *adv.* somewhat
hwæðer (1) *pron.* which (of two); one (of two) 37 131; (2) *conj.* whether; **swa hwæðer swa** . . . **swa** whether . . . or 38 27
gehwæðer *pron.* either, each, both
hwata divination 54 3
hwatung *f.* divination 54 11
hwearfian turn, revolve
hwelc (1) *interrog. pron.* which, what; (2) *indef. pron.* any 31 119, 36 82 *etc.*; **swa hwelc swa** whosoever
gehwelc *pron.* each
hwēne *adv.* a little
hwēol *n.* wheel
hweorfan 3 turn, return
hwierfan exchange 51 2
hwil *f.* time, space of time; **ða hwile ðe** while, as long as; **hwilum, hwilon** at times; **hwilum** . . . **hwilum** sometimes . . . at other times
hwilc *v.* **hwelc**
hwit *adj.* white
hwitehlāf *m.* white or wheaten loaf
hwōn *adv.* a little 32 60
hwonne *adv. conj.* when 48 43
hwȳ *adv. conj.* why
hȳ *v.* **hīe**
(ge)hycgan think, reflect on 30 10
hȳd *f.* skin, hide
hyht *m.* hope 30 15
hyrwan *v.* **hierwan** 36 125
(ge)hyhtan hope 27 20
hyldāð *m.* oath of allegiance
hylf *v.* **hielf** 34 2
hylt *v.* **healdan** 42 50
hype *m.* hip
hȳr *v.* **hēr**
hȳrmann *v.* **hīer(e)mann** 40 24
hȳð *f.* landing-place, harbour 50 11
ic *pron.* I
idel *adj.* vain, idle
idelnes *f.* vanity, folly
idol *n. f.* idol 54 26
ie *v.* **ēa**
iecan add, add to 36 8, 37 25
iegland *n.* island

iegbūend m. island-dweller
ield f. age; old age
ieldest superl. of eald senior, principal, chief **26** 140, **53** 155
ieldran pl. compar. of eald elders, ancestors **31** 33, **49** 10
ierfe n. inheritance, property; *æce yrfe* ownership in perpetuity **34** 29; cattle **27** 12
ierfegeflit n. dispute about inheritance **42** 31
ierfegewrit n. will, testament **42** 29
ierfehand f. administrator of will or estate **43** 61
ierfeweard m. heir **42** 120
iergan make cowardly or effeminate **36** 92
ierming m. wretched creature, poor wretch
iermō f. misery **33** 144, **36** 113
iernan 3 run; flow
ierre n. anger, wrath; strong emotion
iersian be angry; *irsiende* capable of anger or emotion **33** 224
iersung f. anger, strong feeling **33** 226
ierō f. ploughing, tilth, produce
ieō adv. compar. of ēaðe **34** 43
ieōra adj. compar. of ēaðe **33** 219
ieðnes f. ease, luxury **33** 39, **34** 45
iggað m. island in river
ihte v. *iecan* **36** 8
ilca adj. same
ilce adv. *swa ilce* in the same manner **33** 120
impian graft
inclēofa inner chamber **51** 9
ingeðanc n. thoughts, mind
ingehygd n. f. conscience
inland n. demesne land, lord's private land **39** 21
inlice adv. earnestly, intently
in(n) adv. in
innan (1) *adv.* inside, within; (2) *prep.* (a) *w. d.* within; (b) *w. a.* into
innanbordes adv. at home, in our own country
inne adv. inside
inneweard adj. inside
in(n)gang m. right of entry
innoð m. interior
insegel, insigle n. seal
inseglian seal, seal up
in(n)spiderwiht house-spider, spider-like creature **53** 116
inswān m. demesne swineherd

inweaxan red. v. grow in, penetrate **53** 81
inweorc n. indoor work
iow v. *ēow*
is 3rd s. pres. ind. is
isen, isern, iren (1) *n.* iron; (2) *adj.* iron, of iron
isenordāl n. ordeal with hot iron **37** 203
isgeblæd n. chilblain (?) **53** 206
iū v. *geō*

k- v. c-

lā interj. oh! now!
lāc n. f. gift, offering **35** 131
lacu f. sheet of water **47** 35
lād f. carrying, conveying **39** 9
lād f. clearing from an accusation, exculpation **28** 40
(ge)lādian clear oneself from accusation
lādrinc official guide, herald (?) **37** 12
lādtēow, lāttēow m. leader, general
gelæccan seize, take up **37** 250; receive, accept **35** 28
læcedōm m. medicine, healing
(ge)lædan lead, bring, take; carry through **48** 33
læden n. and adj. Latin
lædenspræc f. Latin
lædengeðeode n Latin
læfan leave; bequeath
læmen adj. earthen, clay
læn f. loan **31** 77; lease, land held on lease **34** 25, **28**, **48** 58
lænan lend, make a loan **44** 24
læne adj. frail, perishable, insubstantial
læng v. *leng*
læppa district
(ge)læran teach, instruct; advise; *pp.* *gelæred* learned **31** 74
læs f. pasture **38** 64
læs adv. less, fewer; *na ðe læs* nevertheless
læssa compar. adj. smaller **32** 82
læst superl. adv. least
(ge)læstan w. a. carry out, perform; pay **26** 88; *w. d.* help **25** 212, **26** 296; *intrans.* last, endure **38** 65
lætre compar. of læt slower, in arrears **26** 40, **305**

lætan *red. v.* let, allow; leave; let go by 26 79; **læte** . . . **an** let him relinquish it 37 45; **let** . . . **up** released, let go 26 203; **lett** caused 26 330; account, reckon 37 247
gelæst *n.* junction of roads 35 137, 54 32
læð *n.* division of land 38 70
læwede *adj.* lay
læw *f.* damaged condition, injury 36 134
lāf *f.* remainder 25 149; **to lafe** left, remaining 26 310, 32 173; relict, widow 49 31, 46 2
lagbryce *m.* breach of law
lagian lay down by law, ordain 36 21
laglic *adj.* lawful 29 13
laglice *adv.* according to law 36 56
lagslitt *n.* fine for breach of (Danish) law 27 23, 54 38
lagu *f.* law
lambescyrse *f.* lamb's cress 53 216
land *n.* land, country
landbōc *f.* land-charter, deed
landesmann *m.*, man of the country, Englishman
landfierd *f.* land-army
landgafol *n.* land-due, rent
landgemære *n.* boundary
landlagu *f.* law or custom of the district
landræðenn *f.* local custom
landriht *n.* land obligations or charges
landscaru *f.* land, land-surface
landseten *f.* equipment for working land
landsidu *m.* custom of the district
landsittende *ptcp.* occupying land
lang *adj.* long
lange *adv.* far 32 53; for a long time
lār *f.* teaching; learning, knowledge
lārēow *m.* teacher
lārēowdōm *m.* teaching
lāstweard *m.* successor
late *adv.* late 25 144
lāð *adj.* hateful, unpleasant, repulsive
lāðian loathe, hate 36 129
laðian invite 35 52
lēaden *adj.* of lead 38 8
lēadgota lead-smelter, plumber
lēaf *f.* permission
gelēafa belief, faith
gelēafull *adj.* believing, believer
lēafnes *f.* permission
lēah *f. m.* meadow, lea 47 9, 12

(ge)**leahtrian** revile, slander 36 125; corrupt 35 20
 (ge)**lēanian** reward, pay 40 23; repay 42 107
lēas (1) *adj.* false 26 347, 35 22; dishonest 35 85; inaccurate 33 131, 35 88; fictitious 33 82; (2) *n.* falsehood, erroneous matter 35 21
lēasbregd *m.* deceitful device, false trick
lēasung *f.* act of deceit 36 116; fiction 33 92
leccan wet, moisten 33 188
lecgan lay, place, put
lege *v.* **lecgan**
leger *n.* lying 32 189, 49 38; burial-place 38 69; after-life 49 26
legerstōw *f.* tomb, place of burial
lencten, **lengten** *m.* spring
gelendan go, arrive
leng *compar. adv.* longer; at greater length 26 332
lengest *superl. adv.* longest
lengra *compar. adj.* longer
lēod *v.* **lēodgield** 37 15 *n.*
lēodbiscop *m.* bishop
lēode *f. pl.* people
lēodgield *m.* fine for manslaughter
lēodhata persecutor, tyrant
lēodscipe *m.* people, population
lēodwita wise man, counsellor
lēof *adj.* dear, beloved; agreeable; sir, dear sir
leofað *v.* **libban**
leoht *adj.* not heavy, light; not onerous
leohtung *f.* lightening, alleviation 37 222
lēoht *n.* light, brightness 33 251
leohtung *f.* dawn 28 57
lēo *wk. f.* lion, lioness 33 135
lēon 1 lend, give 43 3
 (ge)**leornian** investigate, ponder on, study; find by experience, learn 34 67, 39 53; decide 45 28; plot 32 235
leornung *f.* study
lēoð *n.* song, poetry 33 9, 18
lēoðwyrhta poet
lēosan 2 lose
lēt *v.* **lētan**
letania litany
lēwe *v.* **læw** 36 134
libban live
lic *n.* body
gelic *adj.* like, resembling

gelica like, match
 gelice *adv.* in like manner, equally
 licettan pretend
 licgan 5 lie; lie dead; run, flow;
 extend
 lichama, licema body
 lician please
 licwigung *f.* necromancy
 liefan allow 48 8
 geliefan, -lȳfan, lifan believe
 geliefed *adj.* believing, pious 35 57
 lif *n.* life; lifes alive 43 39 45
 23
 liegetu *f.* lightning, flash of lightning
 33 90
 lihting *v.* leohtung 37 222
 lim *n.* limb
 gelimp *n.* event
 limpan 3 pertain, belong 50 4
 gelimpan 3 happen, come to pass
 gelimpfull *adj.* suitable
 lind *f.* lime-tree
 linsæd *n.* flax-seed, linseed
 list *m.* skill 33 17
 lið *n.* joint 53 102
 lið *v.* licgan
 gelið(i)an relax 30 5
 liðan 1 depart 53 120
 lōcian gaze, look
 lof *n.* praise, credit, glory
 loflāc *n.* *f.* offering (in honour of a
 god)
 gelogian put, place 37 261; put away,
 avert 28 18; appoint 36 70
 lohsceaft *m.* beam
 gelōme *adv.* frequently
 gelōmlīce *adv.* frequently
 losian disappear, run away
 lufian love
 lufu *f.*, lufe *wk. f.* love
 luflice *adv.* affectionately
 lust *m.* desire
 lustfullice *adv.* gladly, willingly
 lybban *v.* libban
 lybbilc *n.* drugging, sorcery
 lyfigende *v.* libban
 lyft *m. f. n.* air; sky
 lȳhting *v.* lēohtung 28 57
 lystan *impers.* desire, care
 lȳsu *adj.* evil, wrong; *g. s.* lȳswæs
 37 8
 lȳt *adv.* but little 33 21
 lȳtel *adj.* little, small; lytlum and
 lytlum little by little 34 72
 lytig *adj.* crafty, cunning

mā *compar. adv.* more; ðon mā þe
 any more than 25 72
 macian make, cause
 mād̃m *v.* mād̃m
 gemæcce *wk. f.* mate, wife
 mædere *wk. f.* madder, a dye-plant
 mæg *v.* magan
 mæg *m.* kinsman, near relative; son,
 brother, daughter *etc.*; ancestor 37
 121
 mægburg *f.* family
 mægchild *n.* young kinsman
 mæġden, mæden *n.* maiden
 mæ(g)denmann *n.* virgin, maid 53
 114
 mæġen *n.* strength, force
 mæġester *m.* master, ruler 26 380
 mægghand *f.* kinsman, relation 46 4
 mægræs *m.* attack on kinsman,
 family feud
 mægslaga murderer of kinsmen
 mægð *f.* family; tribe
 gemægð *f.* power, greatness 33 56
 mægðe *wk. f.* maidweed, mayweed
 53 175 *n.*, 178, 217
 mæl *n.* crucifix, cross
 mænan complain
 gemæne *adj.* common; general; in
 common
 mænge *v.* mengan 53 218
 mære *adj.* famous
 gemære *n.* boundary, boundary-line
 mærne *f.* fame, glory 30 1
 mærpitt *m.* boundary trench
 mærsian make glorious
 mærd̃ *f.* fame, glory
 mæsse *wk. f.* mass; mass-day,
 festival
 mæssebōc *f.* mass-book, missal
 mæssedæg *m.* mass-day, festival
 mæssepreost *m.* priest, chaplain
 mæssere *m.* priest
 mæsseðegn *m.* celebrant, priest
 mæssreaf *n.* mass-vestment
 mæst (1) *superl. adj.* greatest;
 largest; (2) *adv.* mostly 36 58, 59
 mæstenn *m.* swine-pasture 39 40
 mæte *adj.* small; *compar.* mætre
 less important 40 11
 mæð *f.* measure, due measure, degree,
 proportion; relative position or im-
 portance 39 22, 41 3, 44 30; rank
 36 26
 mæðelfrið *m. n.* councillor's right of
 immunity (?) 37 5

gemæðian raise in rank, show favour to 37 214

mæðlic *adj.* proportionate

maga *adj.* able, capable 34 8, 37 246

magan *pst. prs. v.* can, be able; may; avail, be strong 53 171, 194

māgas *v.* mæg

malscrung *f.* witchcraft, spell

malt *v.* mealt

mān (1) *n.* wickedness, crime 33 33;

(2) *adj.* wicked, evil 53 196

gemāna association, partnership 42 11

mancus *m.* gold coin or its value 31 72 *n. etc.*

māndæd *f.* criminal or wicked deed

mānfull *adj.* wicked, criminal

gemang (1) *n.* mingling; on gemang among, during; (2) *prep. w. d.* among 27 50; during 49 19

manian exhort 28 55

manig *adj.* many

manigfeald *adj.* manifold

(ge)manigfealdian multiply

manigfealdlice *adv.* in many ways 26 347

mann *m.* man; servant, slave 37 60, 146, 44 21; woman slave 49 3

manna man 37 11

manncwealm *m.* pestilence

mannsielen *f.* selling into slavery 36 111

mannsliht *m.* homicide, murder

mannðeof *m.* kidnapper

mannweorðung *f.* worshipping men, deification 54 3

mānswara perjurer

manung *f.* exhortation, encouragement 40 23; exaction, extortion 42 125

māra *compar. adj.* greater, larger; more 39 36

gemartyrian martyr

massere *v.* mæssere

māðm, mādm *m.* treasure

māwan *red. v.* mow

meahte, meihite *v.* magan

mealt *n.* malt 43 30

mearc *f.* mark, line 38 5; boundary line, boundary 33 176, 47 34; ofer

mearc away from the district 37 61

gemearcian mark; note

gemearr *n.* heresy, wrong-doing 54 4

mearð *m.* marten

gemecce *v.* gemæcce 43 6

gemēde (1) *adj.* agreed upon, acceptable 48 16; (2) *n.* agreement, terms of agreement 49 29; consent 37 55

medeme *adj.* medium, moderate, ordinary; *superl.* medemest middle (of three) 42 67

mederan *v.* mædere 40 43

medsælð *f.* misfortune

medu *m. n.* mead 32 163

mēihand *v.* mæghand 46 4

melda informer, betrayer

meldian proclaim, reveal

melu *n.* meal, flour 53 70

mengan mingle, mix

menian *v.* mynlian

menig(e)o *f.* multitude

mennisc *n.* people, population

meolc *f.* milk

mere *m.* lake 32 117, 155

mergen *v.* morgen

mersc *m.* marsh

gemet *n.* measure 26 358, 38 5

gemetan 5 measure 37 173

(ge)mētan meet with, meet, find

mete *m.* food, provisions

meteliest *f.* want of food

gemetfæst *adj.*, moderate, sober 40 76

met(t)ian, metsian feed, supply with food

mēðig *adj.* weary

metsung *f.* feeding, provisioning

micel *adj.* much; great, large

micle *adv.* much, greatly

gemician increase, augment

miclum greatly, heavily, severely

mid *prep. w. d. or a.* with; in company with, together with; among;

mid ealle altogether, entirely, utterly

middangeard *m.* earth, world

middanwinter, midde- *m.* midwinter

midde *adj.* middle, in the middle

middeweard *adj.* in the middle, towards the middle

middel *n.* middle

mieltan melt 53 99

miere *wk. f.* mare 32 162

miht *f.* might, strength, power

mihte *v.* magan

mihtig *adj.* mighty

mil *f.* mile

milde *adj.* mild, gentle

mildheortnes *f.* kindness, mercy

milts *f.* kindness, favour, mercy

mirhð *v.* myr(i)gð

misbēodan 2 ill-use, maltreat
misdæd *f.* misdeed, offence
misfaran 6 go wrong
mislimpan 3 turn out badly or unfortunately 32 254
missenlice *adv.* variously, differently
mis(t)lic *adj.* various
mist *m.* mist, cloud
mōd *n.* mind, thoughts
mōdgeðanc *m.* thoughts, mind
mōdor *f.* mother
mōdwelig *adj.* intellectual
molde *wk. f.* earth
mōna moon
mōnandæg, mōndæg *m.* Monday
mōnað *m.* month
mōr *m.* moor, mountain
mōrfæsten *n.* moor-stronghold, hill-fort
morgen *m.* morning; to morgen to-morrow
morgengiefu *f.* marriage gift (on morning after wedding)
morð *n.* murder, crime
morðdæd *f.* murder
morðslaga murderer
morðweorc *n.* murder
morðwyrhta murderer
mōste *v.* mōtan
gemōt *n.* meeting, council; lawcourt (?) 28 58 *n.*
mōtan *pst. prs. v.* be permitted, may; must
mōtian discuss, plead
mucgwyrt *f.* mugwort 53 153 *n.*
gemunan *pst. prs. v.* remember
mund *f.* guardianship, protection
mundbora protector, guardian
mundbryce *m.* breach of guardianship or fine therefor
mundbyrd *f.* protection, guardianship; fine for breach thereof
mundian protect, take charge of as guardian or trustee 49 31
munt *m.* mountain
munuc *m.* monk
murge *v.* myrige
mūsfealle *wk. f.* mouse-trap
mūð *m.* mouth
mūða (river) mouth
mylengear, mylier *m.* mill-yair, enclosed portion of water for catching fish 47 21
myle(n)weard *m.* miller 40 59
gemyltan *v.* gemieltan

gemynd *f. n.* memory, remembrance
myn(d)gian remind 49 32
gemyndig *adj.* mindful
gemyne *v.* gemunan 53 153
mynece *n.* nun 28 51 *n.*
mynegyng *f.* reminding, remembrance
mynet *n.* coinage
mynetere *m.* minter, coiner
mynetian coin 37 183
mynetsmiðe *wk. f.* mint
mynian direct oneself, go 34 8
mynster *n.* monastery, convent
mynsterlif *n.* monastic life
mynstermann *m.* monk
myntan intend
mýran *v.* miere 32 162
myrige *adv.* pleasantly 34 12
myr(i)gen *f.* delight, pleasure 33 19
myr(i)gð, myrhð *f.* delight, joy

na, nō *adv.* not
næbbe = ne hæbbe
næd(d)re *wk. f.* snake, serpent
næfde = ne hæfde
nænig *adj. pron.* no, no one
nære = ne wære
næs = ne wæs
næs *adv.* not 53 97
nafað = ne hafað
nāge = ne āge
nā(h)wær *adv.* nowhere 33 204
nāhwæðer *pron.* neither (of two);
 nāhwæðer ne . . . ne neither . . .
 nor
nām(e) *v.* niman
nama name
namcūð *adj.* well-known
nāme *v.* niman
nān *adj.* no, no one
nānwiht (1) *n.* nothing; (2) *adv.* not at all 34 67
nasu *v.* nosu
natiuitas *Lat.* birthday
nāðelæs *adv.* nevertheless
nāwiht, nāuht, nāht (1) *n.* nothing 33 165; (2) *adv.* not
nāwðer, nāuðer, nāðor *v.* nāhwæðer
ne not
nēadan *v.* genīedan 35 54
nēah (1) *adv.* near; nearly 32 78;
 (2) *prep. w. d.* near
nēahgebūr *m.* neighbour
nēahmæg *m.* near relation 37 231

(ge)nēalācan draw near, approach
 near *compar.* of nēah 34 72
 nearo *adj.* narrow 34 41
 nearolice, nearwelice *adv.* minutely,
 closely 26 234; succinctly, baldly
 35 73
 nearones *f.* distress, duress 33 49
 nearwian restrict 36 40
 genēat *m.* retainer, vassal 25 500, 37
 86 *n.*; tenant-farmer 39 7 *n.*
 genēatriht *n.* land-tenant's legal
 status; tenant-law 39 7
 nēawist *f.* neighbourhood; associa-
 tion (with) 50 15
 nebb *n.* face
 nēhst, nēxt *v.* nīehst
 nellan = ne willan
 (ge)nemn(i)an name; mention;
 nominate, appoint 37 176, 48 10
 nemne *conj.* unless, except 45 29
 nēnes *v.* nān 28 19
 nēod, nēod- *v.* nīed, nīed-
 nēodfull *adj.* zealous 28 23
 neoð- *v.* nið-
 generian save, protect
 genesan 3 be saved, recover (from)
 netele *wk. f.* nettle
 nēten *v.* nīeten
 nīed *f.* necessity, need; for neode of
 necessity
 nīedbād *f.* toll
 nīedbādere *m.* toll-collector
 nīedbeðearf *adj.* necessary
 genīedan compel, force 32 205;
 subdue, subjugate 32 267
 nīede *adv.* of necessity
 nīedgielð *n.* forced tax, tribute 36 87
 nīedðearf *f.* necessity, need
 nīehst *superl.* of nēah nearest, next;
 latest, last; æt nīehstan at last,
 finally
 nīeten *n.* animal, beast
 nigon *num.* nine
 nigontēoða *num.* nineteenth
 nigoða *num.* ninth
 nīhst *v.* nīehst
 niht *f.* night; day (in reckoning);
 nihtes by night
 (ge)niman 4 take; make (peace etc.);
 enter into 43 16; marry 25 78
 nimne *v.* nemne
 nioman *v.* niman
 nis = ne is
 nið *m.* enmity, attack
 niðan *adv.* beneath, below 33 205

niðer *adv.* down
 niðor, nioðor *compar. adv.* lower
 niðer(r)a *compar. adj.* lower 42 57
 niðeward *adj.* lowest, at the bottom
 53 19
 niwe *adj.* new
 niwgefara new-comer, stranger 39 11
 geniwian renew
 niwol *adj.* prostrate
 nō *v.* nā
 genōg *adv.* in abundance, plenty
 nōht *v.* nāwiht
 nōhwæðer *v.* nāhwæðer
 nolde = ne wolde
 nom *v.* niman
 noma *v.* nama
 nōn *n.* ninth hour (3 p.m.), nones
 28 56
 norð *adv.* north, in the north
 norðan *adv.* from or in the north; be
 norðan, wið norðan north of
 norðanēastan *adv.* from or in the
 north-east
 norðanwestan *adv.* from or in the
 north-west
 norðerne *adj.* northern
 norðeward *adj.* to the north,
 northern
 norðmandisc *adj.* Norman
 norðmest *superl. adv.* northernmost
 norðor *compar. adv.* more to the north
 norðrihte *adv.* due north
 norðsæ *f.* North Sea 25 369 *n.*
 norðwardes *adv.* to the north, north-
 wards
 nosu *f.* nose 26 204, 37 22
 notu *f.* use, employment
 notian use up, consume 25 362
 nōwðer *v.* nāhwæðer
 nū (1) *adv.* now; (2) *conj.* now that,
 since
 nunne *wk. f.* nun
 nūde *v.* nīede
 nymðe *conj.* unless, except *cf.* nemne
 nūhst, *v.* nīehst
 nysse, nyste = ne wiste
 nyte wē = wē ne witon 32 211
 nyðeran *v.* niðer(r)a
 nytlicas *v.* nyttlic
 nytt *adj.* useful, serviceable, profitable
 nyttian make use of, enjoy
 nyttlic *adj.* profitable; *superl.* 46 13
 nyttwierðe *adj.* useful, profitable, ser-
 viceable
 nūxt *v.* nīehst

octabas octave [*L. octava*] 26 144 *n.*,
 149
oden *f.* threshing-floor
of (1) *adv.* off, away 25 489, 26 321,
 37 16; (2) *prep. w. d.* from, of; at
 the expense of, on 26 101
ofðūne *adv.* down
ofen *m.* oven
ofer *m.* shore, bank 32 6
ofer *prep. (a) w. d.* over, above; (*b*)
w. a. over, above; across, through-
 out 25 126, 42 91; during 39 15;
 after; over (*time*) 25 112; con-
 trary to 35 53; in spite of, notwith-
 standing 25 341
oferclimman 3 climb over 32 201
ofercuman 4 overcome, vanquish
oferdrenc *m.* excessive drinking
oferfaran 6 go or march over
oferferan pass or travel over
oferfōn *red. v.* seize, arrest
oferfrozen *p. p.* frozen over
ofergān *athem. v.* overrun
oferhergian lay waste, devastate
oferhieran overhear, hear 38 53
oferhiernes *f.* disregard, contempt 37
 166
oferhoga despiser
oferhogian despise, neglect
oferhygdig *adj.* over-anxious 40 10
oferlibban outlive 46 4
ofersēon 5 see, witness
oferswiðan overcome
oferðeon 1 (3) surpass 33 226
oferwealdan *red. v.* get the better of,
 rule
ofweorpan 3 throw down, sprinkle
oferwrēon 1 (2) cover over 26 351
offaran 6 overtake, intercept
offēran overtake, intercept; go away
 49 15
offestre *wk. f. (?)* 44 26 *n.*
offrian offer, make offering 35 131, 37
 199, 53 109
ofhrēowan 2 *impers. w. d.* be sorry
oflāte *wk. f.* oblate, (sacramental)
 wafer 53 109
of(o)st *f.* haste, hurrying 36 1
ofridan 1 overtake (by riding)
ofslēan 6 slay, kill
ofspring *m.* offspring, descendants 41
 37
ofstingan 3 stab fatally 25 43
oft *adv.* often
ofðyncan be displeasing 33 88

ofortorfan stone or pelt to death
oftræde *adj.* frequent
oftrædlice *adv.* frequently
oll *n.?* contumely, contempt
on (1) *adv.* on; (2) *prep. w. d. or a.*
 in, on, at; into, on to, on, to;
 against 26 227, 27 74; of the value
 of 31 72, 42 84
oncierran change, alter 45 29
oncunnan *pst. prs. v.* bear a grudge,
 be angry with 42 35
ondrædan *red. v.* dread, fear; *wk.*
pst. ondreddon 26 181
oneardian dwell, live
onfeohtan 3 continue fighting 25 179
onfindan 3 find out, perceive
onflyge *m.* infectious disease
onfōn *red. v. w. a. or d.* receive, take;
w. g. receive at baptism, stand
 sponsor to 25 260, 386, 48 6 *etc.*
onforan *prep. w. a.* before 25 417
ongalan 6 utter incantations against
 53 124
ongēan (1) *adv.* opposite 32 131;
 opposing 26 108; against (him) 26
 173; back again 26 340; (2) *prep.*
w. a. towards, to meet; against
ongēanes *prep.* against
ongietan 5 catch, find 54 24, 27 26;
 perceive; understand
onginnan 3 begin
ongiotan *v.* ongietan
onhagian be suitable, suit; *me* . . .
 onhagie I may be fit for 34 32; *me*
 to onhagode it was my task 35 26
onhwierfan turn, revolve 33 231
oninnan *adv.* inside
onlang *prep.* along 25 273
on(ge)liehtan lighten, illumine 33
 251, 34 20
onlūtan 2 bow or stoop down
on(ge)mang *prep. w. d.* among
onmunan *pst. prs. v.* care for, heed 25
 71
onrid *n.* riding-horse 44 20
onsæge *adj.* hanging over, impending,
 imminent
onscēotan 2 turn up (soil)
onscunian shun, shrink from, avoid
onscyte *m.* attack, calumny
onsendan send
onsp(r)æc *f.* claim, accusation 41 11
onsp(r)ecan 5 claim; **onspecdan**
 plaintiffs, claimants 48 4
onsteall *m.* supply, stock

onsundran *adv.* apart, separately
 ontendan set on fire
 ontynan disclose, utter
 onufan *prep. w. a.* over and above 48
 49
 onw(e)ald *m.* power, authority, rule,
 government
 onwenden change, alter; dispose of
 42 44
 open *adj.* open
 ōra shore, coast 25 3
 orceard *v.* ortgeard
 ordāl *n.* ordeal
 orf *n.* cattle
 orfwealm *m.* cattle-plague
 ormōd *adj.* despondent, despairing
 ornest *n.* trial by battle, duel
 ortgeard *m.* orchard, garden
 ōs *m.* heathen god 53 103
 oð (1) *prep. w. a.* until, up to; (2) *conj.*
 until
 oðer *adj.* second, another; other, the
 other
 oðfæstan bind, apprentice; hand
 over, convey (property)
 oðfeallan *red. v.* fall away, decline,
 decay
 oðflitan 1 get or recover by litigation
 oðfiewan reveal 32 222
 oðrōwan *red. v.* row or sail away,
 escape 25 503
 oðsacan 6 deny
 oðstandan 6 come to a stop
 oðpringan 3 crush out, destroy 32 236
 oððæt *conj.* until
 oððe, oððon *conj.* or, or else
 oðwindan 3 escape
 ōwiht *v.* āwiht
 oxa ox

pāpa pope
 pascha Easter
 peni(n)g, pending *m.* penny
 pinn *m.?* rivet, pin
 pistelbōc *f.* book of Epistles
 plantian plant
 plega game, sport
 pleoh *n.* risk, danger
 plēolic *adj.* risky, dangerous
 plōh *m.?* measure of land 38 63
 plott *m.?* plot of ground
 port *m.* *n.* harbour; trading place,
 town
 portgerēfa port-reeve, excise-officer

prēost *m.* priest
 prōfian assume, presume
 prýte *wk. f.* pride
 pund *n.* pound (weight or money)
 purpure *wk. f.* purple robe
 pytt *m.* pit, hole

racente *wk. f.* chain, fetter, shackle
 rād *f.* raid
 (ge)rād *n.* condition, terms
 radost *v.* hræd 25 56
 rādstefn *m.* term of cavalry service (?)
 41 7
 (ge)ræcan reach, attain to, gain;
 seize 25 291
 ræd *m.* plan, intention 37 254; de-
 cision, resolution 26 5, 35 106;
 benefit, profit 40 9, 27; theme (?)
 33 23
 rædan read; decide 26 35; *pp.* gered
 26 233
 gerædan decide, resolve
 rædbora counsellor; consul 35 94
 ræden(n) *f.* condition, arrangement
 rædlic *adj.* advisable
 gerædnes *f.* agreement, pact
 rædran *v.* hræd 40 5
 gerædu *pl. n.* trappings 37 240
 ræpan bind, enslave (rāp)
 ræpling *m.* captive
 ræran raise; rear; exalt
 ræsan rush 25 52
 ræst *v.* rest
 ræt *v.* rædan 35 69
 ræðe *v.* rēðe 26 372
 ragu *f.* lichen
 rāp *m.* rope
 raðe, raðor *v.* hraðe
 rēad *adj.* red
 rēaflāc *m. n.* robbery, plundering
 recan 5 break in 37 91
 rec(c)an care, reck, care for 25 318,
 27 5, 71, 36 107
 (ge)reccan explain, interpret, ex-
 pound 33 5, 78, 37 139, 157,
 160; 48 13; settle, arrange 48 26;
 direct, administer 33 60; lay down,
 enact 37 138; account, reckon 27
 71, 33 78, 42 121; reduce, bring
 (under) 33 28; assign 48 57
 recceleās *adj.* careless, heedless
 gerecednes *f.* narrative
 gerēd *v.* rædan 26 253
 redre *v.* hræd 40 4

gerēfa royal executive officer, reeve, sheriff; farm-reeve, steward **37** 113, **40** 1

regol, regul *m.* (monastic) rule
regollice *adv.* according to (monastic) rule

rehtlice *v.* **rihtlice**

rēnian prepare, plan

reodan *v.* **ridan** **53** 161

gereord *n.* speech, language

rēowlic *v.* **hrēowlic**

rest *f.* rest, resting-place

gerestan *refl. vb.* rest, repose

resðe *v.* **rest** **30** 31

rēðe *adj.* fierce **26** 372

gerēðru *n. pl.* oars

rice (1) *n.* kingdom, rule; (2) *adj.* powerful, important

ricsian rule

ridan 1 ride

geridan 1 ride over, invade; take possession of, occupy

riēpan plunder **36** 103

riepere *m.* robber **36** 50

riht (1) *n.* justice, right, law; *freq. used in legal phrases with various senses*; (2) *adj.* straight, direct; just, right, righteous

geriht *n.* right, privilege, due; law

gerihtan put straight, correct **35** 19, **21**

rihte *adv.* straight **32** 13; *superl.*

rihtost most accurately **37** 173; *on*

geriht straight *on*

gerihtlācan put straight, correct

rihtlagu *f.* just law, equity

rihtgelēafful *adj.* orthodox

rihtgeðanc *m.* righteous mind

rihtlice *adv.* justly, **28** 36, **45** 27; loyally **28** 16

rihtlicor *compar. adv.* more accurately, more correctly

rihtnorðanwind *m.* wind from due north

rihtracu *f.* correct account

rihtregol *m.* rule of right conduct, canon

rihtspell *n.* true account

rihtwis *adj.* righteous

rihxað *v.* **ricsian**

riman count, reckon up

rimað *m.* multiple oath, oath taken by a number of persons in support of another **37** 180

rinnan 3 run, flow

rip *n.* reaping, harvest

ripan 1 reap

risc *f.* rush; *a. pl.* **rixa** **47** 43

gerisenlice *adv.* properly, aptly

gerisne *adj.* proper, fitting **42** 132

gerisnu *n. pl.* what is proper or fitting, essentials **36** 34; requirements **44** 10

rið *m. f.* rivulet, rill

rixian *v.* **ricsian** **37** 48

rōd *f.* cross, crucifix

rodor *m.* sky, heavens

rōmānisc *adj.* Roman

rudol (?) *adj.* red, reddish **53** 199 *n.*

rūh *adj.* rough, uncultivated

rūm *adj.* wide, spacious

ryht(e) *v.* **riht(e)**

ryman give place (to), retire

gerymān magnify, increase the fame of **31** 8

rymet *n.* space, room

ryn roar **33** 135

rypan *v.* **riēpan** **36** 103

rypere *v.* **riepere** **36** 50

gerýpan *v.* **ripan** **25** 446

sacu *f.* dispute, quarrel **35** 128; privilege of jurisdiction **38** 71

sadolian saddle; *p. p.* **37** 234

sæ *f. m.* sea

sæclif *n.* sea-cliff

sæd *n.* seed **33** 244, **39** 35, **53** 44

sægdon, sædon *v.* **secgan**

sægeð *v.* **secgan** **37** 25

sæl *m.* time, occasion **32** 243

sælan happen **42** 20, **43** 39, 40, **42**

gesæliglic *adj.* happy, prosperous

gesælð *f.* good fortune

sæmann *m.* seaman (Danish)

sæmra *compar. adj.* less important **40** 17

sændan *v.* **sendan** **53** 89

særīma sea-coast

sæt *f.* ambush (for deer?) **39** 10

sæternes dæg Saturday

sæweard *f.* guarding the coast

sagað *v.* **secgan** **30** 21

sam *conj.* **sam** . . . **sam** whether . . . or **32** 197

same *adv.* **swa** same in the same way, similarly **31** 48, **33** 225

sammæle *adj.* agreed, reconciled

samnian assemble, collect

gesamnung *f.* assembly **37** 74

samod *adv.* together

sāmworht *adj.* half-built, half-finished

sanct *m.* saint

sāpe wk. f. soap
sār n. pain, grief
sārgian wound, injure
sāwan red. v. sow
sāw(o)l f. soul
sāw(o)lsceatt m. payment to church on death of a person 44 3
sc(e)amu f. shame
scādan red. v. part, divide 53 129
gescādwis adj. capable of reflection 33 224 ; intelligent, efficient 40 1
gescādwislice adv. intelligently, wisely
gescādwisnes f. discernment ; intellect, reflection
gescæpene v. (ge)scieppan 25 481
scāmian be ashamed, feel shame
scandlic adj. infamous, disgraceful
scēaf m. sheaf (of corn) 40 18
sceaft m. shaft, stalk 53 53
gesceaft f. created thing, creature
sceal v. sculan
scēap n. sheep
scearp adj. sharp, keen ; fierce, cruel 26 343
sc(e)att m. property, money 28 9, 37
 III
scēawian gaze at, look at
scēawung f. viewing, exploration, investigation
scegð, sceið m. f. fast boat, galley
scegðmann m. pirate, Scandinavani 27 75
sceolon = sculon v. sculan
sceopa v. scip 50 3
gescēope v. (ge)scieppan
sceoppend v. scieppend
sceorp n. dress, attire 32 263 ; sails, rigging 39 4
scēotan shoot ; run out, issue ; strike, stab 53 100
scield m. shield
scieldan shield, defend
(ge)scieppan 6 create ; fashion, model 25 481
scieppend m. Creator
scierpan sharpen, stimulate 30 9, 40 22
sciftan divide, apportion 37 231
scilling m. a monetary unit or money of account, of varying value
scinan shine
scinlāce wk. f. sorceress
scip n. ship, boat
scipen f. cattle-stall or fold 40 15

scipfiord f. naval force
scipfiording f. naval expedition or plan of action
sciphere m. naval force, fleet
sciphlæst m. ship-load, crew
scipian embark
sciprāp m. ship's rope
scir f. district, shire ; local levy 25 363 ; authority, office 39 49
scir adj. bright, pure, *superl.* 31 121
scirmann m. manager, official 40 20
scirgemōt n. shire-moot, local council
scirwæstm m. gleaming crop
scōl f. school 25 208 n.
scolde v. sculan
scorp v. sceorp 39 4
scort adj. short
scortlice adv. shortly, briefly
(ge)scot n. shot, missile 32 203, 221, 53 103
gescrīd v. scrīdan 26 350
scrīdan clothe
sculan *pst. prs. v.* be obliged, must, shall, ought ; owe, be liable 28 40, 44 8 ; be necessary 36 16
scyftan v. sciftan
scyld v. scield
scyldan v. scieldan 53 85
scyldig adj. liable, having forfeited 28 53, 37 6
scyle, scylan v. sculan
scynan (ȝ) 34 69 n.
scyp v. scip
scȳrman v. scirmann
scyrpan v. scierpan 30 9, 40 22
scȳt v. scēotan 47 28 *etc.*
sē, se pron. adj. that, the ; that man, he ; se ðe who
sē = sǣ 26 188
sealf f. ointment, salve
sealt (1) n. salt ; (2) *adj.* salt
sealtstræt f. salt-road 47 31 n.
sealtwæter n. salt water
searocræft m. cunning trick, artifice
searoðanc m. clever or ingenious thought
seax n. knife
(ge)sēcan seek ; seek out ; come to, visit ; attack 32 259
secg m. man 33 21
secga informant 38 40
secgan say, tell, tell of ; *sægeð* is said 37 25
sēdon v. secgan 32 242
sefa mind

sēfte *adj.* soft, comfortable
 gesegen *f.* saying, statement **30** 2
 seggan *v.* secgan
 segl *n. m.* sail
 (ge)seglian sail
 gesegnian, sēnian make sign of
 cross on, cross **53** 130
 seht *m. f.* agreement, reconciliation
 sēl *compar. adv.* better **53** 115; rather,
 sooner **42** 17
 sēlan *v.* sǣlan **43** 39, 40, 42
 sele *m.* hall **37** 40, **41** 9
 selen *f.* gift, grant **50** 18
 sēlest *superl. adj.* best, **25** 467, **30** 33
 self *adj. pron.* self; same
 selflic *adj.* self-centred, **33** 21
 (ge)sellan give; sell **36** 37, 72
 sēlra *compar. adj.* better
 sēman reconcile, bring to an agree-
 ment **48** 10, 23
 sendan send
 gesēnian *v.* gesegnian **53** 130
 sēo *f.* of sē
 sēoc *adj.* sick, ill
 seofian sigh, lament **33** 137
 seofon *num.* seven
 seofontig *num.* seventy
 seofoda, *num.* seventh
 sēoles *v.* seolh
 seolf *v.* self
 seolfor *n.* silver
 seolh *m.* seal
 (ge)sēon 5 see
 sester *m.* a measure of capacity **43**
 56 *n.*
 set *n.* camp, encampment **25** 353
 setl *n.* seat **41** 5; setting (of sun) **53**
 126
 setlgang *m.* setting (of sun)
 setlhrægl *n.* covering for a seat **44**
 18 *n.*, 26
 gesetnes *f.* ordinance, law **35** 15;
 composition **35** 15; narrative, his-
 tory **35** 38, 44
 settan place, put; plant **40** 42; set
 up, erect **34** 11; decree **37** 153; *p. p.*
 geseted situated **50** 5
 gesettan decree **29** 17, **32** 245; ap-
 point, fix **26** 66, **33** 151, **35** 103;
 set down, record **26** 338; compose,
 write **35** 73; establish, institute **35**
 72; make, conclude **26** 54; occupy
 25 297; lay out, apportion **26** 325
 gesewen *p. p.* of sēon visible **34** 55
 gesewenlic *adj.* visible

sibb *f.* peace **35** 109
 gesibb *adj.* related, kin
 sibbleger *n.* incest
 sibbsumlice *adv.* peaceably, har-
 moniously
 sīclian *v.* sīeclian **26** 73
 side *adv.* extensively; wide and side
 far and wide **36** 123
 sidu *m.* custom, way of life **31** 7
 sīe, sī, sian *prs. subj.* be, is
 sīeclian sicken, be ill
 sielf *v.* self
 siendon *v.* sindon
 gesiēne *adj.* clearly seen, evident
 sīg *v.* sīe
 s(i)ex *num.* six
 siexhund *num.* six hundred
 s(i)exta *num.* sixth **37** 151
 siextig *num.* sixty
 sīgan 1 sink, fall, descend **33** 218, **53**
 149
 sige *m.* victory
 sigefæst *adj.* victorious
 sigelēas *adj.* defeated
 sigewif *n.* victorious woman, noble
 lady
 (ge)siglan sail
 simle *adv.* continuously, always
 sinc *n.* treasure
 sind, sindon *prs. ind. plur.* are
 singallice *adv.* continuously
 singan 3 sing
 siodo *v.* sidu **31** 7
 siofian *v.* seofian
 sint *v.* sind
 sittan 5 sit; on cneowum sit-
 tende kneeling **32** 218; sit down,
 settle **53** 149; stay, remain **25** 112;
 on sit(tað) weigh upon, afflict **36**
 13, 80
 gesittan 5 settle in, occupy **25** 207,
 239; serve, complete **25** 361
 sið (1) *m.* journey; journey hence,
 death **45** 31; time, occasion; (2)
 adv. late **30** 35
 gesiðcund *adj.* ranking as gesith
 siððan (1) *adv.* afterwards, since; (2)
 conj. after, since
 slæc *adj.* slack, remiss **40** 10
 slæd *n.* valley **47** 37
 slæhð *v.* slēan **37** 22
 sleac *v.* slæc
 slēan 6 strike; hammer, forge **53** 93;
 rivet **33** 133; slay, kill; pitch
 (tent) **27** 49

sliht *m.* slaying, slaughter 27 69
 slōg, slōh *v.* slēan
 slyp(p)e *wk. f.* paste 53 219, 220
 smæl *adj.* narrow; slender 47 6;
superl. smalost 32 110
 smēa(ga)n investigate 40 8; reflect,
 think, ponder; deliberate, confer
 26 80, 35 105
 smēawyrhta skilled artisan
 smēðe *adj.* smooth, easy
 smicer *adj.* elegant, fine
 smið *m.* smith, artificer
 snican *i* creep, crawl
 snotorlice *adv.* wisely, shrewdly, in-
 telligently
 snotorwyrde *adj.* skilled in speech,
 plausible
 snyt(t)ro *f.* prudence, wisdom
 sōcn *f.* some right of local jurisdiction
 37 243, 38 71
 sōel *v.* sēl 43 63
 sōfte *adv.* comfortably, at ease 34 12,
 14; *cf.* sēfte
 sōm *f.* conciliation, arbitration, agree-
 ment 48 24
 some *v.* same 32 241
 sōna *adv.* immediately; sona swa as
 soon as
 sorgian grieve, sorrow
 sōð *adj.* true, actual, real
 gesōðian prove
 sōðlice *adv.* certainly
 spæc *v.* spræc
 spala substitute, deputy
 sparian spare
 specan *v.* sprecan
 spēð *f.* means, wealth
 spēdig *adj.* rich, well-to-do
 spell *n.* story 33 83; prose 33 8;
 argument 48 14
 spellian utter
 spēow *v.* spōwan
 spere *n.* spear
 sperehealf *f.* the male side (in in-
 heritance)
 speremann *m.* armed retainer (?) 48 52
 spic *n.* bacon, lard
 spilling *f.* waste, wasting
 spin(e)healf *f.* the female side (in
 inheritance)
 spīwan *i* vomit
 spor *n.* track, trail
 sporwrecel *m.* driven-off ox (?) 48 52
 spōwan *red. v.* succeed; him . . .
 spēow they were successful

sp(r)æc *f.* speech 26 325, 33 103, 38
 20; subject of discussion 33 105;
 claim, lawsuit 37 161, 48 42, 49 38;
 expressed wish, testament 45 28
 sp(r)ecan *v.* speak; converse 35 47;
 state a case, make a claim 42 36, 48 3
 sprengan sprinkle
 spyrian follow up 34 78
 staca stake, post 38 5; spike, pin
 51 8, 54 45
 stæle *v.* stelán
 stælhere *m.* marauding band or
 force 25 476
 stæhrān *m.* decoy reindeer
 stælwierðe *adj.* serviceable
 stant *v.* standan
 stæpmælum step by step, by degrees
 gestæppan 6 step, go 32 206
 stæreblind *adj.* quite blind
 stæð *n. m.* bank, shore
 stærwritere *m.* historian
 stalu *f.* stealing, theft
 stān *m.* stone
 stānbrycg *f.* stone bridge
 (ge)standan 6 stand; stand still 33
 187; remain, stick fast 25 488; be
 customary 39 8, 41
 gestandan 6 fall upon 33 113; stand
 through, attend 37 199
 stānweorðung *f.* stone-worship
 stapol *m.* foundation 37 76
 stapola stone slab 38 19
 staðe *v.* stæð
 staðol *m.* place, site
 gestaðolian establish, fix
 stēap *m.* drinking vessel, mug 27 34,
 36 (*cf.* stoup)
 stearc *adj.* rigid, stern, severe
 stede *m.* place
 stelán 4 steal
 stemn *m.* term of service 25 361
 stemn *f.* voice 33 143
 stent *v.* standan
 steode *v.* stede 26 359
 stēoran *v.* stieran 33 59
 stēorbord *n.* starboard
 stēoresmann *m.* steersman, master
 (mariner)
 steorfa pestilence
 stēorlēas *adj.* uncontrolled, mis-
 guided
 steorra star
 steort *m.* jutting crag (?) 47 31
 stician stick, adhere 53 134; stick
 fast, remain 53 128

stiellan stall
stieran guide, direct **33** 59, 220
(ge)stigan 1 rise, ascend
stigian put in sty
gestillan quieten, suppress
stille *adj.* still, calm, quiet
stilnes *f.* calm, peace
stime ? name of plant **53** 166 *n.*
stingan 3 stick, stab
stið *adj.* severe
stiðe name of plant **53** 168
stocc *m.* stock, stump
stöclif *n.* habitation, cottage
stöððeof *m.* horse-thief
stör *m.* frankincense
stormsæ *f. m.* stormy sea
stōw *f.* place
stræt *f.* road, main road
strand *n.* shore
strang *adj.* strong, bold
stranglice *adv.* vigorously **26** 243 ;
 severely, desperately **26** 342
strēam *m.* stream
streng *adj.* severe **26** 356
gestreōn *n.* property not inherited ;
 possessions
stric *n.?* strife (?), plague (?) **36** 49
strichrægl *n.* knitted dress or cover-
 ing (?) **44** 25
gestrienan acquire ; produce, achieve
31 85
striened *n.* progeny **42** 111
strūdung *f.* robbery, plundering
stunian resound, dash
stuðansceaft *m.* stay, prop
stycemælum *adv.* in patches,
 sparsely
styllan *v.* stiellan
stýran *v.* stieran **33** 220
stýrian stir up **35** 128 ; excite, stir
26 144
sūlang *n.* plough-length, Kentish
 measure of land = one hide, **43** 11,
45 30
sulh *f.* plough
sulhgeteoh *n.* ploughing gear **53** 46
sum *adj. pron.* some ; one ; sum . . .
 sum some . . . others ; **sumes**
 sum something or other **40** 50
sumor *m.* summer
sumorlida summer armada (of Danes)
gesund *adj.* uninjured, safe ; in good
 condition, undamaged **37** 130
gesundfulnes *f.* health, good health
sundorfeoh *n.* private property

sundorlic *adj.* special, peculiar **33** 229
sundorlice *adv.* specially **35** 103
sundornotu *f.* special office
sundorstōw *f.* special place
sunganges *adv.* following the course
 of the sun, *i.e.* east to west
sunnandæfen *m.* Saturday evening
sunnandæg *m.* Sunday
sunne *wk. f.* sun
sunu *m.* son
sūtere *m.* shoemaker (*L. sutor*)
sūð *adv.* south, in the south, to the
 south
sūðan *adv.* from the south, in the
 south
sūðhealf *f.* south side
sūðrihte *adv.* due south
sūðrima south coast
sūðstæð *n.* south shore
sūðweard *adj., adv.* southward, to-
 wards the south
swā, swæ *adv.* so, thus, as ; **swa** . . .
swa whether . . . or ; or **39** 13 ;
swa norðor swa smæle the
 further north the more narrow *cf.*
36 2 ; **swa swa . . . ne** without
35 59 ; **swa forð** in succession **43** 6
swæf = swāf v. swifan
swæð *n.* track, trace
swāhwæðer, swæðer, swaðer *adj.*
pron. whichever (of two)
swān *m.* swineherd
swādēah *adv.* however
swē *v.* swā
swefn *n.* dream
swelc *adj. pron.* such
swelce (1) *adv.* likewise, also ; (2)
conj. as if
swelgan 3 swallow, absorb **33** 188
sweltan 3 die **26** 344
(ge)swencan afflict, harass **26** 38 ;
 press heavily on **42** 120
swēora neck
sweord *n.* sword
sweordhwita sword-polisher or
 sharpener
sweostor *f.* sister
sweostorsunu *m.* sister's son, nephew
43 40
gesweostren *adj.* sister's (children)
33 87, **44** 24
sweotol *v.* swutol
swerian 6 swear
swēte *adj.* sweet, pleasant ; *compar.*
33 93

geswican *v.* cease, cease from
 swicdōm *m.* treachery
 swician deceive, be treacherous
 swicol *adj.* deceitful, treacherous
 swierman swarm (of bees) 53 148
 swifan *v.* rush; swæf . . . on inter-
 vened 48 54
 swift *adj.* swift
 swilgð *v.* swelgan
 swigan *v.* be silent
 swilc(e) *v.* swelc(e)
 swin *n.* swine, pig
 geswinc *n.* labour; hardship
 swið *adj.* strong; *compar.* right (hand,
 side) 53 113
 swiðe *adv.* exceedingly, very;
 severely; *compar.* swiðor any
 more 35 90, *superl.* swiðost chiefly,
 principally
 swülung *v.* sülung
 swurd *v.* sword
 swutol *adj.* clear, manifest
 swutole *adv.* clearly, plainly 33 3, 34
 53
 swutolian manifest, prove 35 37;
 swutelað it appears, is manifest
 51 1
 geswutollic *adj.* clear, distinct 38 21
 swutolung *f.* evidence, proof
 swyft *v.* swift
 swyñ *v.* swin
 swyrd *v.* sword
 swyster *v.* sweostor
 geswystren *v.* gesweostren
 geswytelic *v.* geswutollic
 swytol *v.* swutol
 sý, sýn *v.* sie, sien
 syb- *v.* sib-
 syfan *v.* seofon 32 83
 sylen *v.* selen 50 18
 sylf *v.* self
 sylhðe *n.* team of oxen (sulh)
 syllan *v.* sellan
 symle *v.* simle
 syn(d) *v.* sind
 syndan *v.* sindon
 synderlic(e) *v.* sundorlic(e)
 syndrig *adj.* set apart, special 35 105
 gesýne *v.* gesiene
 syngian *v.* sin
 synn *f.* sin
 synnig *adj.* guilty
 sýo = sīo, *v.* sēo
 sype *m.* soaking up, absorption
 syrewrenc *m.* trick, stratagem 26 126

systra *v.* sweostor 39 30
 syx, syx- *v.* siex, siex-

tæcn *n.* token, proof 48 54; symbol;
 rode tæcn crucifix
 tæcan show, indicate; teach
 tæcing *f.* showing, guidance
 tæge *wk. f.* coffer (?) 37 259
 getæl *n.* reckoning
 tælan blame 36 126
 tæme *v.* tieman 37 40
 talian account, reckon 38 40
 tam *adj.* tame 32 89
 tapor *m.* taper 43 56
 te *v.* ðe 48 61
 tæg *f.* bond, chain 53 119
 tealde, teallan *v.* tellan
 tealt *adj.* unsteady, insecure
 tēam *m.* vouching to warranty, guar-
 anteeing, warranty 37 41, 167, 49 4
 getēama avoucher, surety
 tēambyrst *m.* failure to produce an
 avoucher 49 7
 teaper *v.* tapor
 geteld *n.* tent
 getellan reckon, account; enumerate,
 tell
 tēn *v.* tien
 teollan *v.* tellan
 tēon 1 accuse 37 187, 38 38, 43
 tēon 2 pull, draw, drag 25 333, 27 48,
 51 9; take as due, distrain 37 229;
 teah forð continued 26 70
 tēoða *num.* tenth
 tēoðung *f.* tenth part, tithe
 tēoðungland *n.* tithe-land
 tīd *f.* time, season; festival
 getīdan happen, come to pass 49 20
 tieman refer for confirmation 37 40;
v. 49 3 *n.*
 tīen *num.* ten
 tīgris *m.* tiger
 tihð *v.* tēon 1 and 2
 tihtle *wk. f.* accusation, charge 38 8,
 43
 tilian, tilgian provide 25 228, 26 247,
 40 51; attend to, look after the in-
 terests of 34 28, 37 225; treat
 (medically) 54 31
 tilð(e) *f.* tillage, crop 40 3, 4
 tīma time; to tīman in time, at the
 right time 26 120; tīma wæs life
 lasted 26 223
 timber *n.* timber
 timbran, timbrian build

timlice *adv.* at the agreed time, punctually
tiohhian intend, plan, plot **33** 131
(ge)tiðian grant, comply with
tō (1) *adv.* too; (2) *prep. w. d.* to in various senses; *purpose* for **32** 81; in respect to **28** 5; from **30** 6, **36** 11; **to ðon**, **to ðæs** to such a degree, so; often used as *adv. with strong stress and the various prepositional meanings*.
tōbrecan 4 break to pieces, break down; break (oath) **28** 45; cleave, split **47** 49
tōclēofan 2 cleave, split; *p.p.* **47** 4, 50
tōcyme *m.* coming, arrival
tōdælan divide
tōdrifan 1 drive asunder, scatter
tōēacan *prep. w. d.* in addition to
tōemnes *w. d.* level with, alongside, parallel
tōfaran 6 scatter, break up **25** 462
tōfēran scatter, break up **26** 154
tōflēon 2 flee away **53** 186
tōflōwan *red. v.* flow away
tōforan *prep. w. d.* before (time)
toft *n.* allotment, plot of ground
tōgædere *adv.* together
tōgēanes *prep. w. d.* towards; against
tōhweorfan 3 part, separate
tōl *n.* tool, instrument
tōlicgan 5 lie between, separate **32** 152
tōniman 4 divide **25** 350
tor(r) *m.* tower **33** 96
torfung *f.* piling, hurling **32** 203
tōrieþan scratch, tear **48** 52
tōrinnan 3 run in different directions, break up
tōslitan 1 tear; bite
tōslūpan 2 fall asunder, collapse
tōstencan dash to pieces, destroy
tōtwæman dissipate, do away with
tōð *m.* tooth; tusk
tōweorpan 3 cast down, demolish
trēow *n.* tree
trēowcynn *n.* kind of tree or wood
getrēowe *v.* getrieve
trēowweorðung *f.* tree-worship **54** 29
getrēowe *adj.* faithful, loyal, true **30** 7, **38** 32
getrieowlīce *adv.* loyally, honourably **36** 57
(ge)trīewð *f.* faith, trust, loyalty
trum *adj.* strong, firm
getruma force, army

trūwian trust, hope
(ge)trīwðe *v.* **(ge)trīewð**
(ge)trymman strengthen, confirm
tū *num.* two; twice **25** 479
tū = ðū **48** 59
tugon *v.* teon 2
tūn *m.* enclosure, yard **34** 11; estate, farm **32** 176, **40** 3; town
tunge *wk. f.* tongue **49** 30 *n.*, **53** 147
turf *f.* turf, sod
tuwwa *v.* twiwa
twā, **twegen** *num.* two
twelf *num.* twelve
twelfhund *num.* twelve hundred
twelfhynde *adj.* with 1200 shillings
wergild **28** 3 *n.*
twentig *num.* twenty
twēo *m.* doubt
twibōt *f.* double compensation
twihynde *adj.* with 200 shillings
wergild **28** 3
twiwa *adv.* twice
tyh(t)le *v.* tihtle
tyhð *v.* tēon 1, **37** 187
týman *v.* tieman
týn *v.* tien
týnan fence in **37** 99
tyrf *v.* turf

pā (1) *adv.* then, on that occasion;
 (2) when, since
pā *pron.* that, those; the; *v.* sē, sēo,
pæt
pæm, **pām** *d. s. pl. v.* se, sēo, pæt
pæne = pone *v.* se
pænne *v.* ponne **26** 369
pær (1) *adv.* there; (2) *conj.* where;
 if, if only
pæra = para *v.* se, sēo, pæl
pær *v.* pearf
pærinne *adv.* therein
pæs *pron. g. s. m. n.* of that, of the;
 his, its; whose; used as *adv.* afterwards;
 therefore **36** 41; **pæs pe** *conj.* after
pæt (1) *pron.* that, the; which, that
 which, what; (2) *conj.* that; then,
 next **47** 21 *etc.*; in *Chron.* until
pætte = pæt pe
gepafa *adj.* consenting, agreeing
gepafian allow, permit, grant
(ge)pafung *f.* permission, consent, assent
pāgiet *adv.* yet, still

(ge)**panc** *m.* thought 36 130; thanks 31 75; **pances** by the will 25 465, 53 37

pancian *w. d.* thank

pane, **pæne** *v.* pone

panon *adv.* thence; **panon** forð thenceforth

pāra *g. pl. of se, sēo, pæt*

pās *pron. a. f. s. and n. a. pl.* this; these

pe *rel. particle* who, whose, which

pē *pron. instr. = pȳ w. compar.* the

pēah (1) *adv.* nevertheless, however; (2) *conj.* though; if; **pēah** . . .

eall although 36 134

gepēah *v.* **gepēon** 41 3

gepeaht *n. f.* thought, purpose 33 163, 183; advice, counsel 26 324, 37 117

gepeahtendlic *adj.* deliberative, legislative

pearf *f.* need, requirement

pearfa *adj.* destitute, indigent 42 92; pauper, dependant 30 23

pearle *adv.* exceedingly, greatly

pēaw *m.* custom, practice, usage; *in pl.* virtues 30 8, 31 26

peg(e)n *m.* servant, minister 36 27; aristocrat, noble, thane

peg(e)ngilde *n.* wergild of a thane

gepenlagu *f.* law relating to thanes

gegenriht *n.* privilege of a thane

pegnian, **pēnian** *serve*

pegnung, **pēnung** *f.* (church) service 31 15, 35 33

pegnungbōc, **pēn-** (church) service-book

pēh *v.* **pēah**

pēna(n) *v.* **peg(e)n**

geþencan think of, recollect

pēnigmann *m.* thane

pēod *f.* people

gepēode *n.* speech, language; tribe (?) 32 191

pēoden *m.* chief, prince

pēodscipe *m.* people, population

pēodwita councillor, senator

pēof *m.* thief

pēoft *f.* theft

(ge)**pēon** 1, 2, 3 prosper, flourish; make profitable, work at a profit (?) 43 41

pēos *pron. n. f. s.* this

peossum *v.* **pes**

pēow *m.* **pēowa** servant, slave, serf

pēowian *serve; trans.* enslave 36 38

pēowotdōm *m.* service

þerscan, **þerhsan** 3 thresh

pes *pron. n. m. s.* this

peti *v.* **pætte** 50 4

geþian *v.* (ge)**pēon** 43 41

picce *adj.* thick, dense

gepicg(e)an 5 receive

pider *adv.* thither

piderweard(es) *adv.* thither

piefð *f.* theft 36 39

pīn *pron.* of thee; thy, thine

geþincðo *v.* **geþyncðo**

ping *n.* thing; matter, case 29 17; cause, reason, ground 29 5, 11, 33 98

geþing *n.* agreement, compact 46 1

pingere *m.* intercessor

pingian *intercede, plead* 28 60, 42 90; make stipulation 37 131; appeal 48 7

pingræden(n) *f.* pleading, intercession

pingung *f.* pleading, intercession 50 16

pīo- *v.* **pēo-**

pirel *v.* **pýrel**

pis *pron. n. s.* this

pison = **pißsum** 36 12

pißtelgeblæd *n.* thistle-blister

geþogen *p. p. of pēon* distinguished, of high rank 41 12

þolian *suffer; suffer loss, lose*

þon *inst. of pæt; to þon* to such a degree, so

þonan, **þonon** *v.* **þanon**

þonc *v.* **þanc**

þone *v.* **sē**

þonne (1) *adv.* then, at that time; therefore; (2) *conj.* when, whenever; than, than that

þorfte, **þorfton** *v.* **þurfan**

þorn *m.* thorn, thornbush

þorngeblæd *n.* thorn-blister

þorniht *adj.* thorny, thorn-covered 47 15

þræl *m.* slave, serf, servant (*Scand.* **þræll**)

þræliht *n.* serf's rights

þrēo, *g.* **þrēora** *num.* three

þrēofeald *v.* **þrīfeald**

þrēotiene *num.* thirteen

þrerēdre *v.* **þrirēdre**

þridða *num.* third

þrie *m. num.* three

þrīfeald *adj.* threefold, triple

þrige *v.* **þriwa** 41 15

prim *v.* **prie**
prims *m. f.* coin of the value of three pence 41 19 *etc.* (Lat. *tremissis*)
(ge)pringan 3 press on 32 206; force one's way 32 213
prirēðre *adj.* with three banks of oars 33 113
gepristlæcan presume, dare
pritiġ *num.* thirty
priwa *adv.* thrice
geprowian endure, be passive
prowung *f.* suffering
prýfeald *v.* **priefeald**
prym(m) *m.* might, glory
pryms *v.* **prims**
pūhte *v.* **pyncan**
gepungen *p.p. of* **pēon** distinguished, high in rank; *superl.* 25 474
punor *m.* thunder 33 90
punresæfen *m.* Wednesday evening
punresdæg *m.* Thursday
purfan *pst. prs. v.* need
purh, *prep. w. a.* through, over, throughout; by means of, owing to
purhscēotan 2 shoot through, transfix 32 210, 214
purhsmūgan 2 go through, examine carefully
purhwunian continue
purst *m.* thirst
pus *adv.* so, thus
pūsend *num.* thousand
pūtan 2 howl
gepwænan moisten
gepwære *adj.* conformable, obedient
pwēan 6 wash 48 28
pȳ *instr. of* **pæt** used as *adv.* on that account, for that (this) reason, therefore
pyder *v.* **pider**
pȳfð *v.* **piefð**
pȳlæs *conj.* lest
pyllic *adj.* such, of such a kind
pyncan seem, appear
gepyncðo, **gepyngðo** *f.* social rank, distinction
pȳrel *adj.* with holes, perforated 31 119, 37 17
ðys *instr. of* **pes**, **pis**
ðys = **ðis**
ufan, **ufon** *adv.* from above, above
uferra *compar. adj.* later
ufeweard *adj.* in the upper part 25 488
ufeweardum *adv.* further up 47 12

ufor *compar. adv.* higher up, further
uht *m.* early morning
unābeden *p.p. adj.* unasked, voluntarily
unanbindendlic *adj.* not to be loosed, indissoluble
unæaðe *v.* **unēaðe**
unārimes *p.p. adj.* countless
unāsecgendlic *adj.* unspeakable, inexpressible
unāsecgendlice *adv.* unspeakably, inexpressibly
unāwendedlic *adj.* unchanging
unbeboht *p.p. adj.* unsold
unbecweden *p.p. adj.* unbequeathed, with clear title
unbeorhtor *compar. adv.* less brightly 33 240
unbrȳde unclaimed (?), without trickery (?) 38 61
unc, **uncer** *v.* **wit**
uncoð *n.* disease
uncræft *m.* evil practice
uncūð *adj.* unknown, uncertain
undæd *f.* misdeed, crime, offence
undēop *adj.* shallow 31 112
undeormunga not secretly, openly
under *prep. w. d. a.* under, underneath; indicates circumstances or manner in, during 25 133
underfōn *red. v.* receive, admit; accept, agree to; inherit, succeed to 33 7
underġietan 5 perceive 26 164
underġinnan 3 attempt, take in hand
underneoðan *prep.* underneath
understandan 6 understand
underpiedan, **-pēodan** subject; *p.p.* subordinate, subjected, subject
undierne *adj.* not secret, manifest
undōn *athem. v.* undo, unbind
undrifen *p.p. adj.* not driven (by stress of weather)
unēaðe *adv.* with difficulty
unfācne *adj.* without fraud, honest
unforbærned *p.p. adj.* unburned, uncremated
unforboden *p.p. adj.* unforbidden, with no veto, with full rights
unforod *p.p. adj.* unbroken, inviolate 29 21
unforworhte *adv.* without deserving, without cause
unfracodlice *adv.* honestly, honourably

unfrið *m.* hostility, state of war
unfriðflota hostile fleet
unfriðhere *m.* hostile army
unfriðland *n.* district not included in treaty
unfriðmann *m.* person not protected by treaty
unfriðscip *n.* ship not protected by treaty
ungebēted *p.p. adj.* unamended
ungeboht *p.p. adj.* unpaid for, unbribed
ungeboren *p.p. adj.* unborn
ungecynde *adj.* alien
ungedeþe *adj.* unpropitious, unpleasant
ungedered *p.p. adj.* unharmed
ungefōge *adv.* excessively
ungehiersum *adj.* disobedient
ungelæred *p.p. adj.* uninstructed, uneducated
ungelic *adj.* unlike
ungeliefedlic *adj.* incredible
ungelimp *n.* misfortune
ungelygen *p.p. adj.* truthful 37 165
ungemetlic *adj.* excessive, immense
ungemetlice *adv.* excessively, immoderately
ungesælð *f.* misfortune
ungesewenlic *adj.* invisible
ungeþwærnes *f.* dissension, civil strife
ungewield *adj.* unsubdued, rebellious 35 107
ungield *n.* excessive tax 36 50
ungielde *adj.* not entitled to compensation 27 53
unhæl(o) *f.* bad health, sickness
unhāl *adj.* unsound, diseased, defective
unhēanlice *adv.* not basely, gallantly 25 51
unieð *adv.* less easily
unieðlice *adv.* with difficulty 25 242 ; awkwardly 25 493
unlæd(d) *p.p. adj.* unled, not used for work (?) 48 50 *n.*
unlægne *v.* **unliegne**
unlagu *f.* bad or wicked law
unlēanod *p.p. adj.* not repaid
unliegne *adj.* not to be denied, incontrovertible 37 66
unlybba sorcery 54 8
unlýtēl *adj.* much, abundant
unmæne *adj.* free from guilt or sin

(ge)**unnan** *pst. prs. v.* grant, allow, not grudge
unnyt(t) *adj.* useless
unræd *m.* foolish policy, piece of folly
unriht (1) *adj.* wrongful ; illegal ; (2) *n.* unrighteousness, wrongfulness
unrihtlice *adv.* wrongfully
unrihtwis *adj.* unrighteous
unrōt *adj.* sad, mournful
unsac *adj.* free from accusation
unsadelod *p.p. adj.* without saddle
unscyldig *adj.* not liable, innocent
unselðan *adv.* not seldom, often
unsidu *n.* evil practice, vice
unspēdig *adj.* not wealthy, poor
unstille *adj.* restless, moving
unstilnes *f.* uproar, tumult
unswicende *adj.* not false, sincere, loyal
unswutol, unsweotol, adj. not manifest
unþēaw *m.* vice
untrum *adj.* ailing, delicate
untwēogendlice *adv.* without doubting
untwēolice, -twī- without doubt, certainly 35 60
untýned *p.p. adj.* unenclosed, unfenced
unwær not on one's guard ; **on unwær** unexpectedly
unwæstm *m.* failure of crops, bad harvest
unwealt *adj.* not shaky, steady
unweder *n.* bad weather, storm
unwis *adj.* unwise, foolish
unwræst *adj.* contemptible, poor 26 347
unwritere *m.* bad writer or copyist
ūp, upp, uppe *adv.* high up, aloft, up
ūpgang *m.* way up
ūpheofon *m.* heavens above
uppan (1) *adv.* wið **uppon** high up ; (2) *prep.* upon
ūpweard *adv.* upward, up
ūre *pron.* of us ; *adj.* our **us(s)es=ūres**
ut(e) *adv.* outside, out ; abroad 31 13 ; in the field 25 351
ūtan(e) *adv.* from outside ; abroad 32 244 ; outside ; *freq. need not be translated*
ūtanbordes *adv.* abroad
ūtermere *m.* the open sea
ūteward *adj.* exterior, outside

ūthere *m.* foreign army
ūðe *v.* unnan
ūðwita philosopher
geūtian banish
ūtīlād *f.* outlying premises, out-houses (?) **34** 24
ūtīlah *adj.* outlawed
uton let us ! **34** 77, **36** 135
ūtwaru *f.* defence away from home, service in the field

wāc *adj.* weak ; *used as sb.* weakness **38** 56 ; *compar.* **waccre** **35** 1
wācian grow weak or faint **26** 75
wād *n.* woad, a dye-plant
wādsæd *n.* woad-seed
wāgan afflict
wāge *f.* a certain weight **43** 30, **54**
wāgn *m.* cart, wain
wæl *n.* slaughter, dead bodies
wæl *m.n.* pool, reservoir **31** 108
wælcyri(g)e *wk. f.* sorceress
wælhrēow *adj.* fierce, cruel
wæll *v.* wēl, **26** 361
wælslicht *m.* slaughter **25** 100
wælspere *n.* death (dealing) spear
wælstōw *f.* slaughter-place, battle-field
wæn *v.* wāgn
wænde *v.* wendan
wāpen *n.* weapon
wāpengewrixl *n.* encounter of weapons, engagement, battle
wāpnedhand *f.* male heir
wāpnedhealfe *f.* male side
wærc *m.* pain
wærlice *adv.* faithfully, loyally
wæs, wāron was ; *v.* **wesan**
wæstm *m.* produce, crop, harvest
wæt *adj.* wet, moist **33** 178 ; *used as sb.* wet, moisture **33** 177
wæter *n.* water
wæterfæsten(n) *n.* protection by water, water-stronghold
wætergeblæd *n.* water-blister, scald
wæterscipe *m.* water
wæterwiell *m.* spring
wāg, wāh *m.* wall
wāgrift *n.* wall-hanging, curtain, tapestry **44** 18
wālā *interj.* alas !
wamm *m.* stain, blemish **38** 56
wandian hesitate ; be reluctant ; spare, grudge **28** 9

wangturf *f.* surface of meadow, meadow **53** 35
(ge)wanian diminish ; be diminished, fail
wann *adj.* black
waroð *m.* shore **34** 75
waru *f.* guaranty **38** 48
wē *pron.* we
weald *m.* forest, wood
geweald *n.* power ; possession ; **his** **geweald** caused by him **37** 253 ; disposition, disposal **38** 60 ; **ic nah** **geweald** I cannot help it **35** 87 ; **gewealdes** intentionally **38** 34
wealdan *red. v.* rule, control ; cause **36** 51 ; **wealdan mæge** can help it **40** 18
wealdend *m.* ruler, Lord
gewealden *p.p. adj.* moderate, small **25** 371
wealh *m.* foreigner, Welshman ; slave, serf **27** 72 *etc.*
wealhstod *m.* interpreter
weall *m.* wall
weallan *red. v.* boil up, surge
weallgebrec *n.* breaching of a wall
weard *m.* guardian
weard *adv.* to . . . **weard** towards **26** 107
weardian guard
wearm *adj.* warm
gewearnian warn, give warning **26** 107
(ge)weaxan *red. v.* grow
wedbryce *m.* breach of contract or covenant
wedd *n.* pledge, surety ; agreement
weddian give pledge for, agree to **37** 196
wēden = wāden *adj.* of woad, blue **53** 200
weder *n.* weather, season
weg *m.* road, way ; **on weg** away ; **ealne weg** all the way, all the time
wēg *v.* **wāge** **43** 30, **54**
wegbrāde *f.* plantain **53** 82, 159 *n.*
wēl *adv.* well ; willingly **38** 60 ; very **37** 104 ; quite, entirely **42** 18 ; plenty **25** 387
wela wealth
weler *m.* lip
wel(ge)hwær *adv.* everywhere
gewelhwelc *pron.* each **36** 48
welig *m.* willow **47** 21
welig *adj.* rich **34** 30

well *v.* **wiell** 31 116
welspring *v.* **wiellspryng**
weltst *v.* **wealdan**
wēnan expect; think
wend *m.* turn (of events) 49 16
 (ge)wendan turn; return, go; *freq.*
reflex.; translate 31 41, 33 8
wēod *n.* weed
wēofod *n.* altar (**wig-bēod**)
weorc *n.* work; deed; **weorces** by
 deed or act 27 23, 38 35; **mid**
weorcum in earnest 35 35, 46
geweorc *n.* work; earthworks, fort
weorcmann *m.* workman, labourer
weorpan 3 throw, cast; drive 25 505;
 change, transform 33 133
weorð (1) *n.* worth, price, value 36 74,
 37 44, 45 26; (2) *adj.* worth, worthy,
 valuable; *compar.* 40 21; *superl.*
 most distinguished, of highest rank
 25 259
 (ge)weorðan 3 become 49 12; come
 to pass, happen, take place; *freq.*
used as auxil. vb. = **wesan**, **bēon**
 be; get, make one's way 25 147,
 34 73; *impersonal use* **him ge-**
wearð **anes** they agreed on the
 same thing, came to an agreement
 26 196, 35 106; *cf.* 35 31, 45 32
weorðfull *adj.* stately, majestic; dis-
 tinguished
weorðfullice *adv.* honourably
weorðian honour; worship 33 118
weorðlic *adj.* honourable, noble
weorðscipe *m.* honouring, honour;
 merit, desert 26 98; pomp, mag-
 nificence 26 352
weorðung *f.* honouring, honour
weoruld - *v.* **worold-**
weotena *v.* **wita**
wēpan lament; *reflex.* 33 54
wer *m.* man; **wergild** 27 23, 65, 37
 86, 41 19, 49 7
wergield *n.* wergild, money-value of
 a life
wergulu *f.* 53 179 *n.*
werian defend, protect; **wear**
 (clothes) 32 263; dam up, restrain
 31 106
werod *n.* troop, army; *pl.* hosts
 (**wer-rād**)
werð *v.* **weorðan**
werpēod *f.* people, nation
wesan 5 be
west *adv.* west, westward

westan *adv.* from the west; **be**
westan on the west
westannorðan *adv.* north-west
wēste *adj.* uninhabited 25 420, 32
 50
wēsten(n) *n.* uninhabited land, wil-
 derness 32 25, 45
westerne *adj.* western, from the west
westhealf *f.* west side
westlang *adj.* extending west
westnorð *adv.* north-west
westū = **wes pū** *v.* **wesan**
westweard *adj.* west, in the west
wēðer *m.* sheep, wether 43 54
wexan *v.* **weaxan** 53 2, 7
wic *n. f.* trading-place, market 37 43;
 camp, encampment 25 253
wicca wizard
wicce *wk. f.* witch
wiccecræft *m.* witchcraft
wiccian use witchcraft 54 45
wicgerēfa portreeve, excise officer
 (ge)wician encamp, halt or settle tem-
 porarily
wicing *m.* Scandinavian invader,
 pirate
wicweorc *n.* weekly work or labour
 39 26
wid *adj.* wide, broad
wide *adv.* widely, far
gewiderian be fine weather
widsæ *m. f.* open sea
widuwe *wk. f.* widow
wiece *v.* **wucu** 25 249
wieldan = **wealdan** rule 40 26
gewieldan subdue, overpower 35 102,
 109
gewielde *adj.* under one's control,
 in(to) one's possession 42 9; **him**
to gewildum gedon subdue, subju-
 gate 32 219
wielisc Welsh; servile 37 88, 41 27
wiell *m.* spring, well 31 116
wiellan boil 53 82, 219; spring,
 flow 32 3
wiellspryng *n.* spring, well-spring
 31 100
wiellweorðung *f.* worship of springs
 54 2
wielm *m.* boiling 38 7
wielwan roll together, crowd 36 99
wierdan injure 27 22, 54 22
wierra, **wiersa** *compar. adj.* worse
 26 305
wiersian grow worse 36 31

wierðe *adj.* worthy, deserving 27 76, 39 1; 54 31
wif *n.* woman; wife
wifcýðð *f.* company of a woman (cūð)
wifhand *f.* female heir or legatee
gewifian take a wife, marry 28 51
wifmann *m.* woman; female serf 52 5
wig *n.* warfare, war, fighting
wigcræft *m.* military skill or tactics
wiglere *m.* diviner, soothsayer
gewigung *f.* divination
wiht *n. f.* creature, thing
wilde *adj.* wild, untamed
wilder, wildedēor *n.* wild beast 33 133; deer 32 88
wilisc *v.* wielisc
(ge)will *n.* will; **willes** voluntarily, intentionally 38 34
willa will, wish
willan *athem. v.* wish, will
(ge)wilnian desire; *prs. p.* **wilnigende** capable of desire 33 223
wilnung *f.* desire 33 226; for **pære wilnunga** intentionally 31 43
wilsum *adj.* willing
wilt *v.* wealdan 34 30
wilð *v.* wiellan 32 3
wilweorðung *v.* wiell-
wimman *v.* wifmann 37 28, 49 1
wīn *n.* wine (*Lat.* vinum)
wind *m.* wind
windan 3 wind, weave 34 10
wingearð *m.* vineyard
gewinn *n.* strife, fighting
winnan 3 fight
gewinnan 3 win, gain
winstra *wk. adj.* left (side) 53 113
winter *m.* winter; year
winterdūn *f.* hill used in winter for pasturage (?) 40 5 *n.*
wintersetl *n.* winter quarters
gewintred *p.p. adj.* of age, adult
wiofod *v.* wēofod
wiorð *v.* weorð
wiot- *v.* wit-
wircean *v.* wyrcan
wīs *adj.* wise, prudent; learned
wisdōm *m.* learning, knowledge; wisdom; complicity 37 63
wise *wk. f.* manner, way; mode of expression, idiom 35 78, 80, 81, 141; mode of action, arrangement 43 51, 46 6; way of doing things, character 40 22; condition, affairs 32 243; on **pā wisan** on condition 27 13

wisian direct, guide; indicate
gewisslice *adv.* with certainty, exactly 42 93
wisse, wiste *v.* **witan**
wit *pron.* we two
wita learned man, scholar 31 3, 38; councillor, senator
gewita witness 37 42
(ge)witan *pst. prs. v.* know; **wisste** . . . **his gewit** was conscious, possessed his faculties 33 143; *imperat.* **gewite** **hu** according how, it depends on how 54 9; show, display 31 30, 36 71
witan 1 blame, lay blame on 32 255, 33 11
gewitan 1 depart; die 46 8, 49 16; die out 43 42
wite *n.* penalty, punishment, fine 27 23, 31 23, 36 146, 37 128, 147, 54 23
witega wise man, prophet 53 35
witepēow *m.* free man legally enslaved, convict 44 3, 33
wit(t)ig *adj.* wise
gewitloca mind
gewitnes *f.* witnessing, witness; evidence, testimony; knowledge, concurrence 37 145, 254
gewitt *n.* mind, thought 33 143 *n.*
wið *prep. w. g.* towards 25 371; **wið** . . . **weardes** towards 26 69; *w. d. or a.* facing, opposite 25 260, 32 49; against; in reference to 33 174; as regards, in the sight of 27 77, 28 39, 52; in exchange for, in return for 25 133, 27 80; **wið ðæm (ðon) ðe** on condition that
wiðcweðan 5 oppose, resist 26 358
wiðersaca adversary, enemy
wiðerwinna adversary
wiðigwiell *m.* willow-spring
wiðstandan 6 withstand
wiðstunian make loud noise against 53 163 *n.*
wiðufan *adv.* above; upwards
wlitig *adj.* beautiful; *superl.* 34 3
wlitigian beautify
wōh (1) *adj.* crooked, twisted 34 41; distorted, disfigured 37 18; (2) *n.* error, wrong, injustice 35 89, 42 38, 48 37; **to woge** awry, amiss 35 23; **to woge bringe** makes nonsense of it 35 88
wom *v.* wamm 38 56

wōne *v.* **wōh** 34 41
wonn *v.* **wann**
word *n.* word; **wordes** in word, in speech 36 58, 38 35
worf *n.* beast, cattle 44 12 *n.*
worhte, **worhton** *v.* **wyrcean**
worðig *n.?* plot of land, small home-
 stead
woruld *f.* world; **for worulde** in
 worldly or temporal matters; **a to**
worulde for ever and ever
woruldcund *adj.* worldly, temporal
woruldfrīð *m.* temporal peace
woruldgerisnu *n. pl.* social usage,
 propriety 38 34
woruldgeþyngð *f.* worldly honour or
 dignity
woruldlagu *f.* civil law
woruldnytt *f.* worldly use or profit
woruldrīht *n.* secular or civil law
woruldsælð *f.* prosperity, worldly
 happiness
woruldscamu *f.* public shame, dis-
 grace
woruldþēaw *m.* secular virtue or
 accomplishment
woruldþegen *m.* secular servant
woruldþing *n.* secular matter, occu-
 pation, business
woruldbisgo *f.* worldly care or
 anxiety
wracu *f.* vengeance; punishment
(ge)wræc *v.* **wrecan**
wræc *n.* exile
wræcscipe *m.* exile
wrāð *adj.* fierce, angry
wrāðe *adv.* terribly, evilly
(ge)wrecan 5 drive out 53 169; **avenge**
wrenc *m.* trick
wrīdan 1 grow, flourish
wrist *f.* wrist
gewrit *n.* writing, thing written, book;
 epistle, letter 28 6; charter, docu-
 ment 37 154, 42 100; decree, writ
 29 1; will, testament 45 29; regis-
 ter 26 338
writ = **wriðeð** 35 21
(ge)writan 1 write, write down
writere *m.* writer, scribe, copyist
wrōht *f.* quarreling, feud 35 128
wrohton *v.* **wyrcean**
wucu, **wuce** *wk. f.* week
wudu *m.* forest, wood
wudufæsten(n) *n.* forest cover or
 stronghold

wudusūræppel *m.* gall-nut (?) 53
 217 *n.*
wudutrēow *n.* forest-tree
wuldorgeflogen *p.p. used as sb.* 53
 197 *n.*
wuldortān *m.* twig, rod 53 184 *n.*
wulf *m.* wolf
gewuna custom, habit
wund *f.* wound
(ge)wundian wound
wundor *n.* wonder, marvel; miracle
wundorlic *adj.* wonderful
wundrian wonder, marvel
(ge)wunian dwell, live; remain
gewunian be accustomed
(ge)wurde *v.* **weorðan**
wurð - *v.* **weorð-**
wydwewe *v.* **wid-**
gewyldan *v.* **wieldan**
gewylede *v.* **wielwan** 36 39
wyll *v.* **wiell**
wyllan *v.* **wiellan** 53 29, 82
wynn *f.* joy, pleasure 30 15
wynstre *v.* **winstra**
(ge)wyrcean make, construct; cause;
 do, engage in
gewyrd *f.* destiny, circumstances 49
 16
wyrdan *v.* **wierdan** 27 22, 54 22
gewyrht *m. f.* deed; *pl.* deserts 36
 82
wyrhta worker, craftsman 40 60
wyrm *m.* serpent, dragon
wyrmgeblæd *n.* blister from snake-
 bite (?) 53 204
wyrra, **wyrsa** *v.* **wierra**, **wiersa**
wyrledon *v.* **wiersian**
wyrt *f.* vegetable, plant, herb
wyrttūn *m.* kitchen-garden
wyrðe *v.* **wierðe**
wyrttruma root, root-stump; lower
 part 47 24 *n.*
yfel (1) *adj.* evil, wicked; (2) *n.* evil;
 harm, damage 25 484
(ge)yfelian grow evil, grow worse;
impers. him **geyflade** he fell ill 26
 342
yfemest *superl. adj.* uppermost
yferra *v.* **uferra** 43 24
yfter *v.* **æfter** 46 14
ylca *v.* **ilca**
yldest *v.* **ieldest**
ylf *v.* **ælf**

ymb, ymbe *prep. w. a.* around, near ;
about, concerning ; *indicates de-*
finite time, but need not always be
trans. after, in ; at intervals of,
every **43** 60

ymbcyme *m.* meeting, assembly **37** 51

ymbe *n.?* swarming of bees

ymbgang *m.* circuit **47** 1

ymbhygd *f.* anxiety, care **30** 5

ymblicgan 5 surround **32** 5

ymbsittan 5 besiege, invest **25** 284

ymbūtan (1) *adv.* round, about ; (2)
prep. w. a. around

ymbwritan mark or scratch round
53 140

ȳr *n.?* back of axe **26** 151

yrfe *v.* ierfe **27** 12

geyrgde *v.* iergan **36** 92

yrming, yrmð *v.* ierm-

ys = is

ȳst *f.* storm

yteren *adj.* of an otter

NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES

Note.—The names in No. 25, ll. 1-38, are not given unless they occur elsewhere.

Abbandūn Abingdon 26 280
 Abraham 35 66
 Aclēa 25 117 *n.*
 Æbbe a Frisian 25 499
 Æfic horse-thane 26 57
 Ægelesford Aylesford 26 253 *n.*
 Ægelesweorð Ailsworth 51 3 *n.*
 Ælfe river Elbe 32 16, 36
 Ælfēach *v.* Ælfhēah
 Ælfġār scribe 44 23, 36
 Ælfgyð 52 4, 8
 Ælf(h)ēah (1) bp. 26 23, 35 3; (2) ealdmn. 49 37
 Ælfhege *v.* Ælfhēah
 Ælf(h)ūn bp. 26 188
 Ælfæd (1) kinswoman of K. Alfred 42 129; (2) 'offestre' 44 26; (3) a female serf 52 6
 Ælfnōð 44 8
 Ælfred (1) kg. 25 *freq.*; 30 34, 32 47, 35 12, 111, 48 7; (2) æthelg. 26 182
 Ælfric (1) ealdmn. 26 70, 263, 27 35; (2) abt. 35; (3) bp. 47 38; (4) servant 48 11; (5) priest 52 9
 Æl(f)si(g)e (1) abt. 26 187; (2) 49 1; (3) 51 8
 Ælfstān 48 72
 Ælfwine 47 9
 Ælfwold (1) mk. 44 13, 37; (2) bp. 44 1
 Ælfword reeve 26 128
 Ælla kg. 25 43
 Ælmer *v.* Æðelmær
 Æschburne Ashburn (?) 44 12
 Æscengas Eashing 42 70 *n.*
 Æscedūn battlefield 25 171 *n.*
 Æscstūn Ashton Keynes 42 68 *n.*
 Æðelbald kg. 25 116, 127, 42 5, 50 1
 Æðelbyrht kg. 25 136, 37 1, 122 42 8
 Æðelferð royal geneat 25 500

Æð(elh)elm (1) ealdmn. 25 400, 42 69 *n.*, 83; (2) 48 2; (3) 'dux' 35 92
 Æðelhere a Frisian 25 499
 Æðelhūn prst. 45 21
 Æðelinga-eig (?) 25 247 *n.*
 Æ(ðe)lmær (1) ealdmn. 26 176; (2) ealdmn. (?) 26 234; (3) thane 35 4; (4) abt. 26 126, 130
 Æðelmōd ealdmn. 46 1
 Æðelnōð (1) ealdmn. 25 401; (2) reeve 45 20; (3) 48 21, 72; (4) 44 16
 Æðe(1)rēd (1) kg., brother of K. Alfred 25 136 *etc.*, 42 5, 7; (2) 'the Unready' 26 *freq.*; (3) ealdmn. 25 300 *n.*, 385, 42 84; (4) 48 3
 Æðelsige abt. 26 281
 Æðelstān (1) kg. 25 110, 35 113, 37 168; (2) ealdmn. 49 25; (3) = Guthrum 25 307; (4) 49 *freq.*
 Æðelðryð lady 48 15
 Æðelweard (1) ealdmn. 27 35; (2) ealdmn. 26 23, 35 24 *n.*; (3) 26 265
 Æðelwine ealdmn. 26 265
 Æðelwold (1) bp. 35 3, 51 1, 13; (2) K. Alfred's nephew 42 72 *n.*, 83; (3) 43 19
 Æðelwulf, Aðulf (1) kg. 25 *freq.*, 42 4, 48 18; (2) ealdmn. 25 130, 164, 169, 300
 Æðelwulfinġ 'son of Æthelwulf' 25 190
 Afdrede non-Germanic tribe 32 18 *n.*, 36, 39
 Af(f)rica 32 226, 235
 Agamemnon 33 108
 Alchere *v.* Ealhhere
 Alda *v.* Ealda
 Aldred *v.* Ealdred
 Alorford (?) 53 176 *n.*

Alpis Alps 32 4, 23
 Aller river Aller 25 260 n.
 Ambira kg. 32 220
 Ambresburg Amesbury 42 61 n.
 Amulinga 33 31 n.
 Andefere Andover 26 25
 Andreas St. 26 278
 Andred forest 25 42, 330 n.
 Angelcynn English race or people, England *freq.*
 Angemæringas Angmering 42 74 n.
 Angle Angeln 32 17 n., 135
 Anláf Norwegian prince 26 6 n., 35, 113, 27 30
 Antecrist Antichrist 36 3
 Anwynd jarl 25 217
 Apollinus Apollo 33 114, 121
 Apulder Appledore 25 337 n., 377
 Arwe river Orwell 26 245 n.
 Asia Asia Minor 32 1
 Assandūn Ashington 26 258 n.
 Asser bp. 31 66 n.
 A(u)gustinus Augustine 34 17, 37 1
 A(u)gustus August 26 157, 40 34
 Aulixes Ulysses 33 106
 Aweltūn Alton 42 54 n.
 Axanmūða Axmouth 42 61 n.

Babylonia Babylon 32 225
 Bacgsecg, Bachsecg Danish kg. 25 172 n., 175
 Baddanburg, -bȳ 47 1, 40; *v. introd.* to notes on No. 147
 Bægware, Bægere Bavarians 25 315 n., 32 12, 21, 24
 Bæme, Bêhemas Bohemians 32 14 n., 21
 Baius Bayeux 26 377 n.
 Basengas Basing 25 180 n.
 Baðan Bath 26 176 n.
 Bēadingahamm Beddingham 42 70 n
 Bēadingas Beeding 42 70 n.
 Bēagmund prst. 43 50
 Bēamflēot Benfleet 25 374 n. *et al.*
 Bearrucscīr Berkshire 25 129 n., 26 118
 Beccanlēa Beckley 42 74 n.
 Bedanford Bedford 27 7
 Bedanfordscīr Bedfordshire 26 116
 Bedewinde Bedwin 42 54 n.
 Benedictus St. 26 364
 Beorhhamstede Bearsted (?) 26 311 n., 37 50 n.
 Beorhtric kg., 25 77

Beorht(w)ulf (1) kg. 25 114; (2) ealdmn. 25 470; (3) 47 9
 Beormas Permians 32 72 n., 75, 78
 Beornhelm abt. 25 305
 Beornric 49 19
 Beorn(w)ulf reeve 25 473 n.
 Berghamstede *v.* Beorh-
 Birht- *v.* Byrht-
 Blēcinga-æg Blekinge 32 148 n.
 Blīðe river 47 22 *et al.*
 Boetius Boethius 33 36
 Boia 44 22
 Borslēah Bowsleigh 52 n.
 Brādanstān Bradstone 52 n.
 Branecescumb Branscombe 42 61 n.
 Brentford Brentford, London 26 237, 249
 Brenting 47 33
 Breten, Breton Britain 37 51
 Bret(t)ania, Bryttania Britain 32 5, 33
 Brettas Bretons 25 310 n.
 Bretwālas Britons, Welsh 25 45
 Bricius St. Brice 26 62
 Briht- *v.* Byrht-
 Bucinghamscīr Buckinghamshire 26 115
 Bunne Boulogne 25 326
 Burgendan Burgundians 32 40 n., 41, 146
 Burgræd kg. 25 151, 205
 Burh Peterborough 26 187
 Burnhamm Burnham 42 50 n., 71
 Buttingtūn Buttington 25 406 n.
 Byrhferð ealdmn. 49 7
 Byrhflæd female serf 52 5
 Byrhsige (1) 44 28; (2) 49 2
 Byrthelm 48 11
 Byrhtmæ̃r prst. 44 14, 38
 Byrhtnōð ealdmn. 26 2
 Byrhtwald bp. 37 51
 Byrn- *v.* Beorn-

Cænt *v.* Cent
 Candelmæsse Candlemas, Feb. 2nd
 Cantuctūn (?) 42 54 n.
 Cantwaraburg Canterbury *freq.*
 Cantware people of Kent *freq.*
 Carendre Carinthia 32 23 n., 25
 Carieī Chêzy-sur-Marne 25 302 n.
 Car(r)um(tūn) Carhampton 25 84 n., 102, 42, 50
 Cartaina Carthage 32 239, 265
 Caðum Caen 26 346 n.
 Cealfloca Challock 43 52

Cearwiell (?) 47 44
 Celestus pope 26 307
 Cendefer Candover 42 68 *n.*
 Cenrêd kg. 37 72 *n.*
 Cent, Centland Kent
 Centingas people of Kent 26 117
 Cenwold 44 21
 Ceoder Cheddar 42 52 *n.*
 Cēolmund ealdmn. 25 469
 Cēolnōð archbp. 43 48
 Cēolwulf kg. 25 209, 237
 Cernel Chernel 35 4 *n.*
 Cert 46 2 *n.*, 8
 Cesar Cæsar 35 100
 Cham Ham 33 95
 Chus Cush 39 95
 Cild 26 302
 Ciltern Chiltern Hills 26 105
 Ciollandene Chillendon 43 12 *n.*
 Cīol- *v.* Cēol
 Cippanhamm Chippenham 25 239 *n.*,
 42 69, 48 61
 Cirenceaster Cirencester 25 264 *n.*
 Ciricford Charford (?) 52 4 *n.*
 Cirus Cyrus 32 268
 Cisseceaster Chichester 25 436, 37
 193
 Cīwtūn Chewton Mendip 42 53 *n.*
 Cleare Kingsclere 42 68 *n.*
 Clymestūn Stoke Climsland 52 *n.*
 Cnūt kg. 26 *freq.*; 28 1, 37 205
 Coenwulf kg., 45 2
 Coln river Colne 25 360 *n.*
 Columtūn Cullompton 42 61 *n.*
 Constantinopolis Constantinople 33
 44
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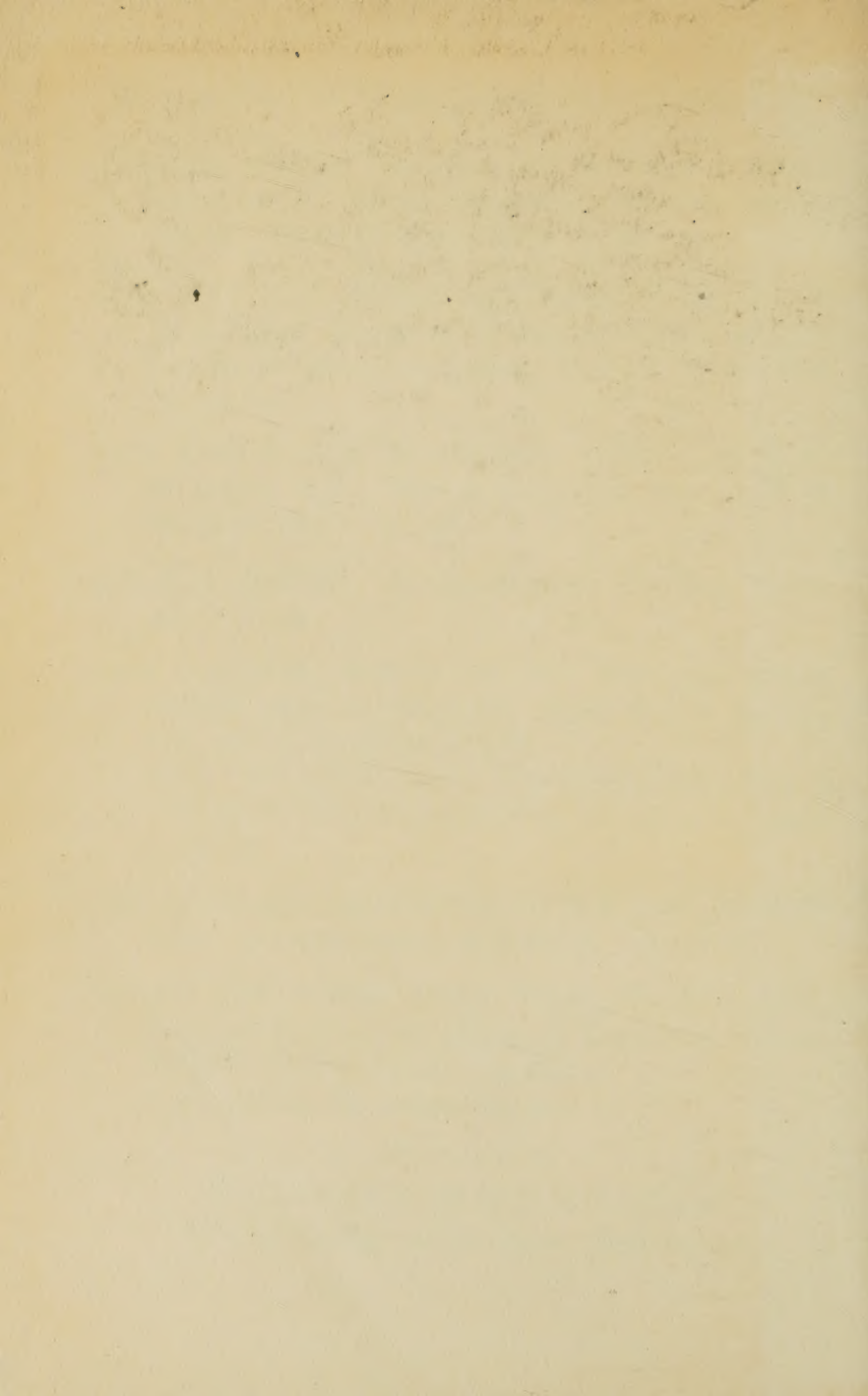
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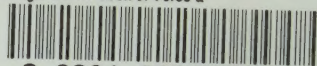
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